



BARABUDUR

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

N. J. KROM

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IN FIVE VOLUMES
VOLUME-II



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BARABUDUR



ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

BY

N. J. KROM

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

WITH 2 PLATES IN COLLOTYPE



THE HAGUE
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PREFACE

During the great restoration of Barabudur (1907—1911), a complete series of photographs of the monument was made; they were intended as illustrations for a new monograph to succeed the one by Leemans in 1873. The question of how this monograph should be compiled was discussed already in 1909. It was evident that a complete explanation of all that is depicted on Barabudur would be impossible; therefore it was at first proposed that only an architectural description should be published, while at the same time the reproductions of the reliefs should be placed in the hands of competent scholars who were to collect data from all available sources for a future archaeological description.

The Government however, supported by expert advice from the Institutes, considered it advisable for the benefit of further research, that the archaeological description should appear at once, even though for the present it would be incomplete. Therefore in 1911 the „Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië” was commissioned to publish both parts of the monograph. The architectural part was assigned to Mr. T. van Erp who as director of the restoration work was eminently qualified for the task. This part is still in preparation.

For the archaeological part Dr. J. Ph. Vogel had already been approached in 1912, he was at that time Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey in British India. In 1914 he undertook the work, but after becoming Professor at Leyden he was obliged in 1915 to resign the task, which was then entrusted to the present writer.

Dr. Vogel's intention was to make the description as complete as possible by a preliminary — naturally very lengthy — research into Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese literature, but I have considered it more suitable to begin by recording all that is known so far about the significance of Barabudur and what can be gained from the sources available at the present day. Dr. Vogel undertook to continue his study of the documents above-mentioned, while the author of this work compiled the archaeological survey which was completed in 1918

and under the authorization of the Netherlands Government was published by the Koninklijk Instituut in 1920.

An English edition of this work was to have been included in the government publication, for which purpose a larger number of copies of the plates was printed than was required for the Dutch edition. However the Government eventually did not undertake this and the plates were taken over by Mr. Nijhoff, publisher at the Hague; who charged himself with the entire publication of the English edition at his own expense.

This English edition is not in all respects the same as the Dutch text. To begin with though closely following the Dutch it is considerably curtailed with regard to the description of reliefs that are still unidentified; these abridgements are shewn in the notes at the foot of the page, so that the Dutch text can be consulted when necessary. Secondly I have been able to supplement the text here and there with references to literature that had been overlooked and to new books and papers that have been published since 1918. In some cases these are worked into the text, otherwise they are given in the notes.

Knowing that the examination of Barabudur is far from complete, the author is well aware of the fact that this work can be only of a temporary character. The portfolio of plates will always retain its value and the architectural description may achieve something definite. The archaeological part fulfils a more humble task; it is intended for an expedient to further investigation which it hopes to assist by recording the present position of research at Barabudur: what is already established, what is doubtful and what is still altogether obscure. The sooner this book shall be out of date, the sooner it will have achieved its purpose.

Leyden, December 1926

N. J. KROM

CHAPTER I

FOUNDATION AND HISTORY OF BARABUĐUR

Namo Buddhāya! Hail Buddha!

No words more suitable than these could be found with which to begin our description of this mighty monument. How often they must have echoed through the galleries and over the terraces of the Barabudur! To comprehend fully the meaning of this most splendid creation of Hindu-Javan culture, we must transport ourselves, as far as possible, into the mind and spirit of those who 1100 years ago, worshipped reverently at the feet of "the Lion of the Çākya-race, the Omniscient, the Protector of the Earth in divine majesty" ¹⁾).

The grandeur of the Barabudur, — and every visit made confirms the impression — is something immense, sphinxlike, incomprehensible and yet so fascinating. It overpowers us with a sense of our incapacity to give an adequate description of it, its enigmas are too many and too great for us to solve, and yet it exercises such a powerful charm over us, lays such hold on the mind that we are irresistibly compelled to use all our powers to discover something of its mysterious being.

This impression may be only personal. Many and various are the opinions expressed by different visitors during the last century and not a few have been published; I will refrain from quotations, but it is remarkable that even among the most able judges, the first impression was not always favorable. Brumund, the best authority of his time on Javanese antiquities, speaks of it as "a gloomy, depressing, rather squat building" ²⁾); Foucher, the art expert on Buddhist iconography, compares it to a badly risen pie ³⁾). These unfavorable opinions must be credited as

¹⁾ These words are taken from Nāgarakṛtāgama, Canto 43.

²⁾ See p. 551 of Leemans' monograph.

³⁾ Bull. Ec. Fr. Extr. Or. 9 (1909) p. 4. Also Yule in Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal 31 (1862) p. 20 says „At first sight it seems little better than a vast and shapeless cairn of stones."

the honest expression of the effect produced, and are worth far more than the insincere praise and bombastic admiration, met with elsewhere, for example in the "Barabuður by Moonlight" which descends to the commonplace.

We give an instance of genuine admiration in the simple language of the soldier Hoepermans. "The Temple here", he writes in 1866 ¹⁾, "this splendid work of art, the glory of old Java, stands in its grey antiquity loaded with images and festoons; built up in storeys and galleries, representing the whole life and acts of Buddha in carved reliefs; the magnificence, the great skill, the genius, the conception, all that was in and around this old temple is far beyond imagination, no wonder it draws people from all parts of the world to see it. Lovers of art and antiquity will find all they want in the study of this old religion portrayed so vividly, in so many forms; — those who know the arts must exclaim "O Javans of the ages what mighty artists you were!"

These words, not written for publication, but only for the eyes of his chief in a report, well express how deeply an ordinary man was moved by the grandeur of the Barabuður. There have been many others, who have expressed themselves, may be with more elegance, but few as vividly. The appreciations come almost without exception from the West. Not until quite recently has the Javan learnt to raise his eyes to the memorial of his great past; fortunately among the few are some who are sensitive to the devotion which this sacred edifice arouses ²⁾.

It has often been remarked that the founders of the Hindu-Javan temples bestowed great care on the choice of a site for their erection and generally succeeded in laying hands on most beautiful positions. This is particularly noticeable of the Barabuður. The natural hill round which the temple is built, is situated in a beautiful landscape, the centre of the fertile plain of Kēdu, surrounded by a decorative circle of mountains. Through the green country where groups of palm-trees mark the position of the villages, flows from N. to S. the Praga, over which river the road from the E. leads to the temple not far from where it receives the waters of the Ela, next most important river of Kēdu. The river, so deep in its bed, cannot now be seen from the top of Barabuður, though at such a short distance away; the only thing which strikes the eye in the whole stretch of plain is on the N. the Tidar of Magēlang, the smooth round hill known to the natives as the head of the nail that holds the island of Java fast to its place among the great waters. The plain is bound-

¹⁾ See Rapp. Oudh. Dienst 1913 p. 131.

²⁾ For example Noto Soeroto in *Het Ned. Ind. Huis, Oud en Nieuw*, 2 (1914) p. 85.

ed on the S. and S.W. by the sharp pointed lines of the Minoreh Mts.; on the N.W. in the far distance rise Sëndara and Sumbing, nearer on the E. and N. E. Mërapi and Mërbabu. A line of smoke from the former shews the volcano is still active, yet the peaks, with their brown, grey and green coloring, fading at evening to blue, lend a peaceful aspect to the panorama, softening the grandeur of the mighty Barabuđur, throned on the wide plain and guarded by its circle of mountains.

Eleven centuries ago, the monk or pilgrim looking out from the sacred building, saw much more than we see now. A burial-place, it seems, lay at the foot of the monument; and the indispensable monastery must have stood close by. From the eastern entrance of the temple courtyard a wide road led along Pawon across the river Praga and took its way to the Mëndut. We shall give account of this later on. Besides all that was in direct contact with the Barabuđur itself, on the plain where the villages are now hidden by foliage, could be seen against the evenly tinted hillsides, a mass of sacred buildings and temples of which only a few traces remain. The plain of Këdu with the surrounding country, was then one of the centres of the Hindu-Javan community. On the hill Wukir, E. of Barabuđur, rose the old Çiva-temple where king Sañjaya according to his inscription, the earliest dated document of Java ¹⁾ in 732 caused a lingga to be established, and in that year there already long existed the principal sanctuary of Java that was brought over from the fatherland Kuñjarakuñja in South-India. Around this, on all sides grouped themselves the numberless buildings that are found enumerated in the existing inventory of the Archaeological Survey ²⁾.

In so far as their foundations enable us to judge, none of these buildings were large and they probably did not differ much from small temples like Selagriya; one of such dimensions as the Mëndut will have been an exception. The Barabuđur must have towered above them all, dominating the whole plain as it still does, even without its pinnacle.

The name by which we distinguish the monument, Barabuđur, is the common native one. How the sanctuary was called in the old Javan time is entirely unknown, none of the inscriptions give us the least indication. The name appears for the first time in a report dated 1709 or 1710³⁾ in exactly the same form now used by the Javan; the curious varia-

¹⁾ Kern in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 4: X (1885) p. 125—138 and *Verspr. Geschr.* VII (1917) p. 115—128.

²⁾ For these remains consult *Inventaris van Hindu-oudheden I* (1914) p. 211 etc.

³⁾ In the *Babad Tanah Djawied. Meinama II*^a (1899) p. 238 etc.

tions Borobodo, Burubudur and such, have all been invented by Western people. Efforts have repeatedly been made to find an explanation of the name, but none of the etymological solutions are such as can be accepted.

Raffles has three times offered an explanation. The first time he mentions the temple, whose name he writes as Bóro Bódo; he says that this is the name used by the people of the neighboring villages and states that Bóro is the name of the district, and bódo means ancient ¹⁾. The second time he offers the supposition that it is probably a corruption of Bára Búdha, the Great Budh ²⁾. Finally, on a third occasion, he enlarges on his first attempt and states that the temple is situated in the district of Boro which gives it the first part of its name, while Bodo is a term of abuse used by the Mohammedans, or it might be an erroneous pronunciation of budho which means ancient or heathen ³⁾.

These explanations roused the criticisms of the experts. Crawford remarks ⁴⁾, that it is true *Boro* which he gives correctly as *Bara*, is the name of the district (now-a-days the division has been altered, and the monument comes into the district of Salaman, in the province of Magelang) but it is not certain whether the temple is named after the district or vice versa; while judging by similar cases it is more likely the district has taken its name from the temple. That *Budor*, as he spells it, is a corruption of *Buddha*, he thinks very doubtful, it would be the only example of such an impertinent alteration of a Sanskrit word and especially the curious addition of the final *r* makes it seem very unlikely — besides, in every other case the word *buddha* is accurately pronounced in Javanese. Later however Crawford appears to favor the idea that in *budor* something of *buda* may be concealed; as for *boro*, he states that it means a kind of fish-trap in Javanese — but with regard to the name Boro Budor as a whole, he comes no nearer to a conclusion than that it is probably a corruption ⁵⁾. Von Humboldt joins in the criticism of Raffles' conjectures; and though he considers the transition from *buddha* to *budor* not altogether improbable, nevertheless he thinks it very unlikely because in the same district, the word *buddha* as "old" is pronounced correctly. Further, he objects to the explanation Bara

¹⁾ History of Java (1817) II p. 29 note.

²⁾ Ibidem p. 62.

³⁾ Memoir of life and public services of Sir Thos. S. Raffles etc (1830) p. 159.

⁴⁾ On the ruins of Boro Budor in Java. Transactions of the Lit. Soc. of Bombay 2 (1820) p. 164 (= p. 173 etc. of reprint of 1878).

⁵⁾ A descriptive dictionary of the Indian islands and adjacent countries (1856) p. 66.

Buddha, in the sense of "the great Buddha", an interpretation that, in his opinion, must have been given by Raffles' authorities on the strength of being similar to Bharadwaja, but supposing this combination of *bhara* with *buddha* has ever been made, it would surely occur in other places. This expert too doubts the possibility of ever finding the right interpretation. ¹⁾ In these days when so much more Sanskrit as well as Kawi is known, we are able to supplement these remarks. We know now that *bhara* does not mean „great" in Sanskrit, so this interpretation in any case can be dismissed. It is also certain that *bud(dh)a*, meaning "old", is no Kawi, but only modern Javanese and only in such a way as they speak of the pre-islamite age, institutions, or remains, as of the "buddha age" etc.; the transition of meaning from the age of Buddha to the old time is comprehensible enough for modern Javanese, but in the Kawi language Buddha is never anything else but the name of the Saviour ²⁾. The meaning of "old" therefore, can only be used in explaining the name of the temple, if we admit that name to be of modern origin; should we consider the name Barabuđur as a more or less degenerated original one, and the second part of it as a corruption of "buddha", then it is Buddha with a capital B, but never old or heathenish. It is needless to say that the "fish-trap" is of no use though there is actually a Kawi word, *bara*, with that meaning; all that is left of these suggestions is, that *bara* may be a name that cannot be accounted for, while *budur* is possibly a corruption of Buddha.

Altogether different is the explanation of the Javannese authority Winter to be found under *bara* in the dictionary of Gericke en Roorda ³⁾. Barabuđur would mean, may be with reference to the images of that temple, a gigantic statue, a colossus; as evidence is given the expression „*ḍapurre kaya barabuđur*", a great heavy-limbed creature, and „*kaya rĕtja buđur*" stiff motionless figure like a scarecrow.

Neither of these examples seems in the least convincing. In the second, the addition of *rĕtja* already shews that *budur* alone cannot be accepted as „statue", the scarecrow is compared to a *budur* image, and if this be taken as the name of the temple, the natural explanation is: Barabuđur-image. This does not give any indication of the real name of the edifice. The same appears to be the case with the first example: the colossal form of the person mentioned is compared, not to a statue but to the Barabu-

¹⁾ Ueber die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java I (1836) p. 189.

²⁾ There is also *Budha*, never spelt with *ddh*, the name of the planet (Mercury) from which Wednesday is named.

³⁾ Javaansch-Nederl. Handw. II (1901) p. 664.

đur; „a figure like the Barabuđur” is an expression easily understood if one wants to give an idea of anything very big, just as we ourselves might speak of “a fellow like a church tower”. We can only come to the conclusion that Winter’s explanation is merely an invention “pour le besoin de la cause” and that in the expressions quoted, *barabuđur* and *budur* is nothing but the name of the temple which remains as vague and incomprehensible as ever.

Finally, there is one more explanation, suggested first, I believe by Wilsen in 1853 ¹⁾ and since adopted by others ²⁾; according to which Barabuđur is derived from Parabuddha, the many or collected Buddhas. All further links of this interpretation are missing so that we are confronted with the same difficulty as pointed out by Crawford; how to trace the transition from *buddha* to *budur*, and whether this is really admissible. This objection is of more importance than the change from *bara* to *para* for if this change seems improbable, there is still the word *bhara* or *bhāra* known both in Sanskrit and Kawi, which means, among other things, “many, numerous”; in this way we can render Bhara-buddha as “the many Buddhas”. On Javan authority it is suggested that *bara* is taken from *vihāra* in accordance with the custom of Sumatra to call the remains of the old monuments found there *biaro* ³⁾, in which case we should all the same be dealing with a modern name, because Barabuđur is certainly not a *vihāra* in the old Javanese sense and we wonder why the word *vihāra* which, though used in Sumatra, in Java is obsolete, should only be used in this one instance. There is another possibility, that we should accept *bara* to be the same word that has become *b(h)ra* in later Javanese; the temple would then be called Bhra Buddha, the Lord Buddha and with still more probability we are brought to think of Vara-Buddha, the Excellent Buddha(s) ⁴⁾. But in all these instances the curious transition of *buddha* into *budur* remains unexplained.

I am forced to admit as my personal opinion that all efforts to interpret Barabuđur are vain. It is entirely uncertain if the name is really analogous to the original one of the monument; but if we accept

¹⁾ See Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 1 (1853) p. 290. Friederich follows him in the same periodical 2 (1854) p. 1 and 23 (1876) p. 66.

²⁾ Spaan in Not. Bat. Gen. 1877 p. 128; Groneman, Indische Gids 9, vol. I (1887) p. 120, also in the Barabuđur guides published since 1892 (latest edition English version 1912). Groneman adopted this suggestion from the Regent of Magelang, Danoe ning rat.

³⁾ Poerbatjaraka, Hand. 1ste Congres Taal, Land- and Volkenk. (1919), p. 287—290.

⁴⁾ Finot, BEFEO 20 (1920) p. 138.

that this is really the case, we need not suppose the name to be necessarily a corrupted one. This opinion is supported by the fact that both parts of it are also found in other words. Names of places such as Baratengah and others, shew that the first half of the name Barabuður is not unique but was in use elsewhere. Besides Buður is given as the name of a sacred place of the secular Buddhist priesthood in the Nāgarakṛtāgama ¹⁾; for a moment we may be inclined to inquire if the famous sanctuary might here be alluded to, but this idea must be dismissed at once ²⁾, as it further appears the poem concerns only East Java conditions. The great stūpa of Central Java, if it was referred to, would be surely mentioned otherwise than at the end of a list of all sorts of small sanctuaries and the similarity of name between places in Middle and East Java occurs not unfrequently, for instance, the name of Tigawangi, known as that of a temple in Kēdiri, is found again in a record of the neighborhood of Magēlang ³⁾.

There is thus every reason to believe that Barabuður can have been the old name, both parts of it are old-Javanese and we need not assume it to be corrupted. To hunt after its etymology, while there are so few data to draw upon, seems as hopeless a task as that of trying to identify any of the numberless other native names found on inscriptions. Meantime let us be satisfied that there is nothing to prevent us supposing that we are here confronted with an old-Javanese name. If this is really the case there is every chance that we have before us not *the* name but *one* of its names, for it is most probable that the monument will at the same time, have had a name in Sanskrit; this is known to be the case of other temples and may surely be expected of this one, judging by the fact that what is represented on the stūpa is derived entirely from Indian sources. The official name in Sanskrit is of course in no way obliged to have resembled the Indonesian one, so that it is wasted effort to guess at it ⁴⁾. It is not to be wondered at that the strange name should have been lost and the native one — assuming all the time that Barabuður is really the native one — preserved; we see the same thing, citing an already-given example, in the temple of Tigawangi, which is now al-

¹⁾ Canto 77 : 3.

²⁾ Dr. Bosch differs Not. Bat. Gen. 1920 p. 53 etc.

³⁾ See Brandes, Oud-Javaansche oorkonden, Verh. Bat. Gen. 60 (1913) p. 15.

⁴⁾ Nevertheless I offer a supposition. The old-Javan foundation records often give us a great number of names of places situated near the sanctuary with which they were connected. We possess among others some records from the neighborhood of Magēlang, thus only a few miles from Barabuður, some of them of a date at which Barabuður undoubtedly existed. On one of these (Cohen-Stuart, Kawi Oorkonden, 1875 No. 15) we find the name Dharmapurā. The supposition that this might be the old name of the stūpa seems worth considering.

ways so called, while the official name Kusumapura is quite forgotten.

The above reasoning bears also on our spelling of Barabuđur. As long as it remains uncertain if this is the old name, we shall retain the common Javanese one, for which there is the more reason, now the possibility exists of it being the same used in old-Javan times. If there may be Sanskrit elements hidden in the name, is far too doubtful to allow our spelling to be influenced thereby.

We shall next discuss the question of what was the aim and intention of the monument. Barabuđur is a stūpa, as is amply set forth in the architectural part of this monograph; there the reader will find a definition of the stūpa form in general and the way in which it has been applied in the Barabuđur. It is our part to consider what was the purpose of this stūpa.

The nature of a stūpa can be very varied. Texts as well as excavations show that there are all sorts of possibilities, that stūpa's are found sometimes with contents and sometimes without anything inside; while the contents, where found, are by no means of the same character, consisting may be of human ashes often mingled with gold, silver or precious stones, or again, of a few bones in a small box or vase, evidently relics; sometimes there are utensils without any human remains and occasionally it is only some copy of the Holy Writings. It is the work of a French scholar, Foucher, that has brought order into the confused mass of these indications and shewn clearly what a stūpa was actually intended for ¹⁾, while de Groot in a masterly manner has explained the esoteric meaning of these monuments ²⁾. Most of the stūpa's that have been examined contained human remains and are therefore really tombs; tradition too relates how the remains of the Buddha were preserved in stūpa's and that the same honor was paid to his most famous disciples and other saints. Monks too might be buried in stūpa's near where they had lived; these of course were of smaller size, many such have been found round about the great shrines and places of pilgrimage. Now it is evident that the large stūpa's with the ashes of the Buddha and his holy followers received the highest honors and that these were considered not as mere tombs, but far more as the shrines of great relics whose contents were sacred. Later on, stūpa's came to be built

¹⁾ *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra* I (1905) p. 47—62.

²⁾ *Der Thūpa* (1919).

upon other relics which were not the human remains of sanctified persons but for instance utensils used by them, alms-bowl, staff or suchlike. The monument then is not only intended to preserve the remains, but quite as much to keep these great figures in remembrance, it is a memorial. It is easy to understand how the worship of the mass of followers became transferred from the contents to the building itself. When the stūpa is considered specially as a memorial then it is evident how they came to be built first as cenotaph when there were no mortal remains of the sanctified persons, and so on generally as memorials of great events in the lives of the holy men on the spot where the events had taken place; in such cases of course there would be no contents, though there was nothing to prevent other things being placed there, the Holy Writings or some portion of them, or perhaps the so-called Confession of faith. Finally we encounter the worship of the stūpa for itself, whatever the contents may be or whatever it may commemorate; thus the building of a stūpa became a meritorious act.

As regards Barabuður some of the above mentioned purposes for which stūpa's were built, may be dismissed at once. That it should be merely a memorial erected on the spot where the Buddha performed some special act, or where something happened to him, is of course out of the question; nor can it commemorate the place where any remarkable event occurred in the history of his eminent followers. That the body of one of these holy men may have been transported to Java and placed there, is not very likely, nor is it in any way a cenotaph. Only two possibilities are thinkable which may have given reason for the erection of this monument. Either, there was no other motive than to honor the Buddha and the Church by building a stūpa on such a magnificent scale, to be the most important holy edifice in the new fatherland, symbol of the creed of the Saviour, and at the same time, as de Groot expresses it "*ein Leuchthurm des Weltgesetzes*" — or, it must have been the repository of some most sacred relic brought from across the sea; then considering the majesty of the building and the skill and care bestowed on it, probably a relic of the Saviour himself.

In the first case there is all likelihood that the interior of the stūpa contains nothing, or at most some holy inscription or something similar; in the second case it is certain that the monument must have concealed within, a repository for relics. Unfortunately we can never gain any certainty of this. When in 1814, the first Europeans visited the monument, there was already a crack in the central-stūpa wide enough to enter and naturally the natives had made their way in. On more careful examination

of the floor of this stūpa, which took place in 1842, it appeared that the whole space had been overhauled. Some objects were found there which will be discussed in Chapter X; they were certainly not relics. An unfinished image of a Buddha was also found which in my opinion did not belong there, and had been brought from elsewhere, as will be explained. It is therefore possible that the relics which may have been placed under the floor of the stūpa, were removed by former excavators and have been entirely lost, but equally possible that nothing at all has ever been there. To make sure of this, Mr. van Erp during the restoration, searched the floor under the central-stūpa and dug under the surface of the hill round which the monument is built, but without any result. This shews the idea of Friederich according to whom a series of small chambers below each other, might be found under the central-stūpa ¹⁾, to be incorrect. In spite of all this, it is still possible that relics may be hidden in the monument. It is known that on the examination of the celebrated stūpa of Kaniška, near Peshawar, search for relics continued for a long time without any result and they were not found till excavation was made at the exact centre of the building, deep down, two feet below the foundation ²⁾. The case of Barabuđur differs in so far that the stūpa of Kaniška was built upon flat ground, so that they could begin by first making a repository for the relics, above and around which the rest of the building was erected; while the centre of Barabuđur is a natural hill. But it seems not improbable that the old custom may have been followed in Java and the relics deposited very deep in the same position as found in the Kaniška stūpa and others. For that purpose a deep cavity would have to be dug at the top of the hill to the level of the temple foundation, the relics placed therein, it being then filled up, and on that would be built the central-stūpa of the monument that surrounds the whole hill. We have not the least evidence or authority to assure us that it was so done but, taking everything into consideration it seems not impossible. The case can only be proved by digging another hole at the centre of the central-stūpa down into the hill and only when this has been made to the level of the buried base, and nothing is found, can we be sure the relics of Barabuđur either never existed or have been stolen away.

It has already been mentioned that in the neighborhood of many of

¹⁾ Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 19 (1870) p. 417 or 23 (1876) p. 367.

²⁾ Spooner, Excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-Dhārī, Annual Report, Archaeol. Survey 1908—9, p. 48.

the great Buddhist monuments in India itself, small stūpa's are found, most likely the burial-places of monks or pious laymen, — in any case people who were desirous of making their last resting-place in holy ground. They were found near the above-mentioned stūpa of Kaniška, the temple of Mahābodhi where the Saviour became Buddha, in the deer-park at Sārnāth where he first preached his creed, at Kapilavastu, his birthplace, and elsewhere. It is again Foucher to whom we owe these researches, he has shown us the real nature of these stūpa's, known hitherto as "votive-stūpa's"¹⁾. It need not astonish us if the same characteristics appear near Barabudur, the largest and most famous sanctuary in Java. Traces of such have actually been found. On the East side of the base of the temple hill, de Vink in 1911 discovered a rectangular foundation of red brick about 60 c.M. below the surface. In the middle of this little terrace, in a row, were three circular cavities, surrounded by bricks. The holes had a diameter of 56 c.M., the outer edge of the brick border 1.10 M.; the bricks forming the border were 29 c.M. long and on the outside 24 c.M. in width. In the most northerly cavity, at the depth of 1.20 M, the stone lid of an urn was found and near it the fragments of a bronze urn; enough of these were left to reconstruct the urn that proved to be of a round-bellied shape with an upright edge and an opening of 8 c.M. In the middle as well as the S. cavity, an empty urn was found made of soft yellow-grey stone, a kind of hard "wadas". The one in the middle hole had a round space for ashes, the other, a square opening; lids were not found, though they must have belonged to them, for the urns had an inside ledge. It was plainly to be seen that the holes had already been tampered with.

Thus far Mr. de Vink's information²⁾. I think it extremely probable that he had lighted upon the burial-place belonging to the monument and that the urns, evidently sepulchral-urns, had contained the ashes of three persons there buried; also near the already-mentioned sanctuaries of India, a number of tombs are often found together, on a terrace of varying size. The actual monument has disappeared, but the round shape of the opening in which the urn was placed makes it admissible that it may be small stūpa's, just of the same kind as those in the motherland. The examination was not carried on into the adjacent ground and the data now available are of course not enough for us to be able to affirm the existence of such a burial-place, but we may go so far

¹⁾ See Foucher l.l. p. 51.

²⁾ His report is to be found in Not. Bat. Gen. 1912 p. 24—26.

as to suppose that, on this point, Barabuður is likely to have followed the custom of the great sanctuaries of India. Let us hope that a thorough and systematic examination of the whole temple site may soon be made.

What we can safely conjecture will not have been absent, is the "saṅghārāma", the monastery, nearly always found in connection with a stūpa. It is true that examples are known of isolated stūpa's without any monastery, but these are erections of small size that required no special care, or were of little importance, so that when the founder paid no more attention to it, there was no reason to maintain or hold it in honor; we frequently read in the sacred legends of ruined and neglected stūpa's. It was a different thing with the great sanctuaries erected in famous places. The atmosphere of sanctity that enveloped them was strong enough to bring monks to live round the spot and attracted as well crowds of pilgrims, among whom those who belonged to the Congregation enjoyed the hospitality of the monastery, those who were laymen most likely proved their piety by the offer of gifts. Besides, such a large and complex monument required careful maintenance, for which, in the first place, the monks will have been responsible and later on, slaves were made use of — but slaves who were selected for the Congregation and were under supervision of the monks ¹⁾. All these factors combined to form a domicile for a number of monks belonging to the stūpa, whose duties were to take care of the building and give accommodation and assistance to those who visited it. Of course, not the least important of their duties was the service of the sanctuary itself, consisting chiefly in decking it with garlands, banners, mirrors and sunshades, and in stately circulations according to the "pradakṣiṇā" i. e. with the right side turned towards the temple, to do it honor. Doubtless, Barabuður, the largest and most mighty sanctuary of Java has been the object of great veneration, constantly visited by those in search of holiness from other parts, and it is quite evident that it would require careful daily supervision. Monks certainly must have been employed here and of necessity it follows that a monastery must have existed in the neighborhood.

Now there is one place which may be considered the chosen-spot for a monastery and that is the spur of the Barabuður hill, at the N. W. corner, now occupied by the "pasanggrahan" (dak bungalow). This fulfils all the requirements, it is quite near the sanctuary without being so close as to

¹⁾ For account of the hospitality of the monasteries and the inferior help they employed, the most important details are given by Foucher, l.l. page 167.

be a hindrance and thereby on the same level as the stūpa; thus most convenient for performing the daily services and much easier than from the plain. In short, every reason which has led to the placing of the pasanggrahan there and nowhere else, must have been still more evident in choosing the site for a monastery. We may be inclined to suppose that even if the hill had not originally possessed this natural continuation, there would have been every motive for making it for the sake of a monastery. So far as we know, it has never been investigated in how far the piece on which the pasanggrahan stands is actually natural substance of the hill, or may have been artificially added to it.

The fact that the pasanggrahan was already there, has prevented any systematic examination being carried out during the last restoration work; as far as was possible, some slight excavation was made¹⁾, but only a few bricks were discovered, two heavy brass nails \pm 18 c.M. long, some half-wornout ones of a smaller size, and a very fine trachite stone bolt, ornamented on four sides. No traces of the foundations of a building were discovered, but that is no proof that one may not have stood there. To begin with, only a small part of the ground mentioned was examined and it is quite possible that the monastery may have been built of less durable material than the stūpa. From Chinese sources we know that wood was used for the building of houses in Java²⁾; we see the monks of Burma housed in wooden monasteries and the same may have been the case with the Javan bhikṣu's; the nails may also confirm this indication. We need draw no comparisons with the brick „monasteries” of Sari and Plaosan; those buildings were not intended for monks dwellings but to house sacred and venerated images; if we distinguish them by the name of „vihāra” according to the usual practice of the Kawi language we must hesitate to translate it as „monastery”.³⁾

The total want of data as to the appearance of the monastery if it has stood on this spot, makes it useless for us to inquire how it was arranged. It will of course have contained cells for the monks large enough to

¹⁾ A short report of these excavations will be found in the Restoration Report by van Erp, 3rd and 4th quarterly 1911. An unfinished 4-armed goddess image was also found.

²⁾ Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Verh. Bat. Gen. 39 (1876) p. 12 etc. Second ed. in Miscell. Papers relating to Indo-China and the Ind. Archipelago 2d series (1887).

³⁾ As far as can be traced, in Java „vihāra” is the name for the combination of a (Buddhist) sanctuary and the dwelling of the monks belonging thereto, without regard to being separate buildings or not. Later the meaning was extended; in Sumatra „biaro” is used equally for sanctuaries dedicated to Çiva.

accommodate the prescribed furniture ¹⁾, a low bed, a bench to sit on, a board to lean against, a spittoon and a few mats. Whether the cells like those in Gandhāra, were built round an open square, is uncertain; if it were a wooden building, it would undoubtedly be a storied one. Besides the cells, there is sure to have been the "uposathāgāra" or "upasthānaçālā", the meeting-room for the monks on the occasion of the bi-monthly uposatha festival, which was held for reading all together the rules of the order and for public confession of sins. The necessary outbuildings must also have been there.

After recalling to mind that the hill which lies behind the pasang-grahan, where sometime ago, bricks and a small rākṣasa had been found, was examined by Brandes as well as van Erp without shewing any trace of former habitation ²⁾; — we now turn to the East side of the temple. This was the front, not to be distinguished by the style or decoration, which are the same on all sides of the stūpa, but from the texts illustrated in the series of reliefs, which all begin on the left of the entrance to the galleries on the East side. In this way on the East side we every time ascend a new gallery turning each time of course to the left and keeping our right side, according to the prescribed rule of the pradakṣiṇā, towards the centre of the sanctuary, and in this way on the East side the lowest court and at the same time the monument itself, is entered. May be in the old time, there were other tokens of this being the entrance, for instance, by an extension of the stūpa courtyard on the plain. According to tradition, it was also on the East side that the great road led up to the monument. Native legend also relates that long ago a brick-paved road led from the Barabuður to the Mëndut with walls on both sides and several chapels built into them.

Referring to this, Brandes remarks that this road must naturally have led across the Praga and that it is still plainly to be seen how on the bank of the river, on the Mëndut side, near the old ford, a stone building must formerly have stood. The large riverstones at that spot are so cut down that it is plain some structure of large slabs has rested on them, the flat-hewn blocks still lie there equally level, and are such that they positively suggest their having been used to support some construction. The mass, as a whole, does not give the impression of being the bed of a staircase, which would there seem very appropriate; and as the opposite bank is some distance off and very steep — possibly this may not always

¹⁾ Cullavagga VIII 1, 3—4; in the trans. Rhys Davids-Oldenberg SBE 20 (1885) p. 275—279.

²⁾ Rapp. Oudheidk. Comm. 1905 p. 1 etc. For the rākṣasa see below.

have been the case — a bridge does not seem very likely. Brandes leaves it an open question¹⁾, but calls attention to the great number of bricks found in the ground between the two temples.²⁾

During the work of restoration Mr. v. Erp again took the matter in hand.³⁾ He was encouraged to do so by the coincidence that when, for the survey of the orientation of Barabudur, a theodolite was fixed on to the central-stūpa and the position of the Mëndut brought into range, the randu-alas-tree, which at that time was growing on the ruins of Pawon, came exactly into the focal line of the telescope. The three buildings are therefore situated in one straight line. This might be accidental, yet in conjunction with the tradition about a road, may be of some significance. It is noticeable, that in the field to the East of the village Barabudur-wetan, close to the route the alleged road must have taken, a headless unfinished, seated image of the Buddha was found, which judging by the size (85 c.M. high), cannot have belonged to the stūpa itself, but may easily have had a place in one of the chapels along the road. Moreover, attention should be paid to the situation of the entrance to the temple-courts of Pawon and Mëndut, both of which face N. W. while all other known Buddhist temples of Central Java, more or less accurately, face E. or W.; Barabudur itself as was shown, East, with a very slight divergance, as the axis varies South-North $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ towards West from the actual North. Now to the temple-court from Pawon which faces N. W., only one entrance was found, consisting of a brick staircase on S. W. — thus just in the direction of the alleged road of communication. To the temple of Mëndut, itself carefully orientated in the same way, only one entrance was found in the enclosure of the foundations, also on the S. W. and thus facing the road side.⁴⁾

Judging by the above details, there was then every motive for examination and experiment to prove if any remains of the road could be discovered, especially in places where the ground was heaped up and there seemed a chance of something being hidden below. In 1911 such an experiment actually took place at different points between Barabudur and Pawon, near the latter temple. It was quite without any result.⁵⁾ We can therefore go no further than the statement that the existence

¹⁾ Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1903 p. 75 etc.

²⁾ Since 1903 must have been changes, neither M. v. Erp nor the author could find the stones mentioned by Brandes, when visiting the place.

³⁾ Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 53 (1911) p. 582—585.

⁴⁾ Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1903 plate 58 and 62.

⁵⁾ Rapp. 1911 p. 25.

of such a road is very probable judging by the position of the buildings, though direct evidence of it is entirely wanting. It is surely more than likely, apart from the supposition of the road, that a pilgrim who set out to honor the Barabuður, would be sure to pay the same homage to the Mëndut, not 3 K.M. away, where he could worship the great image of the Teacher between his two most famous Bodhisattvas. The impression that this beautiful and sublime group still makes on the uninitiated of to-day, will have been far deeper to the believer of ancient times. On the stūpa is pictured the life-story of the Buddha but there was no separate image of the Saviour placed to receive the adoration of his followers and satisfy the yearning which every faithful pilgrim would undoubtedly feel; while this they could find at the Mëndut. To this end the Mëndut might be considered as a completion of the Barabuður and there is certainly resemblance between the two temples both in decoration and the execution of various details. For other reasons as well, the two buildings can be put down as about the same age, chiefly because of the character of the inscriptions that were incised on the buried base of Barabuður and at the Mëndut on a loose block of stone. This stone, inscribed with portions of the so-called Confession of faith, according to Brandes ¹⁾ must have been fixed above the entrance to the temple and unquestionably belongs to the edifice, being found above the N. porch wall during the restoration.

The character of the Mëndut writing is very old Kawi, the virāma is still given by a stroke above the letter. Whether this is the same in that of Barabuður, is not quite certain, for by chance, no virāma is really included in the remaining inscriptions ²⁾. Yet on comparing the rest of the letters, it appears that the Mëndut inscription is just as old as that of Barabuður, possibly a little older. We may go so far as to suppose that the two buildings formed part of one great plan, actually built for the purpose, but in any case, it is quite explicable that two Buddhist temples erected about the same time so near each other, should bear points of resemblance in many ways; on the contrary, it would be strange if the designers and builders had never imitated one another. It would be quite impossible to include the Mëndut in the examination here; we refer the reader, for this building, to our Introduction to Hindu-Javan Art chapter VIII ³⁾, while we shall in due time speak of its

¹⁾ See Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1902 p. 7.

²⁾ I think it not unlikely that on the very indistinct inscription 150 a (see below) there is actually a virāma to be found; and an old-fashioned one too.

³⁾ Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst (second edition, 1924).

characteristics with relation to Javanese Buddhism, and the way in which they may supplement those shewn by Barabuður ¹⁾).

The connection between Barabuður and the small Tjandi Pawon, is still closer than that of Barabuður and Mëndut. Wilsen considers this small building was intended as a place for the pilgrim, before visiting the holy hill, to meditate and free his mind from all impure thoughts ²⁾, and van Erp is inclined to agree with this conjecture, especially as the sculptures of Pawon are in the same spirit as those of Barabuður. In the article in which the latter makes this observation ³⁾, he endeavours to investigate more particularly the meaning of this temple. He remarks that some of the sculpture can be connected with the god of riches Kuvera. This god, very popular in Java to judge by the many little bronze images of him that exist, was specially honored in the domestic religion, and though not exclusively a Buddhist one, was much venerated by the Buddhists. He is found, as IJzerman has ⁴⁾ already made known, in the porch of the Mëndut; Kuvera bronzes with the Buddhist confession of faith ⁵⁾ occur frequently; we know even of a special Kuvera-temple, viz. the Tjandi Asu, the before-mentioned eastern front temple of the Buddhist sanctuary Tjandi Sewu, where no less than five images of the god of riches have been found ⁶⁾. At Tjandi Pawon we find first, on the only remaining side of the staircase, a kalpavṛkṣa with treasure-vases at the foot, a "wishing-tree" designed in the usual style of Javanese art, hung with garlands and shaded by an umbrella. Again, in the tympanum above the entrance, there is a pair of human figures with twisted legs such as might be expected of the followers of the deformed Kuvera, each of them bearing a treasure vase, the contents of which they pour out, while other vases are standing and lying behind them. Finally, on the centre-panels, back and sides, of the temple another "wishing-tree" is seen with the traditional treasure-pots and flanked by a pair of kinnara. It is true, as

¹⁾ See Chapt. XIII of this vol. of the monograph, and compare van Eerde in Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 65 (1911) p. 22 note.

²⁾ Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 1 (1853) p. 301; and Leemans p. 9 etc. It is of no importance to the value of his conjecture that Wilsen was partly led to it by the mistaken etymology given him by the Regent of Magelang (we refer to him in Chapt. X) for the name of the desa Bradjanalan where the small temple is situated; i. e. from „pradja" 'sharp' and „naham" 'heart' = „cleansed heart".

³⁾ Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 53 (1911) p. 585—597.

⁴⁾ Beschrijving der oudheden nabij de grens der residenties Soerakarta en Djogdjakarta (1891) p. 92.

⁵⁾ E.g. Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw vol. I (1916—17) p. 391 plate 2 and 3.

⁶⁾ IJzerman l.l.

will be seen later on, that the "wishing-tree" with kinnara at Barabudur is specially a representation of heaven, generally the heaven of the king of the gods, Çakra — but on the other hand Kuvera also has his paradise, Indian mythology represents him with kinnara's, and in the porch of the Mëndut where the chief panels depict Kuvera and his spouse, the smaller side-panels shew just such a wishing-tree with treasure pots and kinnara's. If we further take into consideration that Kuvera is the chosen god of porches — to van Erp's reference to Hindustan, we may add that in the rock-temples of the Western Ghats whose Buddhism has a decided resemblance to that of Java ²⁾ Kuvera is also to be found at the entrance — that the already-mentioned Kuvera temple Tjandi Asu, is the eastern front temple of the great sanctuary Tjandi Sewu and that the Pawon also lies East of Barabudur; then the possibility is not to be denied that we might look on Tjandi Pawon also as a Kuvera-temple and that it has once contained an image of the god of riches.

We must allow that van Erp's explanation is most attractive and we have no evidence to bring against the conjecture being correct. The site of Tjandi Pawon was so carefully examined during the restoration of that small temple, that we can be well assured no Kuvera image or fragment thereof could now be found in the ground, and the strict inquiries during the restoration among the natives after images or reliefs that may have been preserved, prevents any surprise being possible from that quarter. The image (or images) of Tjandi Pawon is gone and will probably never be seen again. Stone images of Kuvera are very rare in Java; of the few examples known, there is only one that, to judge by the size, could have been the chief image of a small temple. This image is to be seen in the museum at Batavia ³⁾ and was brought there from the grounds of the residency of Jogjakarta and of course, though it is not quite impossible that it may have got there from Kědu, it is a much more likely conjecture that it comes from the plain of Prambanan. Certainty as to the intention of Tjandi Pawon is therefore not to be obtained in any way,

¹⁾ Van Erp's suggestion that the figure with halo kneeling by this tree, behind whom is a follower holding a lemon, the known attribute of Kuvera, is a representation of this god, does not seem quite acceptable. To begin with (as the author himself admits) Kuvera should be corpulent, secondly we are not altogether convinced that the object is really a lemon, thirdly, an attribute loses in value if not held by the person it concerns, fourthly, what reason could there be for the giver of all riches, to be kneeling in homage by that tree with treasure vases?

²⁾ Compare chapt. XIII of this work, and chapt. IV of our Introduction to Hindu-Javanese Art.

³⁾ No. 207 of Groeneveldt's Catalogue (1887) and Van Kinsbergen's photograph no. 179 (also Archaeological Service No. 520).

but according to my opinion, in any case, it can be considered proved that the small temple stood in connection with Barabuður, while the supposition that it was a sub-temple dedicated to Kuvera, if not actually proved, yet is least of all improbable.

After dealing with the situation, name and intention of the stūpa, we still have to consider the existing data that may help us to fix the time at which the sanctuary was built.

No record of the foundation of Barabuður has been discovered, nor is mention made of it in any other inscription. We must call special attention to this last statement, as it appears that an unfortunate supposition, founded on a mistaken interpretation has existed until 1910 in an archaeological handbook ¹⁾. A Sumatra inscription made known by Friederich in 1856 ²⁾ was supposed to bear the date 656 Çaka (AD 734) and to speak of the founding of a vihāra of seven storeys and this was taken to be Barabuður. As early as 1872 Kern was able to prove ³⁾ that this statement was founded on a mistake and that the inscription mentioned, a stone from Bukit Gombah, now standing in Pagarruyung ⁴⁾ is in reality dated 1356. By that, any possibility that it can refer to Barabuður is lost because of the fact that a good four centuries before that date the Middle Java period of Hindu Javanese Art had already come to an end. Besides, one glance at the transcription ⁵⁾ is enough to convince us that the vihāra of seven storeys was also built on a mistake and the whole record referred to a Sumatra and not a Javanese temple.

Javanese tradition such as it is given in the chronicles, knows nothing of the building of Barabuður and first mentions the sanctuary in AD 1709. However, one or two tales which are related by the dwellers in the neighborhood of the monument about the origin of the temple shall be mentioned. They have no value and bear signs of much later date, they cannot even be rated as tradition, and possibly were only invented for the benefit of inquisitive Europeans, but it may be as well to include some account of them in this monograph.

According to the first ⁶⁾ a certain king Devakusuma, had given

¹⁾ Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* revised etc. by J. Burgess and R. Phené Spiers (1910) II p. 419 and 424.

²⁾ Verh. Bat. Gen. 26 (1857) p. 18 etc.; *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* 10 (1856) p. 594 etc.

³⁾ Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 3: VII (1872) p. 295 etc.; see also *Verspr. Geschr.* VI (1917) p. 262.

⁴⁾ No. 23 of *Inventory of Antiquities in Oudh*. Verh. 1912 p. 42.

⁵⁾ Brandes in Verh. Bat. Gen. 60 (1913) p. 258 etc.; differs slightly from our own in Oudh. Verh. 1.1. p. 51 etc.

⁶⁾ Brumund, *Tijdschr. v. Ned. Indië* 1858 (2) p. 353—355.

offence to one of his courtiers, who in revenge stole the king's two-year-old daughter. No traces of her could be found. Twelve years later, the king met a beautiful young girl whom he married and who bore him a child, after which he was told by the courtier that it was his own daughter whom he had taken to wife. In despair, the king consulted the priests, who laid on him the punishment that he, with the mother and child, should spend the rest of their lives in penance, shut up within four walls. One thing only would save him from this; if he could build a Barabuður within ten days then the punishment would not be enforced. He set to work with all the artists and workmen in the kingdom and in ten days the work was completed, but when the images came to be counted, — there was one short. The building, therefore, was not perfect, the king could not escape his fate and changed into stone, with his wife and child, posterity now sees him in the images of the Mëndut. A second version of the tale exists ¹⁾. The woman's name is Mëndut, and the events take place in the 14th cent. The punishment was for the victims to be built in and fed with rice and water lowered to them from the top, while the means of escaping the punishment was not the building of a Barabuður but a great temple with a thousand images of virgins. For each missing image, some member of the guilty family would be changed into stone. Of course, at the end of the fatal time three images were missing. The priests then declared that three persons must be selected to be turned into stone; but the king escaped, and he went away with his wife and child. In answer to the prayer of the priests for vengeance, the gods intervene and the they are soon turned into stone.

It is not worth while to consider how these, evidently two versions of the same tale, originated. That it is clearly a modern invention is shewn by the fact that it is founded on the three images of the Mëndut, the existence of which no Javan had the least idea of until the clearing of that temple in 1834. Hoepermans remarks ²⁾ that the saga may have been invented by those who first put it into print, but it is more reasonable to suppose that they themselves were deceived and accepted in good faith the tale that was dished up for them. ³⁾

¹⁾ Contributed by Buddingh in *Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ipdie*, I, 2 (1838) p. 401 etc.; more fully treated by Wilsen *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 1 (1854) p. 294—296 and Hoepermans (1864—1867), *Rapp. Oudh. Dienst* 1913 p. 135.

²⁾ P. 135.

³⁾ This may also be confirmed by the first note on p. 475 of Leemans, where mention is made of a „tradition” about the Mëndut, invented on purpose by a European functionary and a native Regent for an expected Dutch traveller who was quite taken in by it and published it.

A second tale of the same sort is as follows ¹⁾ — The prince of Bara or Barabuður asked the prince of Mëndut for his daughter in marriage for his son. The latter agreed on condition that the prince should build „a barabuður”. When the building was finished and the princess with her father came to look at it, she said to her suitor: “The images are beautiful but they are dead, they cannot love and neither can I feel love for you.” Thereupon she withdrew leaving the unfortunate suitor alone with his Barabuður.

This feature, the great building erected by the lover to win his mistress, is found elsewhere, and is for instance localised in the Prambanan plain where the origin of the Lara Djonggrang group as well as of Tjandi Sewu is recounted on the same lines. Also the particulars of the other tale about the thousand images, one of which is missing, a detail specially appropriate to Barabuður with its many separate images, is not wanting at Prambanan: the maiden so as not to be forced to accept the undesired suitor, prevents the building from being finished at the time fixed and is then cursed by him and compelled to put the finishing touch to it by being herself turned into stone. We need not explain the variations; that at Prambanan the building is ascribed to supernatural assistance, and at Barabuður there is no mention of such a thing, will be mere chance. In our opinion the older version seems to be that of Prambanan, whose temples have remained better known to the people and inspired their fancy more than the isolated Barabuður which, though not altogether forgotten, has been left longer unnoticed by the native population.

However it may be, these ‘traditions’ are of little importance to the history of the temple. Equally unreliable, I believe, are the so called dates that are to be found on the monument itself, on the beginning of the balustrade of the first and the end of the balustrade of the 4th gallery, so that they give the beginning and end of the building (read rather, decoration) of these galleries. Friederich who offers this supposition ²⁾, speaks with great caution of the first, according to him, “alleged” date which Wilsen discovered: it is more like an ornament than the three figures 7, 8, and 1 — the 7 has a superfluous stroke, the 8 (like the Kawi letter *p*) is too thin and the 1 made of two separate figures, one of which has an extra down stroke.

I was not able to find this “date” and as Friederich himself says it was written on two stones that did not fit together any more, it seems not impossible that during the work of putting loose stones into place

¹⁾ Wilsen l.l. p. 291—293; Brumund l.l. p. 355.

²⁾ Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 19 (1870) p. 420 etc. or 23 (1876) p. 370 etc.

and removing what did not belong there, during van Erp's restoration, they have disappeared. In any case Friederich's own criticism may be taken as final, a date so disguised may only have looked like ciphers. The other relief is IV B 66; it depicts a half-moon, seven stars and a sun. This would be a "sengkala" (a date given in words with a fixed cipher value), in which the seven stars signify 7 and the sun 1. The moon should be 1 as well, but as 171 would be a ridiculous date, the flower ornament inside the half-moon must be considered which consists of 8 (some say 9) parts; in this way we get the date 871. The forced method of this conclusion is evident. Apart from the fact that the sun is the sign not for 1 but for 12 in Javanese "sengkala", it would be very strange if we did not take the ordinary meaning of the moon as 1, but only had to consider the ornament that moreover looks as if it consisted of more than 8 or 9 parts. Besides both sun and moon are depicted on other reliefs and there is no reason why they should here, and not in other places, appear as sengkala, for neither do they form the end of the series of reliefs. In short, we cannot put any faith in Friederich's suggestion.

Finally, there is only one way left — except possible evidence of an architectural sort which cannot be treated of here — by which to calculate the age of the temple. That is by means of the letters in the inscriptions which are found on the buried base of the monument. The fact too, that during the building, the piling up of stones round the base was carried out, gives us certainty that we can fully rely on these letters because they must of necessity have been put there *during* the building and not later, a possibility that would have to be taken into consideration if the inscriptions occurred on one of the open galleries. In describing the row of reliefs round the buried base, we shall treat more fully the discovery of these inscriptions and their meaning; we are now only concerned with the date of the letters and must endeavour by comparison with already known dated inscriptions from elsewhere, to establish the time in which these characters were in use. A reproduction of the inscriptions will be found on two plates in the first portfolio, while a tabulated account of the alphabetical signs is published on 17—18 in the Dutch edition of this work.

Two authorities have given their opinion about the time in which these letters were in use. As to the first-discovered inscriptions Brandes¹⁾ considers that they will not be of much help in fixing the date of Barabudur; it being the ordinary Old-Javanese writing used in Kedu and

¹⁾ Not. Bat. Gen. 1886 p. 28 etc.

Jogjakarta; these characters are not found on inscriptions later than 850 Çaka (AD 928); but the long stretch of about two centuries during which they were in use, leaves too wide a margin and more evidence would be needed to arrive at the correct period.

At that time, Brandes considered the evidence was not available. Ten years later, Kern thought it possible to get further ¹⁾. He finds such close resemblance between these letters and those of Cohen Stuart's Kawi Records XI of AD 878, X of 880, XIV of 881, IX of 886, that he thinks it not presumptuous to reckon the inscriptions of the Barabuđur to be of about the same date. But it is probable that the Barabuđur characters are somewhat older on account of the way in which the *e* and *o* are formed. The date of the inscriptions and the understructure may thus approximately be fixed at 850 AD, and as the building of the whole temple must have taken several years, the completion would be later, say about 900 AD. Later on Brandes without further argument accepted Kern's reckoning ²⁾, so that for the present it is almost universally agreed that the inscriptions date from about AD 850 and the completion of the building somewhat later.

The discovery of new data in the meantime gave us the opportunity of again taking the matter in hand. We begin by stating that, though it is easy to be seen that these inscriptions are the work of several hands and that the same letters shew slight variations here and there, yet on the whole the characters are of the same kind and that we actually have to deal only with one type of Barabuđur writing.

As the only exception we may mention the once left-open-at-the-top *dh*, which in every other place is closed in the ordinary way; this deviation we think is due only to carelessness. In other places as well we are at once struck by the carelessness of the writing, but that is no wonder, seeing they were not intended to stand, their use being only to give instructions to the sculptors and then be scratched out; so there was not the least reason for any care being needed by those who cut the letters, as long as they were only legible. This of course increases the value of the evidence; while in the case of official records there is always the chance that some elegant or ancient characters may have been used, here in Barabuđur without doubt we have before us the letters used in ordinary daily life.

It is hardly necessary to state that at the first glance, these letters veri-

¹⁾ Versl. Med. Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch., Afd. Lett. 3rd series 12 (1896) p. 128; Verspr. Geschr. VII (1917) p. 156.

²⁾ Not. Bat. Gen. 1898, p. 83.

fy the correctness of Kern's observation, that in spite of resemblance to the inscriptions of the second half of the 9th century, mentioned by him (with which we can now compare some documents of the same date on plates 4 and 5 of Brandes' Old-Javanese Records), we can see that the Barabuður inscriptions must surely be reckoned of an older date. The year 878 is doubtless a fixed terminus ante quem.

To find what is nearest to the Barabuður writing, we must first investigate the group of stone inscriptions dated 847 to 874 ¹⁾ which with only the interval of a few years, form a complete chain; until recently these were the oldest reliable material for Kawi-epigraphy. Of the four known older inscriptions, the first is a very short one (843), the 2nd is a forged record on copper (840), the 3rd, also a copper plate, has a very uncertain date (824), while the 4th, again a stone one, has its front face too much worn off to be able to distinguish the type of letters and the back has only three short lines, so this gives very little material ²⁾. Comparisons with the group mentioned 847—874, examples from which are reproduced in photo 182 of the van Kinsbergen collection and plate 2 and 3 of the Old-Javanese Records, shew that the *e* and *o* mentioned by Kern resemble the type of the Barabuður, so that where the other letters too shew a great likeness, it would follow that the alphabet of Barabuður may be considered to belong to this group. This would then agree with the date \pm 850 AD.

It is evident that this reckoning may be a little hasty when we come to examine a new specimen made known in 1904, the inscription of Dinaya dated 760, the oldest monument of Kawi-writing ³⁾. It is reproduced on photo 743 of the series Archaeol. Survey, plate I of Old-Javanese Records and again in the articles by Dr. Bosch who published it ⁴⁾. He points out the resemblance of this writing to three other records 809, 847, 863. When we carefully examine the likeness with regard to the *e* and *o* which have been of such service in shewing the difference between the inscriptions before and after about 878, here also it appears striking. Both letters (just like *ai*) are already in 760 just exactly the same as a century later. Thus, as far as the *e* and *o* is concerned, the Barabuður inscriptions might just as well date 750 as 850.

Meanwhile there are other trifles that actually shew the record of 760

¹⁾ See our list of dated inscriptions of Java, Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 53 (1911) p. 242 etc.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 242.

³⁾ A lately discovered Kawi inscription dated 784, is only a copy of \pm 150 years later. (Oudh. Versl. 1916, p. 87).

⁴⁾ Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 57 (1916) p. 410—444, and 64 (1924) p. 227—291.

to represent an older type of writing than the group 847—874; this we need not dwell on as we are not now discussing the inscription itself. When compared with the Barabuður-writing, there is no doubt of the Dinaya being of an older type; though we shall do well to be careful in our conclusions as it is also possible there may be some provincial difference between an East-Javanese and Middle-Javanese variety of the Kawi alphabet. Considered one by one, the letters shew very little difference, taken as a whole, the Dinaya writing gives a decidedly more ancient impression and we believe that the year 760 may be accepted as the *terminus a quo* of the Barabuður writing. The difficulty now is to fix the date of this more correctly in the period 760—880, because the great likeness between the Dinaya writing and that of a century later, does away with any reason for placing the Barabuður writing exactly in the last half of this period.

This great resemblance also makes me very unwilling, where important divergences are really wanting, to place too much value on the slight variations in the type of letters; they can be pointed out but there is nothing to prove that they are not due to chance. In that way we might easily base our conclusions on absolutely unreliable foundations. Maybe the already-mentioned Mëndut inscription can assist us. It belongs as we have seen to the great temple and as this in its decoration, and other ways, closely follows the Barabuður, inscriptions of the temple and stūpa can differ only a short period of time. The Mëndut inscription shews the old-fashioned *virāma* above the letter; the stone of 809 still has it too ¹⁾ but it seldom appears later. This gives reason to place the writing of the Mëndut *before* the group 847—874. Taking into consideration that the *ḥ* of Barabuður differs from the group mentioned as well as from the writing usual in the inscriptions following on these in date, and that the *au* has a very old-fashioned style, I am inclined, in any case, to place Barabuður prior to this group. On the other hand, the evident difference in some of the letters as *kh* and *m*, perhaps also *gh* and pasangan *th* ²⁾, makes it advisable not to place Barabuður too near Dinaya. Taking it altogether, I should think it most probable that the inscriptions on the covered base of Barabuður were cut in the 2nd half of the 8th century A. D. It does not seem advisable to fix any closer date, but we may be justified in accepting that the

¹⁾ See photo van Kinsbergen No. 146. On p. 16, note 2, we mentioned the possibility that the old-fashioned *virāma* would also be found on Barabuður.

²⁾ These letters, each of which appear only once in Barabuður as well as Dinaya, are not distinct enough on the reproductions of the last mentioned inscription.

period until now ascribed to them, \pm 850 AD, is too late for these inscriptions. Judging by the letters, the monument must then have long been completed.

Seen from the Barabuður, the profile of the Minoreh Mts, just where they rise highest, somewhat resembles a human face.¹⁾ The natives say this is the image of the creator of Barabuður, the face of Guṇadharmā. In other places too, admiration for a great work of art has led later generations to seek for some actual indication of the mighty creator, it is a common human tradition and of no further value to the monument itself, than to shew, if testimony were needed, the deep impression an edifice such as the Barabuður has continued to make on the people who lived within sight of it, even after the meaning of the stūpa was completely lost. Yet the name is notable, a pure Sanskrit name, especially when we compare with it the numberless native legends about the different, more or less saintly persons who in all sorts of places are said to have made themselves conspicuous by penances or some other worthy occupation, and who are all named by native or naturalized native names. This makes us suspect that the tradition about Guṇadharmā may be rather ancient and who can say if, in this case as an exception, some famous name of ancient times may have been kept alive and the celebrated designer of Barabuður was really a man called Guṇadharmā.

However it may be, it is more than probable that the building of a work of such a compass must have lasted too long for the designer to have been able to see its completion. To begin such a gigantic work of art with the probability, almost the certainty, of not being able to finish it, may in other cases with all trust in the future and the personal labor it expresses, have something tragic for the builder; but as regards the Barabuður, we can only hope for the designer that he never lived to see the completion of the monument because to transfer work into other hands is still far less tragic than to be condemned by circumstances to carry out the work in some other and inferior way than that in which the sublime design was conceived, which is, in a way to spoil it. This was obliged to happen to Barabuður; before the building was completed, it appeared that the base of the structure, the foot of the stūpa, was not strong enough to withstand the pressure from above and to avoid greater disaster, it had to be decided to build up a broad embankment round the base of the temple; by which, not

¹⁾ See van Kinsbergen's photo No. 11 and that of Cephas (buried reliefs) No. 93; also Arch. Survey No. 1122.

only did the whole mass of building assume a much heavier aspect and the style of the contour was half-spoiled, but a whole series of 160 nearly-finished reliefs were sunk out of sight. Thereby much more than the art value was lost, for the worshipper missed altogether the message those lowest reliefs were intended to convey. The carvings on the base of the monument formed, as we shall see, the foundation on which the religious teaching represented in the following galleries, was built.

These reliefs have been protected from the damage that would result from the fixing of the new mass of masonry, even while they were to be buried under its embankment. Only in the flat spaces between the reliefs a small socket has been cut out to give a hold for the new stones; besides this they were first carefully protected with a layer of clay and the square stones placed against that ¹⁾. Such pious care for what had to be abandoned has been rewarded, the reliefs were now found, for the most part, uninjured and the possibility remained of our being able to discover the original purpose of the Barabuður by means of the complete series of the texts represented. Only on 14 of the panels, pieces have been cut out of the sculpture in order to fix particular stones into the work.

Thus the first fact to be noted in the history of the stūpa is the covering up of the base with a wide embankment of stone 11600 M³, which was done before the building was completed. This is proved, not only by the unfinished state of some of the reliefs — for a few of them in the higher galleries are also unfinished so that it might be said the monument is incomplete at the present day — but by the fact that the short inscriptions placed above the different panels, evidently meant for instructions to the sculptors had some of them not yet been scratched out. With the exception of four other places, these inscriptions are to be found especially in the last quarter of the series; on the preceeding three quarters only traces of inscriptions are to be seen, partly erased, but not enough to leave the stone quite smooth. The only explanation of this fact must be that while the inscriptions on the higher galleries (for there is no reason to think that the manner of working on the other reliefs should have been different to that on the series round the base) are all carefully erased so that no trace can be seen, work was still going on at the lowest circle though so far completed that the inscriptions above three quarters of the series had already been erased but without the stone being made quite smooth and with the exception of four places where the inscriptions were still legible, perhaps because the panels

¹⁾ IJzerman, Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 31 (1886) p. 266; Meyer in Not. Bat. Gen. 1890 p. 129.

had been finished later than the others. The obliteration of the inscriptions on the last quarter had still to be begun when it was suddenly decided to sacrifice the whole series. There was of course no reason for having them completed, on the contrary we can fancy how inevitable the tragic ultimatum must have been, when the whole base of the stūpa was built over, just as it was.

We have already alluded to the character of these inscriptions and shall discuss their meaning later on. For description and details of the building over of the base we refer the reader to the architectural part of this monograph.

It appears that before the sculptors had finished their work on the building, some other alterations were made in the original plan. During the restoration of the terraces, van Erp¹⁾ discovered that round the whole of the first terrace on the inside of the plain straight wall, the beginning of a profiled base was made, consisting of a plinth and part of a bell-shaped ogive. Before the latter was quite finished it was altered into a vertical undecorated wall. A second alteration was found on the stūpa's of the highest terrace which disclosed on the inside marks exactly corresponding to profile stūpa's of smaller size, up to the top of the lotus-cushion. The absence of all ornament on the cushion shewed as well that the alteration was made before the completion of the original stūpa's. The old and new stūpa's were not concentric in the ground plan, they just touch each other on the outer side. For further particulars on these questions, the architectural part of this monograph must be consulted. We cannot even surmise the reason for the first alteration, but the last may have been made because the original stūpa's looked too small compared with the domes lower down. The cushion on the principal stūpa was at first smaller and enlarged later by making a cover over it.

There was evidently still another alteration made in the plan during the building. The series of reliefs on the balustrades of the galleries now continue along the back of the small niche temples with Dhyāni-Buddha's and the intervening sunken panels. In the upper row of the balustrade on the first gallery it can now be clearly seen that, in the original plan, only the small niche temples were to have had reliefs; their sides are covered by an ornament which has later, where necessary, been cut away in order to place the sunken panels in between. As this was done without firm adjustment, consequently some of these panels have disappeared. In contrast to this, in the higher galleries, panels and niche-temples

¹⁾ According to statement in the Report of Restoration first quarter 1909.

were built at the same time in continual connection. From this we can notice that the alteration in the plan was made when the first balustrade was finished, all but the reliefs, but the second was still to be begun. The reason may have been that they wished to give more, or more detailed, texts than were first contemplated.

The same may also have been the reason for the addition of the whole lowest row on the first balustrade which shew no traces of whether they were put in during or after the work of building; if this has any connection with the alteration in the plan of the top row of reliefs, then of course it must have been done during the building. To avoid repetition, we refer to the description of these series of reliefs in Chapter VI, only remarking that the curious position of these reliefs, as well as the carelessness of their division — treated of later, in the chapter mentioned — shew that they could not possibly have belonged to the original plan. Again in this instance we have before us, a later alteration which must be noted in the history of the monument.

As regards the rest, we know absolutely nothing about the vicissitudes of the Barabudur during Hindu-Javanese times. Its erection may reasonably be brought into connection with the kingdom of the Çailendra's that flourished in Middle Java about 750—850 but for the rest both inscriptions and tradition have nothing to tell about it. This is not surprising for, though the sanctuary as the largest and most important of the Buddhist foundations and as the spiritual centre of the Mahāyāna in Java, will have played the most important part in its religious life, it is not very likely that important events should have taken place with it or near it. During the later century and a half of the Middle-Java period, the stūpa must have stood in its place, undisturbed, the object of the pious adoration of thousands. Only in fancy can we picture in our minds how the mighty temple silently watched the generations come and go, receiving the homage of all those Javan kings of whom we know hardly anything but their names, from the Çailendra's probably — if our reckoning may be accurate, — till king Tulodong, the last monarch whom we may presume to have reigned over Middle-Java.

With the fall of the last Middle-Java kingdom, which we know from inscriptions as the kingdom of Mataram, the decay of the Barabudur must have begun. If we knew more of the causes which brought about the ruin of this monarchy, maybe the fate of many sanctuaries would be revealed to us. Now, we can know nothing but the one fact, that in a very short space of time, the apparently flourishing Middle-Java

kingdom fell into decay and East-Java became the central seat of Hindu-Javanese culture.

The history of this transition is obscure. East-Java had already been colonized by Hindus for about two centuries and when the Çailendra's, the dynasty best known as ruling the Sumatra kingdom of Çrīvijaya, erected the great Mahāyānist monuments in Middle-Java, East Java was the refuge of their Hindu-Javanese predecessors; it was from East-Java that in the course of the IXth century they managed to regain their rule in Middle-Java owing to the already-weakening power of the Çailendra's. ¹⁾ On a copper record of 919 we find for the last time a reference to Middle Java in the mention of the Dihyang, the Diēng Mts, while the connection with East-Java is shewn much clearer in the person of the chancellor mentioned on the record, the well-known later East-Java king, Siṇḍok. After this inscription of 919 A. D. issued by king Tulodong everything is East-Javanese and we may consider the Middle-Java period ended. Not till many centuries later, towards the end of the Hindu-Javanese rule, do we find signs of habitation in Middle-Java, unimportant history, compared to the splendid period which, in our Xth century ended in such swift and complete ruin.

It is just this absolute silence of Middle-Java in the first centuries after 919 that demands our attention with regard to the fate of the monuments. It has been surmised that the country was entirely deserted as the result of some catastrophe, such as a violent eruption of Mērapī would be; political causes have also been suggested, for instance, the necessity for a "no man's land" between the kingdom of Java and the west of the island which remained under Sumatra influence, but it is all mere guess-work, the truth remains unknown, the only fact established being that after 919 no sign of life appears in Middle-Java.

It is true that successive Java kings call themselves, "prince of the whole island of Java", but in most cases it will have been merely a title, as we know for instance, that Suṇḍa took very little notice of East-Java rulers. How little Javanese culture extended beyond the actual East-Java, is plainly shewn by a poem like the Nāgarakṛtagāma which is a hymn of praise for the mightiest king during the most powerful period of the kingdom of Java. King Hayam Wuruk ruled a country of about the same extent as that now under Dutch rule and we can easily accept him as the only ruler also in Middle-Java. But nevertheless all the

¹⁾ See for the Sumatra Çailendra's Coedès „Le royaume de Çrīvijaya", BEFEO 18,6 (1918) and Ferrand „L'empire Sumatranais de Çrīvijaya" Journ. Asiat. 11: 20 (1922) p. 1 and '61; on the results as regards Java my inaugural oration (1919).

different things mentioned about the actual kingdom of Java that can be geographically verified, refer exclusively to East-Java. No notice is taken of Middle-Java by the poet or his hearers, it appears to have no existence for them. Elaborate descriptions are given of all sorts of East-Java sanctuaries but it seems as if the poet had never heard of the larger and more important temples of Middle-Java. As it happens, this very poet filled the high office of superintendant of the Buddhist clergy, such a person must have known the great stūpa of Barabuđur if it was still an actual sanctuary; yet he gives no sign of doing so.

All this gives us reason to suppose that the decay of the Middle-Java temples must have begun in our IXth cent., and that in the East-Java period as little notice was taken of the monuments as during the rule of Islam. They have not been destroyed, there was no reason for that on the removal of the centre of culture to the East. We can imagine that still for a long time some priests and monks remained behind at the temples and certainly longest at the holy stūpa. But the time came at last when Barabuđur was no longer cared for or maintained and it was left to the ravages of nature, the insidious attacks of atmosphere and vegetation. It would not need many rainy seasons to overwhelm the monument, loosen its joints, soften the masonry and bring down its pinnacles. Volcanic eruptions and the heaping up of the ground every where visible did the rest. Then for many long centuries it was given over to decay.

It is not till the beginning of the 18th cent. that we are able to resume its history. In the prose version of the Babad Tanah Djawi ¹⁾, mention is made of a certain Mas Dana who rebelled against Susuhunan Pakubuwana I; as Brandes convincingly proves ²⁾, this must have taken place in 1709 or 1710. On this occasion Mas Dana was forced to retreat on to "the Mt. of Barabuđur" (*rēdi Barabuđur*), his pursuers surrounded the Mt. and the rebel was captured. As the name Barabuđur does not appear anywhere else, there is no reason to doubt that the hill mentioned is the one under which Barabuđur was concealed, and the way in which the hill only is spoken of without allusion to any building, shews plainly enough how little of it must have been visible. Yet it would be a mistake to think that the stūpa was altogether buried and people had forgotten this hill was no ordinary hill. The contrary is proved fifty years later

¹⁾ Published by Meinsma 2nd edition (1899) II p. 238 etc.

²⁾ Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 44 (1901) p. 73—80.

by a Javanese manuscript from which Poensen extracted some information ¹⁾. This document refers to the Jogja crownprince who died in 1758 and describes what happened to him in 1757, or perhaps earlier, according to the impression of Brandes who drew attention to this incident as data for the history of the monument ²⁾. The crown prince, it is related, journeyed to the Barabuđur to see the 1000 images (*ningalli rĕtja sewu*), in spite of the prophecy to his ancestors that if a prince should see these images it would immediately be fatal to him, for there was one representing a "satrija" shut up in a cage, and it became the destiny of the Pangeran Dipati that he was determined to see this image. The prophecy was fulfilled and we read later how the prince after a dissipated life in Kĕdu was brought back to his father's court and soon died.

The mention of the 1000 images evidently proves that there was much more to be seen of Barabuđur than a hill, and the image mentioned as "kṣatriya" in a cage (*ing dalĕm kurungan*) undoubtedly indicates one of the Dhyāni-Buddha's in the trellace-worked stūpas on the terraces. Brandes suggests ³⁾ that the image alluded to will be the same as that now called "Bima", sitting on the lowest terrace, next and on the north of the east entrance, still honored by that name and believed to be endowed with magic powers by numbers of natives, Chinese and Indo-Europeans who hope to attain their desires through "Bima"'s intervention.

If this conjecture is right, then as Brandes observes, the superstition attached to this image, must be of older date than 1757, as the "ancestral prophecy" of the tale has no meaning unless some former Mataram prince had been doomed to misfortune and consequently the sight of the image had become "ilaila" to his race.

As to the condition of the monument in the 18th cent., we can gather from these two documents that the Barabuđur was for the most part hidden under earth and vegetation and had become a hill, but that the Dhyāni-Buddha's, a great many of them, were still visible, especially on the terraces.

The temple was much in the same condition when in 1814 the first European visited the ruins and the first scientific examination was begun by order of the English governor, Sir Thos. Stamford Raffles, a man who did most important service to Javan antiquity and whose interest in the past history of Java laid the foundation of the actual archaeological research. In Jan. 1814 the Lieut. Governor was living at Sĕ-

¹⁾ Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 6: 8 (1901) p. 287.

²⁾ L.I. p. 80—84.

marang when news was brought to him of the existence of the ruins of a great temple near the desa Bumi Sĕgara. With his usual energy, Rafles at once took the necessary steps to have the ruins examined, and entrusted H. C. Cornelius, an officer of the Engineers, who had seven years before distinguished himself by his survey of Prambanan, with the task of inspecting, surveying, and making plans with an explanatory description, of these ruins. This document was entitled: *Beschrijving van de ruĳnes, bij den inlander bekend onder de benaming van Borro-Boedoer* (Description of the ruins called by the natives, Borro-Boedoor) a copy of which will be found in the Archaeological Dept. at Batavia ¹⁾.

By the middle of Jan. after the necessary preparations, Cornelius was already on the way to Magĕlang, where he was told that the heavy rains made it impossible to begin the work for the present; a messenger he dispatched, returned with the news that it was not possible to start working as the ruin was covered over with earth and even large trees were growing on it which would have to be carefully removed, and that only in better weather, before a survey could be made. The waiting lasted longer than expected; it was five months later before the work began.

For a month and a half, more than 200 coolies were at work felling the trees, removing the rubbish and burning the brushwood. We must acknowledge with gratitude that Cornelius went to work carefully. In places where the walls of the galleries bulged out too far and threatened to collapse if the earth and rubbish which supported them were taken away, he was wise enough to stay his hand. Another proof of the skill with which the first uncovering was carried out, is to be seen in the fact that the fragments of stone which came to light on all sides, were brought down and deposited on the same side of the monument as they were found. On more careful inspection however it appears that further sorting of the stones was not made ²⁾ and they were flung rather roughly down the sides of the hill, by which many of the carved ones were damaged. If only each gallery had been systematically dealt with, all the profiled and decorated stones sorted out and a list made of the place where they were found, a vast deal of trouble and expense would have been saved. Fortunately the resemblance and symmetry in the upper parts have made it possible to replace many of them correctly.

Cornelius, according to the instructions given him, made a chiefly architectural survey, the results of which need not be discussed here. At the time he left, the monument was so far uncovered as was necessary

¹⁾ The last part is missing; the document goes no further than the 4th gallery.

²⁾ This was noted by van Erp in his Restoration Report.

for the making of his plans and drawings. The terraces and galleries had been brought into sight and their direction could be followed, but a complete clearing-out had not been effected. The fact must specially be noted that the chief stūpa in the centre of the sanctuary was already damaged when uncovered by Cornelius and that through an opening in the upper part of the dome, just at the beginning of the square pedestal of the pinnacle (already fallen), entrance could be made.

That the monument was not entirely uncovered is evident from an account of the second visit of the Gov. General van der Cappellen to Barabuđur in 1822. We read ¹⁾ that since the governor's first visit in 1817, the temple had been noticeably embellished; the improvement consisting in the clearing out of what had fallen away and the uprooting of trees and all kinds of growth, in fact a continuation of Cornelius' work. At this clearing out, a quite unknown gallery came into sight, which, for fear of weakening the building, could not be entirely exposed. This gallery is described as similar to the other *four*.

This information might seem rather strange seeing that there are in all only four galleries, but at that time the platform above the buried base was reckoned as a gallery and in this way five were to be counted. Thus in 1822 the whole of the monument was known, and at the same time Holland was able to form an opinion of the Barabuđur art in 1823 by the placing of the Javanese antiquities in the Archaeological Cabinet of the Leyden University. Among these were two heads of the Buddha's from Barabuđur now still in the Ethnographical Museum ²⁾.

The Java War (1825—1830) which broke out three years later, might have brought the Barabuđur into serious danger as fighting frequently occurred in its neighborhood. It was fortunate that the stūpa, in these days of modern weapons, was less suitable for a fort than in the time of Mas Dana. Fortifications were erected near to it ³⁾, which evidently did not include the temple; it does not appear to have suffered from the military operations.

On the restoration of peace in the island, the residency of Kēdu had the good fortune to come under the rule of the notable C. L. Hartmann who in every way did so much for the archaeology of his province and is known, among other things, as the discoverer of the Mēndut and Selagriya. Naturally the Barabuđur, largest and most important of the monuments in Kēdu and situated so near the chief town Magēlang, rous-

¹⁾ Tijdschr. v. Nēerl. Indië 4,1 (1842) p. 148.

²⁾ See Juynboll, Catalogue of museum mentioned, V, Javan antiquities (1909), p. 37 etq.

³⁾ Vgl. Louw, De Java-oorlog, I (1894) p. 496; II (1897) p. 217, 403.

ed his keenest interest. In 1834 or 1835 he began the further clearing-out of the sanctuary, especially of the upper galleries that were still partially choked up with earth and rubbish so that the reliefs could hardly be seen. This brought to light numerous hitherto-unknown reliefs. Not until the work of Hartmann could it be said that the Barabudur was entirely known ¹⁾).

Another important work carried out by Hartmann was the examination of the interior of the central stūpa which took place in 1842. It is particularly to be regretted that in this case no report was made of the result of this examination. With every respect for Hartmann's achievements, he can justly be blamed for this neglect; to have undertaken such an important investigation without giving a careful account of what was done and what was found there, is an actual suppression of scientific data, probably of the greatest importance. All we now know of this investigation is what is published in Leemans' monograph ²⁾, an account taken from a manuscript of Brumund and an article by Wilsen dated 1853 ³⁾. Brumund, it is true, had known Hartmann personally and can have gained his information from the man himself, as well as from others who were present at the examination, the Regent of Magelang to begin with. But he wrote his account long after the event, 1856 or 1857; while Wilsen, before he came to Barabudur in 1847, had never taken any interest in the monument and consequently acquired his information from hearsay. Added to this, both Friederich and Hoepermans give a somewhat different account of the affair ⁴⁾ and it becomes impossible to establish what took place. A concise report made by the leader of the examination would have prevented any uncertainty. The matter is of great importance because this investigation brought to light the unfinished image of Buddha, known since then as the chief image of Barabudur. In the description of this image in Chapt. X we shall endeavour to trace the circumstances of its discovery.

The want of a report of the work done in the galleries is naturally of less importance, yet we should welcome more information about it. It was, as some old inhabitants were able to tell Brandes ⁵⁾, at Hartmann's same great clearing out, that the many lions were brought down which

¹⁾ Hartmann's name in connection with the clearing out of the galleries is mentioned, "with gratitude" by Junghuhn, *Tijdschr. v. Néerl. Indie*, 6,2 (1844)p. 357; compare Leemans p. 96 and 518.

²⁾ P. 96 and following.

³⁾ *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 1 (1853) p. 235—300.

⁴⁾ *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 2 (1854) p. 4 and Rapp. Oudh. Dienst 1913 p. 132 etc.

⁵⁾ Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1903 p. 5.

now stand at the side of the road between the monument and the pasanggrahan. Luckily it has been possible to decide by other means where these lions belonged, and that is on each side of the gates where grooves are still to be seen; yet if these had not happened to be there we could have searched without any indication of where these lions had been placed, while if a note of their position when found, had been made in the report of the excavations, their original place might soon have been located. What happened with the lions may easily have happened with other things; the clearing out seems to have been very radical and many things that belonged there will have been turned out with the rubbish. ¹⁾

However it may be, Hartmann's efforts resulted in the temple being almost entirely freed from the accumulated rubbish; the galleries and terraces were pretty well cleared out and most of the reliefs that were still in their place, came into sight. Gradually Barabuður came to be known and visited and this brought with it new difficulties. The extraordinary mania of so many tourists for collecting "souvenirs" even to the damage of the admired monument, must have been extensive even in those early days, to judge by the number of fragments that have found their way into private collections; and for the benefit of these same tourists, who must be allowed to enjoy the fine view from the top of the chief stūpa, the very highest point of the sanctuary, a hut was made with a stone seat, to be reached from the highest terrace by a stone staircase. This is first mentioned in a description of 1850 ²⁾.

Matters were not improved by the fact that no provision was made either for the safety or preservation of the temple ³⁾. Tropical vegetation laid hands on it again and moreover the want of a system for draining off the water in the rainy-season had the most disastrous effect. The natives round about were free to pick up any stones they needed for their housebuilding and even though smooth stones were more suitable, fragments of the reliefs were just as often carried away. To sum up, the land just round the temple near the covered base, was a very suitable grazing ground for the cattle and we can imagine that the youthful cowherds played their games here in the same way they do to this day round other

¹⁾ A few fine pieces were taken to the Residents house at Magtlang. Van Erp treats of the lions in Oudh. Versl. 1923 p. 39—54.

²⁾ Bleeker in Tijdschr. v. Néerl.-Indië 1850, 2, p. 227.

³⁾ The Government decree of Oct. 10th 1819 by which two desas were freed from land-tax on condition that they should supply workmen for the preservation of Barabuður, seems to have had very little result. See Ind. Gen. 1922 p. 2 and foll.

remnants of antiquity. Not altogether to its advantage was the sanctuary dragged from the old earth's protecting embrace.

Meantime the immense importance of the monument impressed itself on the world and demands were made for an accurate survey, not only architectural, but with regard to ornament and reliefs, the result to be published for the benefit of science and art. No architectural survey had been made since Cornelius, though several drawings and pictures of various aspects and details were made; among others, some five oil-paintings by Sieburgh (1837—1842)¹⁾ and fifteen drawings by some one unknown, presented by the resident of Kědu Le Clercq (1821—1825) to minister Baud²⁾, all now in the Ethnographical Museum in Leyden. Something different was now wanted, nothing less than a complete survey, scientifically planned. The probable length of time, great expense and the need of suitable men, above all, the fact that no practicable, feasible plan was forthcoming, kept this undertaking in abeyance.

Goodwill there was, even from the Government, and when in 1844 Mr. A. Shaefer was sent to India by the Colonial Secty, to take pictures according to the method of Daguerre, of the works of art, natural objects, landscape etc., the idea was at once suggested of making use of Shaefer for the Barabudur. After making pictures of various antiquities in the Batavia Museum, he was commissioned to make some of Barabudur by way of experiment. In 1845 Shaefer took 58 impressions on 13 glasses which were not much approved of, and not unjustly, for only in a few instances, the instrument could be placed at sufficient distance to get a whole relief on one plate.

As there was practically not much to be expected from these daguerreotypes and as Shaefer was very exacting, this attempt was abandoned.³⁾

Fortunately the matter was not left at this, but other means were sought after. This is to the credit of Governor General Rochussen who started prompt measures to realize the new plans by having drawings made, specially of the most important reliefs. In 1849 this task was given to a draughtsman in the Engineers, F. C. Wilsen, assisted by Schönberg Müller. These two quickly accomplished their work which was begun in April 1849 and towards the end of 1853, the Government was in possession of the desired data, 476 pages of drawings, that might soon have been ready for publication. But this was delayed for

¹⁾ See De Koptist 1 (1842) p. 384 No. 7—11.

²⁾ Stated by Leemans p. VII; see his catalogue of Indian antiquities in the Archaeol. Museum in Leyden (1885) p. 125 and foll. No. 142—156.

³⁾ Leemans gives detailed account of this episode p. VIII—XIII.

about 20 years; not till 1873 was the great work on Barabuður published, consisting of plates with descriptive text. There is no reason to explain here the causes that led to this postponement; a full account can be read in Leemans' preface p. XVI—XLV.

The text had a history of its own. Dr. J. F. C. Brumund who had already distinguished himself as an authority on archaeology (see his *Indiana*), was requested by the Government to write a critical description of Barabuður to accompany the plates, and to adapt some of the existing articles by Wilsen; but after a good deal of misunderstanding it ended in Dr. C. Leemans, director of the Archaeological museum in Leyden being officially appointed to write the text of the Barabuður monograph, incorporating the data collected by Brumund and Wilsen ¹⁾).

The monograph was at last published by the firm of Brill in Leyden, entitled "*Bôro Boedoer, op het eiland Java*" with 17 plates accompanying the text and 393 large plates of the reliefs, architectural plans etc. The next year a French translation appeared.

Notwithstanding the manner in which the monograph was evolved, Leemans' book is a most valuable work. The most heterogeneous materials gathered from writers who possessed more or less accuracy and power of observation, but who never had the opportunity for special study of archaeology, had to be worked up into unity by a man who though learned in archaeology had not specialized in Indian antiquities. Here were all the elements for a worthless compilation from inferior sources. Fortunately, the result was something quite different, chiefly because the documents, in spite of their defects proved most serviceable — Brumund's work in particular is quite admirable — but it is mostly owing to Leemans' own conception of his task that the Barabuður monograph turned out to be a valuable work that gathered together in a clear form all the particulars then known about the ancient temple.

As regards the drawings our opinion can not be as favorable. There are doubtless some good plates and the publication has certainly been so far useful that European savants and others interested could to some extent gain information of what was to be found at Barabuður, but taken as a whole they are incomplete and not altogether reliable. It is true that, after the doubts were raised, Wilsen could give a reassuring account of his own work, but he was obliged to make excuses for that of his assistant; and in any case the fact is that in his reproductions symbols are omitted, male figures with moustaches are shewn on the plate which are female on

¹⁾ For full description of this episode see the Dutch edition of this work, p. 31—34.

the relief and such things. In addition to this, not a few reliefs are entirely left out because they were too much damaged or were buried under fragments, or it was feared they might collapse if the earth that covered them were removed. ¹⁾

Yet the chief objection to these drawings is something else, it is as Rouffaer pointedly puts it ²⁾ that the real character of Hindu-Javanese art in the sculptured reliefs is lost in the feeble style practised by Wilsen and Schönberg Müller; so that what we see before us in these portfolio's of plates, retains but little of the spirit of the original; it has become a tame and distorted art. Although these drawings may give some impression of the composition and sequence of the pictures, they certainly give no idea of the art value of the reliefs.

Far different are the photographs taken by van Kinsbergen in 1873, the same year that the monograph appeared, unfortunately a small portion of the whole. When he had completed his magnificent collection of photographs of Javanese antiquities, among them many that cannot be surpassed, even by the improved technique of the present day, it was proposed to offer this efficient artist the work of photographing the Barabudur which was not represented at all in the large collection ³⁾. Van Kinsbergen began this task in April 1873. The photographs were taken; the process was very slow, but as was to be expected from the result of the large collection, they proved to be perfect specimens. Besides some views of the whole building and the various Dhyāni-Buddha's, it was chiefly the reliefs on the principal wall of the 1st gallery that were taken. A list of these 65 negatives, first in the possession of van Kinsbergen himself, then, since 1898, with the Bat. Society and now in the Archaeological Dept., is to be found in Notulen of the Bat. Soc. 1874 (Supp. F) and in the Oudheidk. Versl. of 1914 (Supp. E).

The intention of making casts had to be abandoned for technical reasons. In his report ⁴⁾ van Kinsbergen mentions having begun the work of

¹⁾ A good many seem to have been entirely forgotten. In 1897 Mr. J. van Aalst published a list (Not. Bat. Gen. Bijl. II) of reliefs still to be found on the monument, that were not represented on the plates of the monograph; from this it appeared that in a total of 1628 reliefs 983 were reproduced and 203 had totally disappeared, but the remaining 442 of which 315 entirely, and 127 partly had been saved, were undoubtedly to be found on the stūpa. That is to say therefore, that quite a fourth of the whole number, for some reason or other were wanting in the portfolio.

²⁾ In *Encyclop. van Ned. Indië s. v. Kunst.*

³⁾ Not. Bat. Gen. 1872 p. 40—44.

⁴⁾ To be found in Not. Bat. Gen. 1874 p. 71—74.

clearing out superfluous stones that covered up the galleries. The first gallery was then dug out 4 ft to the ground floor. It was then seen that subsidence had taken place on the 1st and 3rd gallery; it had become impossible to carry off the rain water, and this was remedied by building up and clearing out the channels. After this the other galleries were quite cleared out and the terraces partially, there being no time left to finish this work. By these excavations no less than 200 well-preserved reliefs were brought to light. Also broken parts of stone were put back into their original position and many loose heads of Buddha's were replaced upon their shoulders ¹⁾.

Although at this time the hotel-keeper near the Barabuður, held the title of "guardian" of the ruins, there was not much sign of any real care-taking. In these days originated the wild tales that are still told, of the huzars from Magelang who came to sharpen their swords on the Dhyāni-Buddha's, and the gay officers who finished off their dinner parties by storming the Barabuður. These tales were probably exaggerated, but we can be sure that the care of the stūpa was restricted to its more or less effective cleaning by the coolies appointed for it, and the prevention of the worst kinds of damage. Injury on a small scale, by natives in the neighborhood and by tourists, undoubtedly continued, it is a certain fact, that until this present century a regular traffic existed in illegally-acquired souvenirs, no longer openly: he who responded to the stealthy offers of some native of the desa, often a coolie employed in the cleaning, would find his fragment or bit of relief in the carriage that took him away from the old sanctuary.

Preservation, in the sense of prevention of further decay, was not undertaken. Efforts to alter this were made from time to time and in 1882 in a report drawn up by Dr. Sollewijn Gelpke, chief-inspector of Agriculture, he suggested taking down the temple entirely and preserving the reliefs in a building made on purpose for them; on the other hand, the resident of Kēdu proposed to try a partial restoration ²⁾. The following year the government appointed W. P. Groeneveldt to examine the monument and in co-operation with the resident of Kēdu to take the measures needed for preventing continual decay. Groeneveldt reported the condition not so bad as supposed and that with some small outlay, it could be greatly improved; on this, the Government were relieved of their anxiety and — did nothing at all ³⁾.

¹⁾ Even as many as 200 are spoken of (Not. Bat. Gen. 1877 p. 129). Many found their way into the Museums of London, Berlin, Dresden, etc.

²⁾ Not. Bat. Gen. 1882 p. 97 and 118.

³⁾ Ibid. 1883 p. 71, 83 and 98; 1885 p. 97 and 122.

The year 1885 was a very important one for Barabuður. Then it was that Chief Engineer J. W. IJzerman made the discovery that under the stone circle round the outside of the monument, there was an original entirely profiled base with a series of reliefs. After a preliminary report in the same year ¹⁾, a fuller account appeared with more details of the discovery ²⁾. On the bell-shaped ogive of the base Mr. IJzerman noticed by the dropping off of *one* stone on the N. side of the building, a joint seam that turned inwards apparently without purpose if the ogive was intended by the builders in its present form. It appeared that the bell-shaped ogive had first been a half-circle of which the two top layers of stone had been left in that way, while against the others, after cutting away a piece out of the 3rd row, the stones of a new ogive were placed. Examination was continued and the stones removed for a length of a metre and by so doing the whole original base was revealed, a description of which will be found in the architectural part of this monograph. The immense importance of this discovery is evident. It was now seen that the outline of the stūpa as a whole, had originally been quite differently planned, a matter that is of special importance in connection with the canonical meaning of the stūpa form, and in addition to this it appeared that a complete series of reliefs had decorated the base of this stūpa; thus a series that had met the sight of the visitor before all the other reliefs and therefore, in a certain sense, was the introduction to the whole collection of texts set forth on the monument. As well as this, a couple of the small characters, the importance of which we have already indicated, were found on the first relief uncovered by IJzerman.

IJzerman at once advised the examination of the whole base, not of course by removing all the embankment at once and in that way bringing back the same dangers which had made the barricade necessary; — but by moving away the stones from a few metres at a time and replacing them after examination before uncovering the next piece. In 1890 the necessary funds were assigned for taking photographs which were made by the Javanese photographer Cephas. ³⁾ Without attaining the artistic value of those made by van Kinsbergen they turned out quite good clear pictures, that could at once be used as plates for this new monograph.

Meanwhile some slight effort was made for the preservation of the temple. Injury to the reliefs was again complained of and at last, in order to keep more control over the visitors, in 1888, a fence was put

¹⁾ Ibid. 1885 p. 156; compare 1886 p. 27—29.

²⁾ Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 31 (1886) p. 261—268.

³⁾ Not. 1888 p. 156 and 187; 1889 p. 90; 1890 p. 100 and 129; 1891 p. 61.

round the stūpa, but unfortunately it was only of perishable material and a few years later became useless, besides it was placed too near the building ¹⁾. The decay went on till in 1896 Brandes himself proclaimed that the 3rd gallery was falling into a really dangerous condition ²⁾.

Much more serious however, was the injury, done to the stūpa in the same year 1896 by the Dutch Indian government itself, bound though it was to protect it.

We allude to their presenting to the king of Siam who visited Java that year, a number of very important images, some of which could never be replaced. A true account of this affair has now been clearly set forth by van Erp in his articles in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 73 (1917) p. 285—310 and 79 (1923) p. 492—507. ³⁾

In connection with van Erp's articles we adjoin a list of what was sent away to Siam. To begin with, 5 Dhyāni-Buddha's, one of each kind of those placed in the niches; in the end only 4 of the 5 reached Bangkok as one slipped out of the ropes during loading in the harbour of Sēmarang and disappeared into the sea. Three of these images were taken out of undamaged niches and all five must have belonged to the finest specimens; which is very important for there is a great difference in the artistic value between one Buddha and another. There were 2 lions as well, the only uninjured group of their type. Then there was a rākṣasa about which it is not certain if it actually belongs to this temple; it was found, as already related, on the top of the hill situated some hundred metres N.W. of Barabuđur ⁴⁾, and brought over by Wilsen to the Barabuđur ground and set up in front of the pasanggrahan ⁵⁾. According to him the image was called „Undagi” or “tukang” (workman); Münnich gives the name of the hill as Daghi. In his account of the affair, Wilsen expresses the hope that this image will guard the temple from the attacks of sacrilegious hands: he could never have imagined that this guardian itself was doomed to become the prey of “sacrilegious hands”. A photo of this image will be seen as plate 3 in the last article by van Erp. Judging by the execution the guardian may very well have belonged to the stūpa; it has the same characteristics as the art of the Barabuđur sculptures. He is kneeling on his right knee, on which side the right hand with a short sword is resting on the thigh; whether the left hand that touches the

¹⁾ Ibid. 1888 p. 62 and 175; 1893 p. 65 and 127; 1894 p. 9, 93 and 103.

²⁾ Ibid. 1896 p. 53.

³⁾ For further account see p. 37—39 of the Dutch edition of this monograph.

⁴⁾ First mentioned by Münnich, *Indisch Mag.* 2d doz. 1845 p. 179.

⁵⁾ See *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 1 (1853) p. 302 and foll.

raised left knee is holding anything, cannot be seen on the photograph. The guardian wears a loin-cloth with girdle, ankle-, wrist- and upper arm rings — all quite plain, *not*, as often with such figures, made of snakes — with necklace and round earrings. The hair is smooth, brushed back and fastened by a band from one ear to the other, below that it comes out in curls. An open mouth, shewing the teeth, arched eyebrows and large eyes complete the whole, a good-natured type of *rākṣasa*, of no terror-striking aspect, just the sort we should expect from the Barabuður artists who like to avoid violence.

With regard to the ornaments taken we are able to state that they consisted of: a makara gargoyle from the base, a *kāla*-head gargoyle from one of the upper gallery-walls, a *kāla*-head (perhaps two) from a niche-temple, and one or two pinnacles of niche-temples. Finally a number of relief-stones were taken away, some of which were placed together and formed a nearly complete group, probably no. 186 on the balustrade of the first gallery, top row. With the exception of the pinnacles of which enough remained, the loss of the rest of these pieces left a visible blank in van Erp's restoration, of which we are about to speak.

In the following years, complaints about the condition of the monument were more frequent, and it was thought advisable to have it examined by an expert. Its maintenance too seemed to be inefficient as the weeds grew unchecked and a sprouting waringin tree was found growing on it in 1899.

In the beginning of 1900, a good fence and more caretakers were provided ¹⁾, but moreover was recognised that the time had come for more effective measures to preserve the monument for the benefit of art and science. A report from Mr. B. W. van der Kamer, inspector of irrigation at Magëlang, brought forward the already-suggested plan ²⁾ of covering the whole building with an enormous roof to protect it from its worst enemy, the rains. The Government then formed a committee with Dr. J. L. A. Brandes as chairman, a Lieut. of the Engineers T. van Erp and Mr. van der Kamer as members, to consider what measures should be taken for the preservation of Barabuður.

The next following years were, in every respect, of the highest import-

¹⁾ Not. Bat. Gen. 1900 p. 37. The making of a fence was deferred and only in 1911 was the enclosure finished, not until some serious damage had been done to a few reliefs during the work of restoration.

²⁾ In Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 1 (1853) p. 239, Wilsen expressed the wish to put the whole landscape under a glass shade.

ance to our knowledge of the monument; they represent the work and the examination made under the direction of Dr. J. L. A. Brandes as head of the Barabuður Commission. He was not fortunate enough to see the examination completed, and as the results that were already achieved, were not collected into a large volume, or even into a comprehensive study, it would be easy to underrate the value of his work. Nothing would be more unjust. Not many have equalled Brandes in knowledge of the Barabuður, he knew better than anyone before him, how to estimate the scientific value of the monument and the problems it put before the archaeologists. All kinds of singularities he brought to light and gave particular attention to its ornament. His observations on Barabuður will be found mostly in the Reports of the Archaeological Commission; often merely incidental, when in speaking of some other building he makes some comparison with this stūpa and then, generally in a single sentence, throws an original and surprising light on some or other peculiarity of the monument. For the rest, we will refer to the Bibliography attached to this work and only mention the report in the first quarter of 1903¹⁾ where an analytical description is given of a series of Barabuður photographs giving a summary of the decoration and at the same time calling attention to the extreme carelessness of the workpeople employed. In a posthumous article ²⁾ this last question is again discussed and particular mention made of the addition of the lowest series of reliefs on the balustrade of the 1st gallery and the damage done thereby to the monument as a whole. During the last months of his life Brandes was again entirely absorbed in the examination of Barabuður, a careful scrutiny of the old staircase wings had just been completed and a 2nd analytical series of photographs, this time of the ornament in the reliefs was made ³⁾ when the founder of Javan archaeology was called away by death.

Barabuður owes still more to Brandes in the Report of the Barabuður Commission drawn up under his direction, by which the temple was saved from the indignity of being placed under a colossal umbrella and measures were proposed for maintaining it in its ancient state for many years to come. The Commission did not arrive at this conclusion without a dispute between van der Kamer and the chairman. We may pass over the particulars. Probably, part of the dispute might have been

¹⁾ In the Report p. 1—5.

²⁾ Rapp. Oudh. Dienst 1913 p. 12—23.

³⁾ Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1905—1906 p.

avoided but in any case we can rejoice that the insult to Barabuður that was the cause of the disagreement, was not perpetrated ¹⁾).

In its report of 1902, the technical part of which was furnished by van Erp's careful examination of the building, the Commission first considered the extent and causes of the decay and debated the various plans for arresting it. They declared for a partial restoration and divided the needs suggested into three kinds; 1st, urgent measures to ward off immediate danger, for instance the building up of the corners and restoration of the gateways and some of the niches and terrace domes; 2nd, plans to maintain the already-improved condition by better draining off of the water and flooring; 3rd not actually urgent, but much to be recommended plans for the honor of the sanctuary after its long neglect, such as the uncovering of the monument to the foot of the hill, the removal of unsightly outbuildings, and the replacing of a pinnacle on the chief stūpa.

These proposals were under consideration in Holland when Brandes died in 1905. This delayed the decision and not till 1907 was authority given: *a.* to photograph the Barabuður in its present condition, with a view to publish a new monograph, *b.* to preserve it from further decay by the measures proposed by the Barabuður Commission, while the direction of the intended work was placed in the hands of Mr. T. van Erp.

When Mr. van Erp had been at work for nearly a year, he became convinced of the necessity for some further restoration, especially of all the trellaced stūpa's on the terraces which would add greatly to the artistic value of the monument, for instance to the form of the silhouette that lends so much to the beauty of the whole.

It would be fascinating to follow van Erp step by step in his clear reports of this work, that entailed such heavy responsibilities, but which brought great satisfaction to those engaged in the restoration of Barabuður. A few points only must be noted about the work which began, as stated, at the end of Aug. 1907, and was finished early in Dec. 1911.

Gradually and systematically the different repairs were carried out, details of which will be found in our Dutch edition, p. 44—45. Mr. van Erp judged rightly as to the great importance of the cornices; for the architectural beauty of the Hindu-Javan monuments, especially in this stūpa building, depends largely on the effect of the shadows. Great

¹⁾ It had been warmly supported by Dr. J. Groneman, see Not. Bat. Gen. 1900 p. 123 and *his* Oudh. Aanteekeningen I (1904) p. 37—39; II (1905) p. 14—18, 31—44.

emphasis must be laid on the regular and continual horizontal profile, in contrast to the ornate niche-temples that are repeated above and behind each other, with their elaborate profile and sharp pinnacles. The strong shadow of the cornices gives just the repose needed to perfect the beauty of the whole. For this reason the cornices, wherever possible were restored, with their antefixes.

The technical details of the restoration are treated by van Erp himself in the architectural part of this monograph, here, we shall merely formulate the benefits resulting to the monument by this restoration. When we say it was rejuvenated thereby, it expresses both what it gained and — unavoidably — has lost. The charm of the untouched ruin, image of an extinct civilization and an inanimate creed, has in great measure disappeared. Let us not forget that the building was doomed to decay: the choice had to be made between sacrificing the monument to ruin, or saving it at the cost of some of its antique charm. It may be well to ask if the restoration has not been allowed to go too far and should have been reduced to what was actually a necessity. Though one may be, like the writer, convinced that as a rule, the care of an old monument ought to be restricted to the prevention of further decay, then it must be allowed that the case of Barabuður is one of the exceptions that justify more extensive measures. What van Erp executed beyond the preservation from decay has given us not only a beautiful whole, that satisfies our aesthetic taste, but his work has partially recovered the inevitable loss of charm by the manner in which he has treated the silhouette and shadow effects. He has actually succeeded in bringing back to the temple some of its ancient splendour, not merely by his technical skill, but chiefly by the respect and devotion with which he has worked on the monument. It is to van Erp that we owe the realization that the Barabuður stands and will stand for long, once more a creation of splendid beauty.

On the completion of the restoration work at the end of 1911, the care of the monument was made over to the Archaeological Commission, now the Archaeological Dept., which exercises regular supervision over it ¹⁾. The history of Barabuður comes to an end for the moment; let us hope a new chapter may be added after the examination of its surroundings.

¹⁾ See Oudh. Versl. 1914 p. 188; 1916 p. 127; 1917 p. 38; 1918 p. 2, 49, 96.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIEFS ON THE COVERED BASE

We shall now describe the different series of reliefs, each separately. By way of explanation, the order in which we shall take them (the reason for which will appear later) is as follows:

The covered base;

Chief wall of 1st gallery, top row (Buddha legend);

Lowest row of same wall, with which are connected both rows of the balustrade of same gallery and the balustrade of 2nd gallery 'all *ava-dāna*'s and *jātaka*'s);

Chief wall of 2nd gallery (with new text of other sort);

Chief wall of 3rd gallery (Maitreya text);

Chief wall of 4th gallery (Samantabhadra text);

Balustrade of 3rd and 4th gallery (Bodhisattva texts, especially Maitreya, but of less importance).

To this order it might be objected that in the various galleries, sometimes the chief wall, at others the balustrade, comes first, but it has one advantage, which in our opinion is of more importance than consistency in the exterior treatment, and it is this, that as regards the chief walls it gives logical sequence to the inner meaning, the balustrade-texts falling in as less important additions. On these chief walls we find principally, just to mention beforehand what will later be treated in detail:

An image of the *Samśāra* and the carrying-out of the law of *Karman*;

The story of the Saviour who shewed the way of escape therefrom;

A series of acts of faith, in particular those which prepared the Saviour for his task;

A text that represents how a Bodhisattva ceaselessly endeavours to attain the highest wisdom;

A text that chiefly refers to the next Buddha whose advent is expected;

A text concerning the last Buddha of the Future and connected with the system of the Dhyāni-Buddha's, the same that appears to be followed in the niches above the galleries and the dome-shaped stūpa's of the terraces.

Not only by its peculiar position along the outside of the monument instead of one of the closed-in galleries, does the series of reliefs on the buried base differ from the rest; but much more by the nature of what it portrays. It arrests the attention immediately, at the first glance, even before we have any idea what it is that makes the difference. In contrast to what will follow on the galleries, we here find many scenes from the daily life of the common people, scenes of murder and fighting, the capture and killing of all kinds of animals etc., the sort of scenes as much as possible avoided in other relief-series, even where the text requires the representation; finally, particularly in the second half of the series, we find a number of panels depicting the horrors of hell and the pleasures of heaven. Our first impression is that we see here before us an image of the saṃsāra, hopeless circle of life, of the good and evil deeds done therein, with their rewards and punishments, in short, the chain of all the forms of existence to which man is subject and from which there is no escape. Is there indeed no way of escape, wonders the onlooker when among the strange vicissitudes, the one truth is ever forced upon him that life is intended to be a burden, that evil brings its own punishment and goodness, after being allowed a short spell of heavenly happiness, is doomed to another term of mortal existence and the renewed attacks of sin: can there be no escape from this eternal evil? Let him climb the stairs and learn the answer given him in the creed of salvation revealed by the Buddha.

We must now endeavour to make sure if this first impression is actually the right one. And it is just through these reliefs that we have a means, entirely missing elsewhere, in the short inscriptions, cut here and there along the top edge of the panels, which we may judge to be connected with what is portrayed and very likely throw some light on its meaning. The important data which the characters of these inscriptions give for fixing the date of the monument is treated of elsewhere, we now deal with their meaning.

The first news of IJzerman's discovery of the covered base will be

found in the "Notulen" Bat. Soc. in 1885¹⁾, and already at the meeting in Feb. of the next year, Brandes was able to communicate²⁾ that on the newly-found reliefs, a couple of short phrases were to be seen, read by him as *caityavandana*, and *suvarṇavarṇa*. In the discoverer's article of the same year, a representation of both words was given as well as of a third found in the meantime, with Brandes' reading of the latter as *kuçala*³⁾. Meantime a few more reliefs with writing were brought to light so that in Oct. 1886, the reading of six more inscriptions besides the three already known, could be given⁴⁾ and the statement made that they were all Sanskrit words.

Not till 1895 had the whole series been investigated which was done by Prof. Kern who made use of Cephas' photos and published the results in an article⁵⁾. The professor shewed inscriptions found on 33 of the reliefs, some quite distinct, others less clear or scarcely legible and others no longer decipherable. Important points of general interest were, — first, that although the words are Sanskrit, all signs of number and declension are wanting, secondly that the inscriptions are not all by the same hand. At least three different handwritings were recognised by Prof. Kern that accounted also for the different spelling, a very slight difference and admitted by Pāṇini, e. g. *svargga* and *svarga*.

In 1911 Mr. Van Erp noticed that some inscriptions had evidently, till then been overlooked. For this reason, and also to make clearer some of those already known but too faint to be legible, he had enlargements made of the photographs taken of all the inscriptions and sent them to Prof. Kern. The result was that the professor was able to read some ten new inscriptions and to give a better reading of a dozen of those already deciphered. From this new examination and the accepted readings of 1895, van Erp made a new list published by the Bat. Soc., the same year⁶⁾. It is this list we follow here; I shall note wherever my opinion differs from that of Prof. Kern. Besides this, some slight corrections will be made without comment, where evident errors occur, for example *çaitya* and *pātaka* etc., while Kern's first reading rightly gives *caitya* and *patāka* etc.

¹⁾ Mr. Groeneveldt on p. 156.

²⁾ Not. p. 27—29.

³⁾ Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 31 (1886) p. 264 fol.

⁴⁾ Not. p. 160—165; concerning reliefs No. 122—127 right (see below).

⁵⁾ Versl. Med. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. 3: 12 (1896) p. 119—128.

⁶⁾ Not. p. XLVII—L; Kern, Verspr. Geschr. VII (1917) p. 14.

As regards my different readings of a more radical sort, I must state that in such cases there always remains a good deal of uncertainty. If we place Prof. Kern's first list next to his last, it then appears that there is often a considerable difference between the readings of the same authority, so much so, that for the uninitiated the reading of 1895 does not in the least resemble what the same characters appear to mean in 1911; those who know anything of Kawi-epigraphy, will, in such cases, see plainly that only the Latin letters used for the transcription give the impression of not resembling each other, not the Kawi letters of the inscription itself. The following are striking examples: No. 139, that is given first *ṣarāvi* and later *bhogī*, and No. 135 where the old reading *mahābhikṣu* is replaced by *prasādita*. I call attention to this for two reasons. In the first place, considering the great difference in the readings of Prof. Kern himself, it must not be thought strange that the suggestions I offer here and there, in appearance very little resemble those of the professor. In the second place to make it quite clear, that in my opinion, in these doubtful cases, a new reading does not take away the uncertainty; thus I am still aware that where I consider my own reading the right one — or of course I should not publish it — it does not even in my own eyes attain the mark of something definite, I consider it rather as a modest attempt to explain difficulties that are often more or less enigmas.

In addition to those in the following list, Prof. Kern found remains of inscriptions, of which not even one letter could be read on the reliefs 76, 98 and 136. We may go still further and examine if perhaps here and there it can be proved that an inscription has been made, even if the remains can no longer be called a remnant and only traces can be talked of. Such traces we consider can be found, undoubtedly on reliefs No. 8, 30, 39, 42, 48, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 86, 97, 99, 109, 111, 116, 158, 159 and 160, and in a doubtful way on a number of other panels that need not be mentioned. The recognition of such traces of erased inscriptions is of no use in itself, either for the character of the letters or their interpretation. Yet it is of some importance that in this way it is shewn that the inscriptions were placed on the whole series and were not restricted mainly to the last fourth part. It will not be by chance that on this portion they are still legible; they have been everywhere but it was not intended they should remain legible and the work of obliterating them was begun and $\frac{3}{4}$ completed when it was decided to build up the embankment and the whole row was withdrawn from sight. Two inscriptions have been missed out (by chance?) on No. 21 and 43;

the rest on the $\frac{3}{4}$ of the series dealt with were temporarily erased, so that only a few letters or traces shew where the inscription has been. We can imagine how, when the last $\frac{1}{4}$ had been rubbed out in the same manner, a finishing touch would have been given to the whole series, then all would have been made as smooth as the top edge of the panels in the upper galleries and balustrades.

I shall return to this matter of the writing and then erasing of the inscriptions later on and give first the list of the inscriptions themselves. The explanation attached to them is Prof. Kern's, my own remarks follow separately.

21. *virūpa* (the deformed, ugly one; the word is also often found as a name or nickname of a person). Notice that the word is preceeded and followed by two vertical strokes, what the Javanese call *adēg-adēg*. None of the other inscriptions have this sign.

As the relief itself depicts extremely ugly people, the word is probably used more for the sort than a personal name.

24. The letters are so rubbed out that only *ka* is legible as the beginning of a word.
 29. The inscription is so rubbed off that only the last syllable *ka* or *kā* is to be seen.

This syllable looks to me like *kā*.

43. *maheçākhyāḥ* (eminent person).
 121. right *abhidyā* (desirableness); left, *vyāpāda* (evil intent, malice).

For Kern's discussion of this and the two following reliefs as possibly belonging to No. 124 see further on.

122. right *mitthyādṛṣṭi* (false creed); left is also a word, the letters quite obliterated.
 123. *kuçala* (goodness, purity, usefulness).
 124. right, *caityavandana* (worship of a sanctuary); left, *suvarṇavarṇa* (name of the hero of a *avadāna*).

The possibility that here may be meant the story related by Brandes of a certain *Suvarṇavarṇa* from the *Vratāvadāna-mālā*, we shall discuss further on.

125. right *susvara* (as stated by Brandes, a son of *Garuḍa* bears this name); left, *mahojaskasamavadhāna* (assemblage of powerful persons).

For my opinion of *susvara* see further. The inscription on the left begins, I think, not with *maho°* but *maha u°*; the sign used everywhere else for this part of the *o* consists of a single

curved stroke, while here the sign ends with a second curve at the bottom. The same as in caitya (124) the double stroke serves to distinguish the *ai* from the *e*, here we notice that not *o* but *au* is meant. The meaning of the inscription is of course not altered thereby, but all the same it is a point worth noticing just because the *au* is in accordance with the Sanskrit and the rapid disappearance of this sound from the Kawi, makes its use in the Barabaḍur inscriptions of importance in fixing their date and also that of the monument.

126. right, go, behind which is the trace of some indistinct letter, perhaps ṣṭhī, (goṣṭhī, pleasant talk); left svargga (heaven).

The remaining fragment of an indistinct letter, I think might just as well be bho as go, so it would be the first letters of bhogī that appears elsewhere.

127. right, chatradāna (the gift of an umbrella); left, vinayadhammakāyacitta (recognition of or respect for the collection (of books) of Discipline and Doctrine).

The end of the last inscription I too read as *kāyacitta, the beginning otherwise. The first syllables are in my opinion nirupata; the double letter in between I am not sure of, it is probably pta and the whole would then be nirupatatapākāyacitta "the thought of the body not being purified", or if we take the sense in another way, a "not purified body and mind", "someone who has a mind and body not purified" Such a term would not be misplaced in connection with a preceding abhidhyā and vyāpāda.

128. maheṣākhyasamavadhāna (gathering of eminent ones).

129. cakravartī (ruler of the world).

130. svargga (heaven).

131. right, ghaṇṭā (bell); left maheṣākhyasamavadhāna (gathering of eminent ones).

132. cakravartī (ruler of the world)

133. the first letters illegible; then follows ṣabdaṣravaṇa (the listening to the words)

Among the first letters I think I recognise v a with the sign for r above, s a and j ñ ā. Above the s there seems to be the trace of a stroke which then represents the anusvāra. What goes before r v a is most indistinct; it looks most like pū, so that if we have seen correctly, the whole would be pūrvasaṃjñāṣaḍ-

daçravaṇa, the hearing of the term pūrvasaṃjñā. This term would mean "acknowledgement of the former", for instance a former life. I offer my reading with great diffidence ¹⁾.

134. right goṣṭhī (pleasant talk); left, svargga, (heaven).

Prof. Kern's former reading of the first word bhogī (living in luxury, enjoying, landowner, village chief) seems quite as probable as his later one. The character sva of the left inscription is carelessly written and not very distinct; but I do not know what else it might be.

135. right, vastradāna (gift of clothing); left, prasādita (favored, benefited).

137. svargga (heaven).

138. kuṣaladharmabhājana (virtuous persons i. e. urns of virtuous qualities)

Besides this inscription on the right there is another on the left, of which only the end, dāna (gift) is legible.

139. bhogī (landowner, village chief).

140. looks something like svargeṣa (lord of heaven) but uncertain.

It seems to me svargga, where an unevenness in the stone just in the pasangan has given the effect of a ṣ.

141. patāka (banner, flag).

142. ādhyabhogī (rich landowner).

144. syllable sa; no distinct letters could be seen on the enlargement.

147. svargga (heaven).

148. right, we see tana, but this is not a word, there must be a letter that has become illegible; left, indistinct.

There is an illegible bit before tana. The indistinct word left, looks like bhogī.

149. svargga (heaven).

150. right, chatradāna (gift of an umbrella); left only mahānā is distinct.

It seems improbable that the righthand inscription should be chatradāna as on the accompanying relief there is no sign of an umbrella to be seen. Of the four characters only the second, t, is quite distinct, what is underneath seems more an u than an r. The third looks like na, the fourth an s with a virāma (or a

¹⁾ Not impossible it might be sarvasaṃjñā, given in the Petersburg Dictionary as used by the Buddhists for a high number. As reference is given Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 829; but with the addition „possibly mistaken”.

long ā). What the whole word is remains obscure. As to the phrase on the left, I prefer to retain Kern's former reading mahārāja than his later one. This is not the end of the inscription; three or four indistinct letters follow, then at the end kalya. The whole would thus be: mahārāja.... kalya, "a great king ready for...."; we can imagine judging by the nature of what is depicted, that it might be filled in with "ready to start on a journey", or "prepared for a visit".

151. svarga.

152. right only the last two syllables certain, vāda; probably dha(r)-majavāda (religious debate) but the character for r is missing. left svarga.

In the first inscription I read the last two syllables as dāna and the whole as puṣpadāna (gift of flowers).

153. right, indistinct; left svargga.

The end of the indistinct word, right, I read as ndha or ddha; the first letter is more difficult to distinguish but is possibly vṛ, so that the whole word might be, vṛddha (old) if it were not that none of the figures on the relief appear to be old. However I think there is an i to be described above the last character, which would make vṛddhi (increase, prosperity, also usury) of this word.

154. right, vāsodāna (gift of a garment); middle, bhogī (landowner, village chief) or goṣṭhi (pleasant talk) indistinct; left, svargga.

I accept the middle inscription as bhogī rather than goṣṭhi, and for the one on the right mālādāna (gift of garlands or a wreath) more probable. Unfortunately though on the relief a dish is being offered, neither any garments or wreaths are to be seen, while in other places both sort of gifts are clearly depicted by the sculptors.

157. añjali (marks of honor with the hands).

We must now in the first place make it clear what was the intention of placing these inscriptions. I have already called attention above to two circumstances, first that they were evidently distributed over the whole series of reliefs and not limited to a portion of them, secondly that on $\frac{3}{4}$ of the series they were intentionally erased. This erasure has nothing to do with the covering of the reliefs when the banking up was done, for then the inscriptions on the last quarter would not have been left on; on the contrary, the erasing of the inscriptions actually belonged to the

original plan and it was the change in the design that interrupted the complete carrying-out of the rule. So we are certain that in no case were the inscriptions intended as explanations for the onlooker of what is portrayed; surely in that case they would not have been so quickly and carelessly cut. The only possible explanation of these inscriptions is, that they served for directions to the sculptors and were put on the uncut panels to give instructions for what was to be depicted. That they were actually put on before anything of the reliefs was to be seen is most plainly noticeable on No. 135, where the word *prasādita* is placed above a quite untouched piece of the panel. They are therefore undoubtedly fingerposts to guide the sculptors, and when we see somewhere, for instance "*svargga*", it does not mean "this is a heaven" but rather "here a heaven must be pictured" ¹⁾.

It naturally follows that we must not expect too much from these inscriptions towards the explanation of the scenes portrayed. It would be very unfair to reproach those who placed the inscriptions for not offering a little more assistance to the modern archaeologist when they had not even the intention of helping the visitors of their own time. We can, as a rule, be sure that we shall not learn anything new from the inscriptions as they merely give directions for the composition of the reliefs, and we see before us the reliefs themselves which when finished made the instructions useless. The little these inscriptions may help to explain the scene is mere chance. No use whatever, of course as interpretation are such as *ghaṇṭā* over a large bell, *patāka* above some banners, *cakravartī* over a prince with the *saptaratnāni*, *maheṣākhyā* or *mahaujaskasamavadhāna* above a scene where anyone can see that eminent persons are in consultation, or such words as *bhogī*, *ghoṣṭhī*, *añjali*. Inscriptions like *chatradāna*, *vas-tradāna* etc. are of more importance, for though we here see with our own eyes that an umbrella, a garment etc. is being presented, we now know from the inscription that this gift is just the important matter and not an accompanying detail put in by the sculptor as an artistic addition to some reception. In this way we are glad to learn that an eminent man in a palanquin is called *mahārāja*, which we might easily conjecture but could not be sure of; or that the ugly people on some relief are intended to be ugly and we need not attribute their unattractiveness to an unskilled sculptor or to injury the

¹⁾ At Prambanan the same way of working was followed; the directions there are not cut but put on with paint.

figures have suffered. In the same way *svargga* is useful, otherwise it might not occur to us to think of those scenes always characterized by a wishing tree with a couple of *kinnara*'s as depicting heaven; we may even go a step further and believe that reliefs treated in that sort of way, even when the inscription has disappeared, are probably intended to waft us to heaven. A still more remarkable sort are those inscriptions which refer to something not to be seen on the relief, that we can only fit into the picture on the authority of the inscription; for instance that the persons above whom is written *kuṣaladharmabhājana* are good people, while it is impossible to see by their faces whether they are virtuous folk or the greatest rascals. In the same category are the inscriptions which say that something is being listened to or acknowledged; we cannot reproach the sculptor with his failure to shew what the persons represented hear or think and in such cases the inscription is a valuable indication to us especially with a view to the recovery of the text that is being followed. We can pity the artists who were given the thankless task of delineating the impossible. The same applies to the inscriptions *abhidhyā*, *vyāpāda*, *mitthyādr̥ṣṭi*; how in the world, we may ask, can a sculptor with the technique of the workers on the Barabudur be expected to shew in his figures that one or more of them are covetous, or evil speaking or follow a false creed, perhaps more correctly worship "wrong views". Especially the last is an impossible achievement, and if above this relief were written "the true creed" it would mean as much to us. At the same time let us note that it is just these sort of inscriptions that give convincing evidence that these reliefs were grounded on a definite, established text, otherwise the directions for the sculptors would have been different and more feasible¹⁾. It seems that here the passages to be represented actually treated of the vices described by the technical terms²⁾ given; no more was indicated to the sculptor than what the text required and he could find out for himself what to make of it. It was not his fault that the task soared far beyond his skill.

¹⁾ This sort of words does not recommend the opinion of Stutterheim (*Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, 1924, p. 22) that these short inscriptions might indicate the names of the „stencils“ to be used by the sculptors.

²⁾ That *mitthyādr̥ṣṭi* (also *mitthyādarṣanam*, see below) represents a definite meaning in Buddhist terminology can be seen for instance Takakusu, *Journ. Pāli Text. Soc.* 1905 p. 97 and 110 for the *Abhidharma* of the *Sarvāstivādin*'s; Nāgārjuna's *Suhṛtlekha*, *vid. Wenzel* in *Journ. Pāli Text Soc.* 1886 p. 15, 47 and 51; also *Mūlamadhyamakārikās* de Nāgārjuna, ed. De la Vallée Poussin (*Bibl. Buddh.* IV 1913) p. 479 note. In the same work on p. 478 and 484 *avidyā*, same as for instance Takakusu p. 110 (could this term be meant perhaps on Barabudur?). For *vyāpāda* among others *Lalitavistara* 59, 19; 248, 10; 349, 5, as one of the ten *kleṣa*'s.

Two of the reliefs we must discuss separately, as they perhaps are names of persons and thereby give an indication of a particular sort as to the interpretation. They are No. 124 and 125.

The first one has two inscriptions as mentioned above, *caitya vana-dana* and *suvarṇavarṇa*. Brandes ¹⁾ already thought of a connection between these inscriptions and the story of *Suvarṇavarṇa* as related in Rajendralala Mitra's *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. ²⁾ Told in brief the story is as follows. A certain merchant *Divākara* by name, who had become poor, came to *Mahākācyapa* when he was head of the church and asked him for advice. The patriarch recommended him to perform the ceremony of *lakṣacaitya*, the importance of which had been shewn by Buddha himself. The Lord had caused the vision of a crystal *caitya* to appear in the air surrounded by 100,000 other *caitya*'s, brought them down to earth and instructed his hearers how to erect such *caitya*'s and honor them. *Divākara* followed this advice, acquired great riches and moreover a son, *Suvarṇavarṇa*. Once when his father was on a journey the son came into the *Veṇuvana* and heard a monk singing *gāthā*'s; the youth longed greatly to be received into the Order, but the monk could not allow that before the convert had received his parents sanction, so he was obliged to wait. Meanwhile he associated with *paṇḍita*'s, *çramaṇa*'s and *brahmans*, wrote down what he learned in a book and read it in his fathers garden, beyond the town. This garden adjoined the villa of the minister *Pracaṇḍa*, who there enjoyed the company of the hetaera *Kāçisundarī*. This lady fell in love with *Suvarṇavarṇa*, who however despised her. To gain her end she neglected an appointment with *Pracaṇḍa* and went into *Suvarṇavarṇa*'s garden to captivate him. *Pracaṇḍa* sent in search of her, ill-treated her and ordered her to be put to death; but her executioner took to flight. Then the minister himself returned to kill her; she tried to climb over a wall, but failed, was knocked down by *Pracaṇḍa* and fell on a poisonous snake that killed her. The minister went to his own house, caused the garden of *Suvarṇavarṇa* to be searched and when the corpse was found the young man was arrested for the murder. The sentence of impalement was to be carried out, when *Divākara* returned from his journey and besought the help of *Ānanda* who had in the meantime become head of the church. The king revised the sentence but when the messengers arrived at the place of execution *Suvarṇavarṇa* was already placed on the stake, on the

¹⁾ Not. 1886 p. 162—165.

²⁾ Calcutta 1882 p. 275—278. The *Padma Thang Yig* (*Journ. asiat.* 1923, II, p. 308 etc. gives another version of the same tale.

point of which however, through Ānanda's influence a lotuscushion had appeared. Ānanda informed Suvarṇavarṇa of the true state of things, Kāçisundarī came back to life and was at her own request changed into a man. They both renounced the world and achieved the state of arhat and Pracaṇḍa falling from his high estate, soon followed their example.

When Brandes made known his opinion that this was the story depicted on the relief we speak of, only the reproduction on paper of the inscriptions was known to him; he had not seen the reliefs themselves either in the original or reproduction; and it was indeed very tempting to bring these inscriptions caityavandana and suvarṇavarṇa into connection with a tale in which caitya-worship plays the chief part and Suvarṇavarṇa is the hero. After seeing the panel itself Prof. Kern was obliged to state "that the course of the story of Suvarṇavarṇa is very difficult to follow on the sculptures" ¹⁾. All the same the professor tried to find some incidents of the tale, on the reliefs, but unfortunately the wrong numbering of Cephass' photos caused him to reckon the scenes as following each other from left to right, instead of from right to left, which as later appeared was the right order, according to the pradakṣiṇā. It is then no wonder that the attempt was not very successful. The worship of the caitya, contrary to the tale, would follow the appearance of Suvarṇavarṇa on the scene instead of preceding it; on the next relief (123) the left scene was unexplained while the right, an eminent person seated on a dais and conversing with two standing brahmans under the inscription kuçala would represent Suvarṇavarṇa learning wisdom from the teachers, a very unlikely scene, for we should expect to see the young man at his masters' feet; finally No. 122, a man and woman walking in a wood would represent a meeting between Kāçisundarī and Pracaṇḍa or Suvarṇavarṇa, and this looks impossible for both persons: the woman carrying a pot and the man with some tool on his shoulder, are dressed in clothes worn by the very poorest natives of the desa; they are evidently a labourer and his wife journeying through a forest. There is not the least trace of the rest of the story. But when we take the reliefs in the right order, it does not turn out any better, except that then the caitya precedes the appearance of Suvarṇavarṇa. Then follows on No. 125, a man with several women in a pavillon, servants bearing dishes and making music, with the inscription susvara; next to that, a scene described by its inscription as a conversation between eminent persons; and on No. 126 a heavenly scene with the indisputable inscription svargga. However we consider them, not on any

¹⁾ L.I. page 125.

of the adjoining reliefs, either those preceding or those that follow, can anything resembling the above tale of Suvarṇavarṇa be discovered. We can only come to the conclusion that his tale evidently does not give the subject for these reliefs.

In the uncertainty of whether the story that really is represented may be found or whether it might possibly be hidden in the tale of king Suvarṇavarṇa that occurs, in the Tibetan Jātaka collection, to the existence of which Prof. Kern has already drawn attention ¹⁾ (while its contents were unknown to him as well as to us) I will suggest a solution that seems not unacceptable. On other reliefs we find, as will be seen later, very often just next to each other, some or other good or evil deed or attribute and its result, while adjacent reliefs depict other deeds and their result, with no other connection than that those various separate examples of the law of cause and effect evidently follow one another in the text illustrated. So we may consider No. 124 by itself without connection with the adjoining reliefs which possibly illustrate some other effect of the Karman. May not the explanation of this relief be simply this, that the virtuous deed of the caitya-worship ²⁾ finds its reward in a rebirth like Suvarṇavarṇa? This last word is used as a personal name, but as one given to a new-born infant on account of some special attribute. Then the whole incident is one resembling the story of the 61st tale in the Avadānaśataka; as reward for meritorious conduct in the honoring of a stūpa, a person would be reborn into an eminent family, quite suffused with a golden glory, and therefore receives the name of Suvarṇābha. In the same style is also, for instance Karmaśataka No. 23, where the heroine is really a female Suvarṇavarṇā and also miraculously born with her characteristic golden glory. We should not wonder if the relief ought to be explained in this kind of way, but it can only be verified by the discovery of the text.

May be the same sort of solution will apply to the second relief with a perhaps personal name, the next, No. 125. We read there *susvara*, and *susvara* is, as Brandes ³⁾ has already noted, the name of a son of Garuḍa. "If the *Susvara* of the bas relief represents the same person", writes Kern ⁴⁾, "we are unable to decide without knowledge of the episode depicted. The figure is without any feature that resembles the form of Ga-

¹⁾ On p. 124. For further details see chapter VI.

²⁾ Compare I-tsing, A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago transl. Takakusu (1896) p. 119 and 121.

³⁾ L. I. pag. 161.

⁴⁾ L. I. pag. 124.

ruḍa. This does not say much, for Buddhist art carried the anthropomorphism of mythological beings still further than Brahman art." The wholly human form of the chief figure would be really no objection for explaining it to be the son of Garuḍa, even though Garuḍa himself is always to be identified on the Barabudūr by his bird-beak and is to be found in that form on this same series of reliefs. Probably we need not go so far for the explanation. To begin with, as already mentioned, in this scene there are musicians seated and their performance might easily be referred to as "melodious". But in connection with what I have said about the former relief, it seems not impossible that the chief person bears the name of Susvara because, on account of some former service he has come into the world actually as a susvara, someone with a beautiful voice, just as the hero of Avadānaçataka No. 67 is called Dundubhisvara, for the same reason. Here too it only becomes us to speak of a , non liquet'; our remark is only intended as a warning not to be too positive about the son of Garuḍa in seeking the explanation.

From this review of the information to be gained from the inscriptions about the nature of what is depicted, however scanty it may be, we find it does not deviate from the first impression of the meaning of these reliefs; i. e. to represent the hopeless inevitable circle of life and rouse the longing to escape from it. While such is the primary intention, the manner in which it is executed obliges us to take something else into consideration. As we have seen, some of the inscriptions make it very probable that — as it first appeared — a prescribed text has been followed; we cannot easily imagine that a text existed whose contents would consist only of "the saṃsāra" without the various manifestations of life being reviewed and explained. Such a text as is here illustrated must of course have arranged the diversity of the world of phenomena according to a fixed system, and tried to explain the law of cause and effect by a fixed rule. And moreover another intention appears which is this: that in representing this series of good and evil deeds with their rewards and punishments which, specially in the second half of the reliefs, are clearly to be recognised, the educational element it contains will certainly have been considered, the frightfulness of sin, that brings its own punishment and the exhortation to virtue that brings always its own reward. Taking all this into consideration we are inclined to formulate as follows: — With the intention of leading the onlooker to contemplate the eternal circle of life and rousing him to long for the un-

derstanding of the creed that brings salvation, but at the same time in order to benefit his present existence, i. e. to preserve him from evil and set him in the path towards good by examining the results of all deeds, — there is on the base of the Barabaður a text sculptured that brings before his eyes in regular sequence the working of the Karman, the law of cause and effect as it is manifested in reincarnation, in heaven and hell.

Which text it may be we do not know. The dogma of re-incarnation, common to all India, forms in its systematic treatment by the Buddhists according to Kern ¹⁾, a part of the Abhidharma and it is in particular the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādin school, about which something more is known and that seems to have acquired a certain amount of general validity. Takakusu has given a most instructive review on the works of this school that remain to Chinese literature ²⁾, they are all of comparatively later date. In Sanscrit nothing is left but a commentary on the celebrated Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu which, according to De la Vallée Poussin, goes back to the 2nd treatise of the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādin's ³⁾. Vasubandhu, when he wrote the work, was actually a Hīnayānistic Sarvāstivādin, but the Kośa is regarded by all Buddhists as an authority; the commentator Yaçomitra is a Sautrāntika, Chinese and Japanese Mahāyānists also follow this text ⁴⁾. We might perhaps presume the validity of such a Abhidharma among the founders of Barabaður, from which of course it does not in the least follow that we should find in that document the explanation of this series of reliefs ⁵⁾. Various works whose contents refer to something of the sort as may be expected at Barabaður, judging by the titles and list of contents are actually known, as may be seen from Csoma's index of the Kañjur ⁶⁾. There we find mentioned in a Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānam, the fruits and results of good and bad deeds, forms of reincarnation, rewards and punishments, with descriptions of heaven and hell ⁷⁾

¹⁾ Gesch. v. h. Boeddhisme I (1882) p. 334 and 358.

²⁾ The Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins, Journ. Pāli Text Soc. 1905 p. 67—146. For the Abhidharma of other sects compare Lévi-Chavannes in Journ. asiat. 11: 8 (1916) p. 38 etc.

³⁾ See the article Cosmogony and Cosmology (Buddhist) in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics IV (1911) p. 130 and foll. The Abhidharmakośa is founded on the Lokaprajñāpti, first part of the Prajñāptiśāstra. An edition of the Abhidharmakośa by de la Vallée Poussin is now being published.

⁴⁾ For further details see Sylvain Lévi in Enc. Rel. Eth. I (1908) p. 20.

⁵⁾ Finot, B. E. F. E. O. 20 (1920) p. 142.

⁶⁾ According to Feer's translation in Annales du Musée Guimet 2 (1881) which is here quoted.

⁷⁾ P. 274 etc., Mdo XXII, 20 (fol. 118)—XXV (fol. 348).

elsewhere a *Çubhāçubhaphalaparīkṣa*, a search for the fruits of good and evil deeds ¹⁾, then a discourse over the cause and effects of good and evil, an enumeration of different happy and unhappy conditions of human life, all resulting either from pious behaviour or sin in a former existence ²⁾; finally we have in a *Çubhāçubhakarmavipākānirdeça*, another work on the effects of good or evil conduct ³⁾. This list might be enlarged but it is enough to shew that texts with contents of the same kind as what we imagine for the covered base of Barabudur were not uncommon.

Although for the whole series there is at present no actual text at our service, one part of it we shall be able to examine with more detail. We mean the reliefs on which are found consecutively some scenes in hell, No. 86—92 ⁴⁾, while the four next-following reliefs that evidently represent reincarnations into animals and other non-human beings, are connected with them. The heavens too it may be worth while to compare with what can be found in the literature, although the data for them are far less clear than what we have for the hells, for, the same as with other religions, the Buddhists have given much more care to depicting the punishments of the hereafter and the details of the fate which there awaits sinners, than in describing the uniform and rather monotonous joys of heaven. Besides it is a well-known fact that though we can speak of a special Buddhist system of hells, they chiefly made use of the general Indian, partly antiquated popular ideas, in any case existing before and outside Buddhism. There was the more reason for this because the whole idea of hell and all that belongs to it, is quite foreign to the fundamental principle of the Buddhist creed ⁵⁾.

It is probably because the Buddhist hells have originated in rather vague and not strictly-defined popular belief, that the descriptions gather-

¹⁾ P. 278, Mdo XXVI, 4 (fol. 193—197).

²⁾ P. 287, Mdo XXX, 8 (fol. 303—320).

³⁾ Ibid. 9 (fol. 320—336).

⁴⁾ IJzerman first called attention to the hell-scenes of Barabudur in *Tijdschr. Aardr. Gen.* 2: 16 (1899) p. 330—334.

⁵⁾ Kern, in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 71 (1916) p. 418 (*Verspr. Geschr. V* (1916) p. 238). „Buddhism denies the existence of the human soul, and what the living do not possess cannot remain alive after death. When man dies, the five elements from which he is formed, the *Skandha*'s, *Pāli Khanda*'s, disappear and only the *Karman* (*Pāli Kamma*) remains, that is, the good and evil deeds which the man has performed during life. This *Karman* has the power to create a new being that is believed to be the rebirth of the deceased whose *Karman* decides its fate. Between a man's death and what is looked-upon as his rebirth, there is nothing but the *Karman*. If this is so what beings are there who live in hell before their re-birth?"

ed from various sources of the torments made use of and the divers sins to be punished, differ very much from one another. This holds good not only of Northern tradition compared to the Southern but even among writings belonging to the same church. Accepted by all, is finally the existence of 8 hells with their own fixed names; but even about these 8 there is no agreement as to what happens in them and what sort of people are sent there. The belief is not general that each hell is surrounded by sixteen utsada's or sub-hells; and besides where the existence of these is accepted, we search in vain for a description of the $16 \times 8 = 128$ utsada's, that were to have been all together; only of 16 in all is any detailed report given. Thus we find distinctly by the Northern and in a more restricted way by the Southern Buddhists, account given sometimes of 8 more large "cold" hells, in contrast to the 8 first-mentioned "warm" ones; the description of these is very slight and does not say much more than that sinners are exposed to intense cold which torments their bodies in various ways, while the difference between these hells consists more in the duration of time to be passed there rather than in the pains suffered. To sum up: in the detailed descriptions of the Buddhist hells, we find everywhere the 8 warm, sometimes the 8 cold, sometimes as well the 16 utsada's or similar places of torture, up to a maximum of 16, thus 32 descriptions at most, out of the number of hells and utsada's or secondary hells that are *theoretically* believed to exist ¹⁾.

In case something systematic is intended in the consecutive pictures of hells on the Barabaḍur, we may expect to find, first of all, the 8 generally-accepted great warm hells, and then we may see if anything more is represented and if so, whether we can refer it to descriptions of the 'cold' hells, of the utsada's or some other sort of small hells. It will then be advisable to begin by restricting ourselves exclusively to the 8 large hells and then of course specially study what is to be learned from the Mahāyānistic sources; what cannot be accounted for there, we can always seek in the Hīnayānistic literature which may have preserved some detail that has been lost elsewhere. While as we have already said, the Mahāyānistic data do not in the least agree with each other, we can

¹⁾ De la Vallée Poussin in his Encyclopaedia article mentions as the most important sources of information about Buddhist hells: Abhidharmakośavyākhyā fol. 256; Kalpadruma (ed. S'arad Chandra, Calcutta 1908) p. 5; Mahāvastu (ed. Senart 1882) I p. 4—26; Nāgārjuna's already mentioned letter in Journ. Pāli Text. Soc. 1886; Candragomin's Ćiṣyalekhanāma Dharmakāvyam pub. by Minayeff in Zapiski 4 (1889) p. 29—52; Pañcagati, ed. Feer (see below); Beal, Catena (see below) I 138; Divyāvadāna p. 375; Majjhima No. 129; Kathāvatthu XX, 3.

begin for the present by gleaning details here and there from various sources and searching among them for anything that coincides with what is depicted on the reliefs.

Now the most important sources, the Indian Mahāyānist writings, *casu quo* the original Hīnayānist ones adopted by the Mahāyāna, being mostly lost or not yet found, and those preserved being not published, the most accessible are the Chinese translations, first made known in a collection by Landresse ¹⁾ while later Beal in his *Catena* has evidently made use of some collection from the same sources ²⁾. This latter is more comprehensive and rather important because he distinctly states that he follows the school of the above-mentioned Sarvāstivādin's. To this we can add the few data to be gleaned from the "Friendly Letter" of Nāgārjuna ³⁾, especially in the commentary, and a Tibetan translation of the Pañcaṣikṣāṇiṣasūtra ⁴⁾ preserved in the Kañjur, which has been the foundation of Feer's study on *L'enfer indien* ⁵⁾. Possibly we may find other assistance of quite a different sort in the representations of hell on the East side of the gallery of Angkor-Vat. This is of course not a Buddhist monument, but according to Coedès the 32 hells show a Mahāyānist Buddhist origin; curiously enough they have also short inscriptions giving the name of the place of torment and the people who are being punished ⁶⁾. There are only about four reproductions of these reliefs to be found ⁷⁾, so that it is impossible for us to judge of the way in which these hells are treated; it can only be noted from the inscriptions that the sequence is not the accepted one, to which I add my own impression when visiting Angkor-Vat, that the reliefs found there show very little resemblance to those of Barabudur. There may perhaps be no reason to regret that we are unable to bring these representations in-

¹⁾ In a note to Rémusat's *Foë Kouë Ki* (1836) p. 296—300.

²⁾ Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist scriptures from the Chinese* (1871) p. 56—65. I could not get the 2d ed. of this.

³⁾ Translated from Tibetan by Wenzel in *Journ. Pāli Text Soc.* 1886 p. 1—32, and from Chinese by Beal *Suh-ki-li-kih-kin* (1892).

⁴⁾ This work originally borrowed from the Pāli canon, is translated by Feer in *Annales Musée Guimet* 5 (1883) p. 230—243.

⁵⁾ *Journ. asiat.* 8: 20 (1892) p. 185—232.

⁶⁾ Coedès, *Les bas-reliefs d'Angkor-Vat*, *Bull. Comm. archéol. de l'Indochine* 1911 p. 203—208.

⁷⁾ Delaporte, *Voyage au Cambodge* (1880) p. 227—229; Fournereau, *Les ruines khmères* (1890) pl. 94; De Beylié, *L'Architecture hindoue en Extrême Orient* (1907) p. 103; Aymonier, *Le Cambodge III* (1903) p. 531. A set of photos and clichés are to be seen in Paris, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

to this examination. Further for the Hīnayānist tradition, besides the three descriptions of the Mahāvastu, there is a Pañcagati-dīpanam to be mentioned ¹⁾ as well as an important modern Cambodian writing Trai-Phum ²⁾.

The eight great hells are as follows:

1. Sañjīva.

Sinners ³⁾: who have committed sins of body, mind, words or thoughts; (T. M. C.) who have murdered other human beings; (P.) who through desire, folly, fear or anger have killed, used violence or done injury.

Punishment: they get long sharp iron nails and tear each other with them or with knives and swords; (T.) the hell-servants roast them, cut them to pieces and pierce them; (N.) they are forked up with sharp instruments and their limbs cut off; (M.) also then hung upside down; (P.) they are continually flogged.

2. Kālasūtra.

Sinners: who had no respect for father, mother, Buddha or monks; (T.) liars; (M.) those who tortured, killed or burnt living creatures; (A.) who sowed the seeds of discord, covetous people; (P.) those who did injury to father, mother or friends, also evil-speakers and liars; (C.) thieves.

Punishment: they are bound with red-hot iron chains, their limbs and heads cut off with an iron axe, their limbs sawn asunder; (T.) they are tortured with red-hot weapons, cut to pieces and forced to drink their own blood: (M. N. P.) they are sawn to pieces like trees and split up with tools.

3. Saṃghāta.

Sinners: those who have done wickedness by one of the three evil deeds from hate, envy and anger; (A.) the murderous and evil minded; (P.) those who killed animals especially (M.) insects; (C.) adulterers.

Punishment: mountains fall on and crush them; iron elephants stamp them flat; they are crushed fine in iron mortars, and rocks fall on them; (P.) they are tortured in a bloody way (not further described).

¹⁾ Pub. in Journ. Pāli Text Soc. 1884 p. 152—161; transl. in A. M. G. I. I. p. 514—520. Besides sources given in above notes, there is in Jātaka 530 a review of the hells.

²⁾ Comm. by Roeské, L'enfer cambodgien, Journ. asiat. 11: 4 (1914) p. 587—606. How much the more modern hell-pictures can differ even while they return to authentic old tradition, is to be seen for instance, as regards Tibet in Scäreve, Ein Besuch im Buddhistischen Purgatorium, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch. 65 (1911) p. 471—486.

³⁾ We shall keep to the Chinese data and note exceptions as follows: T (Tibetan Pañcaçik-ṣāḍicamsasūtra); N (Nāgārjuna-commentary); M (Mahāvastu); A (Angkor-reliefs); P (Pañcagati) and C (Cambodian Trai Phum.).

4. Raurava.

Sinners: murderers and poisoners; (T.) thieves and burglars; (M.) incendiaries etc.; (A.) debtors; (P.) torturers of living animals and deceivers; (C.) liars.

Punishment: they are boiled in iron kettles; (T.) they are fried and smoked and (P.) burnt; (N.) they are pushed into an iron house and set on fire.

5. Mahāraurava.

Sinners: heretics and wicked people; (T.) adulterers, also (M.) destroyers of serpents etc.; (P.) those who make away with the property of gods, brahmans or guru entrusted to them; (C.) those who get drunk.

Punishment: after being boiled as in Raurava, or put under iron axes and knives, they are roasted and fried; (T.) they climb trees with cruel thorns and fight one another; are thrown down on to iron spikes set in the red-hot ground; shut up in iron pots; fiery coals forced into their mouths; (N.) they are set on fire in a house no bigger than a box; (P.) they are tortured in a fiery furnace.

6. Tapanā.

Sinners: those who have roasted and fried animals for food; (T.) drunkards; (M.) those who have caused living beings to be torn to pieces by wild animals; (P.) those who set fire to a forest with animals in it and (C.) those who kill unawares and destroy kingdoms and villages.

Punishment: they are burned inside and out, in a space surrounded by iron walls; (T.) they are dragged like a fish, on a hook along a red-hot floor and molten iron poured down their throats; (N.) they are roasted and then beaten with red hot hammers on a hot floor; (M.) stamped fine, eaten by animals.

7. Pratāpana.

Sinners: those who despise and reject what is good and give themselves over to evil; (P.) those who ignore the law and rejoice over injustice and torture living creatures; (C.) those who carry on the five sorts of illegal business ¹⁾).

Punishment: they are burnt in a space between red-hot iron walls with rivers and hills of fire and stuck up on iron forks as well; (N.) bound with red-hot chains, then thrown head-downwards into a cauldron; (P.) put into a furious fiery furnace.

8. Avīci.

Sinners: those who have committed the very worst sins; (T.) liars;

¹⁾ These were 1, exorbitant prices; 2, products of the chase; 3, weapons, traps; 4, fishes; 5, drugs and alcohol.

(A.) those living in luxury, who do nothing but sin; (P.) those who have wronged people of high quality and killed father, mother, guru or a follower of Buddha, or (C.) caused the blood of a Buddha to flow, or murdered an arhat or violated an arhatī or as monk caused schism in the congregation.

Punishment: they suffer indescribable never-ending pains in a place where fire flames out of the walls and from of the jaws of the monsters that are there, with a seven-corded network of iron, 18 incense vases and 7 rows of sword-trees (see below) etc.; (P.) they are torn limb from limb and they burn in a terrible fire; (N. M.) it is one great furnace.

Let us now look at reliefs No. 86 and those following. Up to and including 92 we find regularly on each relief four scenes, of which clearly two represent crimes and two the corresponding punishments. First of all we see two men fighting and as punishment also two men attacking one another with long sharpened nails, the *asinakha*'s, to be found according to the preceding review in the first hell, *Sañjīva*. Then comes two people skinning a sheep and as punishment some one's head is being sawn by two hell-servants while a third stands ready with a knife for the next torture. This torment seems to belong to the 2nd hell *Kālasūtra* and we begin to suspect that the ordinary sequence of the hells is that of these reliefs. A bird placed above the *asinakha*'s may be the bird with an iron beak that occurs in Landresse as well as in the *Pañcagati* in one of the *utsada*'s, and in the last-named work is described ¹⁾ immediately before the *asinakha*'s.

The next hell (No. 87) with a mountain falling on the evildoers must undoubtedly be the 3rd hell *Samghāta*; besides the miscreants are being chased by a beast resembling a dog, may be only intended for one of the Yama dogs well-known in Java and Bali, or it may be in particular one of the dogs or wolves which both Northern and Southern tradition (Landresse, *Nāgārjuna*, *Pañcagati*) mention as occurring in a subhell and which also on Barabudur are placed outside the great hells, as will be seen by relief 92. On the left of the hell-mountain and evidently in connection with it, a person sits, smoking out a nest of rats or some such animals, with a torch; this can hardly be meant for anything else than one of the sins punished in the *Samghāta*, though everywhere else the sins are placed on the right of the hells. On the right of the *Samghāta* there is something else to be seen; a man is being trodden to death by an elephant while a woman sits looking on. Because of its place this might be

¹⁾ See Feer p. 518.

a crime also punishable in the Saṃghāta, but as we found above the being-stamped to death by an elephant mentioned as one of the punishments in that hell ¹⁾ it is quite possibly that we have here also not a crime but a torture in hell. The woman as spectator is rather unaccounted for. The two scenes on the left of this relief, follow each other in regular order: a man who murders another with a sword, and as punishment, two men being wounded by gigantic thorns of trees. This torture is mentioned above as belonging to Mahāraurava; keeping to the regular order of hells, they would on the Barabudūr be ascribed to Raurava, while the Nāgārjuna-commentary as well as the Pañcagati and the Trai Phum refer this Čalmali-wood to an utsada ²⁾.

The first hell of the next relief (No. 88) is evidently the 5th of the list, Mahāraurava, where the victim leaning forward gets his torn-out tongue nailed with a stick to what surely represents something on fire; the preceding crime is not as easy to distinguish, two men face each other, one of whom holds up his hand before the other who has something like a bell or flower in his hand. This much is certain, that the sin is not one of bodily violence but rather some sort of swindle or cheating. The whole scene resembles what the Trai Phum relates about dishonest merchants whose tongues are torn out and fastened to red-hot irons ³⁾. The sixth sinner hits his opposite neighbor a blow for which he is punished by being chased by a dog and a bird (see above) till he throws himself into the burning Tapana.

The first part of No. 89 is quite clear; two men are boiling fish and turtles in a kettle and are then themselves put into a large kettle with others on to a cheerfully glowing fire, a scene that may well represent Pratāpana. The second part of this relief brings us to the most horrible of all hells, Avīci, and that this is evidently the meaning we see by the crime, a man with a sword on the point of killing a woman sitting in front of him. The fact of it being a woman agrees with the awful sin of matricide punished in Avīci. The sinners are dragged by the minions of hell into a fiery furnace inside a wall.

Taking all together there seems no reasonable doubt that on the reliefs 86—89 the sculptors have intended to represent the 8 great hells with the sins that bring men into their torments. In the main, we may con-

¹⁾ As will be seen here below, the hell-elephant is also known in Bali.

²⁾ Roeké's article p. 601.

³⁾ See page 600. The Tibetan source gives the pushing and pouring of molten metal, the Mahāvastu also, but as taking place in a sub-hell. The Suhylekha too mentions this punishment.

sider that sufficient points of resemblance appear in the reliefs and the tradition of the sources, while the exceptions in minor matters seem of little importance where the sources themselves differ so widely. In any case what is found on the Barabudur becomes valuable on account of its being itself a new and unimpeachable document for further research in the current representations of the Buddhist hells. A text must of necessity have existed, a text authorized by the sanction of a distinct sect, in contrast to the hitherto known Northern and Southern sources, in which the system of Buddhist hells must have appeared exactly such as is depicted on the Barabudur.

There are still three reliefs left that also represent scenes in hell, in the same manner as before, giving twice one crime and one hell-torment on each panel. There is nothing among them that looks like a cold hell, but we see some traces that can be recognised in the descriptions of the *utsada*'s. It is there we must look for the meaning of these following scenes. I shall first give a short description of their contents. On No. 90 we see people drinking, one of them embracing a woman; as punishment they are standing in water lifting up their feet with signs of pain. What follows is indistinct: a figure kneels before two seated persons with some more standing by, the punishment is also very much damaged but it is suffered in the water like the one before. The first crime in No. 91 shews people in conversation and is probably lying or deceit; the criminals in hell are treading on sharp spikes, evidently grass that shoots up out of the ground. Next comes the sin of killing birds with clubs and blow-pipes; the hell-scene a group of men under a sword tree, the *asi-patra*, whose leaves are swords that fall on to the sinners¹⁾. Then we see on No. 92, a man and woman embracing near to a seated, evidently sleeping man, possibly a case of adultery; in hell the criminal takes flight up a tree pursued by a dog or wolf and a hell-servant with a spear. The last part represents murder with a sword and a hell-scene where the sinners are chased into the water by executioners armed with clubs and swords.

This can surely be no systematic display of the *utsada*'s, for there are only six scenes of torment represented instead of sixteen. It is, as before, impossible to refer to a distinct system and we can only examine which of the six (or rather five recognisable) tortures can be discovered in the literature and in which hell they are there placed. Although just these six, from among the various torments of the *utsada*'s, appear on the

¹⁾ The sequence of walking on pointed swords and spears and the sword-tree is also found in Tibetan writings, see Çarad Candra in *Journ. Buddh. Text Soc.* I, 3 (1893) p. 14 etc.

Barabudur without our being able to know why the others are left out, it is surely a noticeable fact that in some of the sources, these same six, at least most of them, are closely connected and supposed to be enacted near one another in the sub-hell that is generally known by the name of the river Vaitaraṇī. The fullest account we find collected in the 11th small hell of Landresse ¹⁾. There we read of a river that exhales poisonous vapors, with iron spikes in it to wound its victims, on its banks are sword trees made all of swords and when the wretches press on their feet ²⁾ their skin and flesh gets torn. Wild beasts attack them, so they are forced to throw themselves again into the river. We see here collected a good deal of what is represented on the Barabudur and that this combination belongs not only to the Chinese sources, or was originated and elaborated there, is proved by the nearly similar description in the Trai Phum ³⁾ which speaks even more minutely of the iron spikes in the river banks, of flowers as sharp as daggers, and where the hell-servants play a more important part by hunting the criminals with weapons to make them plunge into the water, just as in the Mahāvastu they draw their victims on the fiery river bank with iron hooks. This kind of thing makes it clear that a tradition must have existed, and that an ancient one, when Southern and Northern authorities agree on this point, bringing the five torments depicted on the Barabudur into close connection; in this way it becomes comprehensible that just these and no other utsada torments occur on the monument. The damaged sixth torment, also in a river, shews some pots and pans, this may mean the drinking of molten metal, also a custom of Vaitaraṇī ⁴⁾. There is one difference; that while in the descriptions mentioned above, the same criminals undergo the whole series of torments, on the Barabudur, the insertion of a crime between them, makes it probable that in these six cases, six different sorts of sinners are intended and therefore perhaps these torments were not reckoned to be locally connected.

Before turning to the following reliefs that have nothing to do with hell, we ought to fix our attention on what we can learn from a native source about the Hindu-Javan conception of hell. This dates from some centuries later than Barabudur, but its comparison with the monument is nevertheless, or perhaps for that reason, very instructive. There we find a great many of the punishments portrayed on the re-

¹⁾ See page 297.

²⁾ Grass is not mentioned by name; on the relief this is undoubtedly intended.

³⁾ Pag. 595.

⁴⁾ The commentary on Nāgārjuna's Letter (vs. 79 p. 23) is very positive on this point.

liefs, but without any system, all mixed up and all considered to have a place in "the" hell and all inflicted casually upon the sinners without any particular punishment being attached to a particular crime. Our reference to this source, the Kuñjarakarna legend published by Prof. Kern ¹⁾ is the more justified because, finding such a confused mass of hell-descriptions, makes us think that in addition to what was compiled from the literature, pictured or sculptured representations must have helped to furnish material. We know that this kind of thing has occurred in another part of Buddhist art, where details depicted by Hellenist sculptors of the Gandhāra-reliefs have found their way into literature ²⁾. In the same way, the casual placing next one another of hell-torments in the Kuñjarakarna is less easy to explain if they were drawn only from written sources, but quite comprehensible if they were compiled chiefly from describing what could be seen passing before the eye on a monument such as the Barabudur.

This possible interchange between sculpture and literature, as well as the remarkable way in which all sorts of data found on the monument appear to be taken into the Hindu-Javan tradition of the Kuñjarakarna, makes the insertion of a rather lengthy quotation from this work seem adviseable. It begins at the moment when the yakṣa Kuñjarakarna at the command of the Jina Vairocana, is visiting hell and turns along the wide road that leads to damnation ³⁾. "He came to a stand at the edge of the field Agnikorova (Agnitorana?). The boundary was cut off by fire in the middle of Bhūmipattana. There were the sword-trees, whose leaves are swords, their blossoms spikes, and their thorns like weapons. Their thickness is that of a pinangtree and their height 10 cubits. The shadow of them stretches out to 10 lakṣa's over sharp-pointed grass; the bushes are daggers and knives. This is where the wicked undergo the five sorts of earthly suffering, chased and tortured by the servants of Yama. What were the punishments, that Kuñjarakarna saw there? The head of one sinner was being cut off, others were being chained (or tortured), the arse of others cut open, then they were beaten with iron clubs, their skulls split open till the brains fell out, then their feet bruised by hundreds, all battered, next pierced on to spears as thick as a pinangtree and 10 cubits long, by hundreds at a time. To what can we liken them? They were even as locusts threaded on a string.

¹⁾ In *Verhand. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch., Afd. Letterk.* N. R. III, No. 3 (1901). A Middle Javan poetical version is described by Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. HS.* I (1907) p. 279.

²⁾ See Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra* I (1905) p. 361 and 399.

³⁾ This quotation will be found on p. 25—27 and 31 of Prof. Kern's publication.

They wept and sobbed, some calling piteously on their father and mother, others on their wives and children for help. And there were yakṣa-birds called Sisantana (Asipatatra?) birds of evil, whose wings were knives, whose claws were swords, claws as cruel as the weapon of Indra. Hundreds of these creatures flew from the swordtrees and attacked the wicked ones, while at the same time they were bitten by thousands of yakṣa dogs with monstrous heads. Some were bitten on the neck, some had their bellies ripped open. . . . All those pursued by the servants of Yama were caught and stuck on to iron spears as thick as an arm and 1 cubit 1 roh long. They were then pierced through from the arse to the skull in the last agonies. Some fled for shelter to the sword trees, in troops of thousands clustered together. They thought the trees would give them shelter when they came there. Then the birds shook the trees which were full of sharp blades and those who sought shelter were crushed to pieces. . . . A still greater disappointment was prepared for them; the sound of rippling water like the water of a lake. That will be good to drink they thought. And they rushed towards it in crowds. But when they came there, their feet trod on sharp-pointed grass; their feet were pierced, the blood spurted out and they fell as if wounded by weapons.

Kuñjarakarṇa stood still. When he turned his eyes to the South he saw the Saṃghāta-parvata's (two) mountains of iron continually grinding one against the other. There the wicked ones were punished, forced into the opening between the iron mountains which revolved like a wind-mill and looked like ěmprit birds on the wing. Yet still the servants of Yama were not satisfied, therefore again (the evildoers) were tortured, beaten with iron clubs as thick as pinangstems. Others were pierced with spears of 10 cubits long, by hundreds at a time. . . . Suddenly the sound of blows; thump! thump! they were being beaten continually with a club; thump bang! smack! pieces sticking out every where. In this manner the servants of Yama did their work, torturing the evildoers who groaned with pain. After this they were hung up and fire was lighted (beneath them)."

Later on Kuñjarakarṇa asks Yama for what reason a hell-cauldron is being prepared. He is told: "As concerning the kettle, the reason it is being put on, cleaned out and got ready is that a certain wicked man is soon to be placed therein. His sins are innumerable; a hundred years long he will be boiled in the cauldron. After he has been boiled in the cauldron, yakṣa-birds with the faces of yakṣa's will seize him and take him to the swordtrees pushing and pressing him into their thorns which

are vajra's a cubit and a roh long, and thick as a pinang tree. The vajra's are sharp as swords. The Yakṣamukha's bring fire which starts into a blaze beneath him. His body smoulders, he is neither dead nor alive. Thus will he be tortured for a thousand years."

Such are the torments of hell according to the later Hindu-Javan views. Before leaving this text, we must call attention to one theory, not directly concerning the hells, but which has importance as regards the Javan idea of reincarnation. This is where Yama replies to the question whether the dwellers in hell can be born again on to the earth¹⁾. This is actually possible, they return into the world first as obnoxious creatures, worms, leeches etc, then as those of a higher scale, beetles, ants etc, after that as creatures used for food, such as locusts, moles, snails, then as birds and finally as four-footed animals. Then they are on the way to become men, at first deficient ones, blind, deaf or hunchback; at last a human being, well-shaped but impotent, epileptic, idiotic or suchlike. "These are the distinctive marks of those who come from Yama's kingdom." Prof. Kern has already remarked²⁾ that this distinctly Darwinian theory of evolution is by no means reconcilable with the general Indian theories. It is therefore important to note that it is no later-Javan fabrication but will be found in less diffuse form in a work quoted by Beal³⁾, Buddhānusmṛtisamādhisūtra. The fact that this theory is found in the Indian work mentioned as well as in the later-Javan one, makes it very probable that this may also be the conception familiar to the founders of Barabudur. This idea may have little direct importance for the explanation of the reliefs, but will surely be of use in the search for the text that was followed.

Another peculiarity, perhaps not unimportant, concerns the shape of the cauldrons. They are ordinary oval or oblong metal vessels. Later on we find in East Java quite another shape. At the temple Jajaghu near Tumpang, dated 1268 or soon after, the hell-cauldrons have the shape of a bull whose cut out back is ready to receive the victims doomed to torture⁴⁾. Here we have of course the tāmragomukha, the cauldron with a bull's head, well-known to literature. This conception must be much older than the sanctuary named; for, so far as we know the first mention of the tāmragomukha, is found already in an inscription that

¹⁾ Pag. 32 sq.

²⁾ On p. 19 of his introduction.

³⁾ Catena p. 65.

⁴⁾ See Brandes, Tjandi Djago (1904) photo No. 31, 33, 117, 119 and pag. 49, 57, and 73 of the text.

can be dated before 943¹⁾, not so very far removed from the Middle-Java period. That this shape of cauldron is not found at all on Barabuḍur seems to us another proof that the character of the Barabuḍur hells is derived clearly and directly from Indian sources, not yet modified by native influences.

The reliefs of Jajaghu are of little use for comparison with Barabuḍur; they represent ²⁾ the Kuñjarakarṇa legend here alluded to but they are not very distinct and little work has been made of details. Quadrapeds, birds of prey, hell fiends beast-headed, and swordtrees are to be seen, but little else; the torture of being hung to a tree by the nose is quite a different sort to those belonging to the Indian tradition represented on the Barabuḍur. It is quite apparent that in Bali more points of resemblance are found with East Java than with the Barabuḍur scenes; from information given by Juynboll about them ³⁾ we note that, besides dogs and birds, there is an elephant that tramples on the victims, a noticeable peculiarity with regard to relief No. 87. Swordtrees, and mountains that shut together are nor wanting and among the crimes punished is the killing of animals with a blow-pipe, just as on Barabuḍur. Reincarnation into animals or as ghosts, is also described. In addition to these, all sorts of Malay-Polynesian ideas are mixed up with them; it is typical that in the different departments of hell (there is only one) every misdeed is punished by a separately appointed bhūta with a Balinese i. e. Malay-Polynesian name.

We now turn to the four reliefs that immediately follow on the hell-scenes, No. 93—96. We must avoid extensive description and keep to the chief point, that evidently all four panels represent creatures such as human beings are born into, according to their deeds. On No. 93 is seen first, a group of birds, peacocks, geese, doves, parrots, then a group of quadrupeds, horse, deer, cattle. On No. 94 we find garuḍa's and nāga's, on No. 95 a figure that with its swollen belly, emaciated body, deformed head and unkempt hair must in our opinion represent a preta. No. 96, last of this group shews among other things, yakṣa's. From 97 onwards they give entirely only ordinary human beings, these we shall not discuss. The four mentioned seem intended to shew how less guilty sinners who need not suffer in hell are nevertheless given their deserts in reincarnation as birds, quadrupeds, garuḍa, nāga, preta or yakṣa.

¹⁾ Brandes, *Verh. Bat. Gen.* 60 (1913) p. 75.

²⁾ *Ind. Hind. Jav. kunst* (1923) II p. 116 and foll.

³⁾ *Die Hölle und die Höllenstrafen nach dem Volksglauben auf Bali*, *Baessler-Archiv* 4 (1914) p. 78—86 and 293 etc. The following particulars are taken from the *Bimaswarga*.

The crimes for which these punishments are given are only here and there distinguishable on the relief; the quadruped is someone who has beaten a tied-up victim with a stick, while the preta in his former existence, turned a deaf ear to suppliants. Very little is to be gathered on these matters, from Chinese sources; all sorts of preta's are mentioned with the addition that they owe this incarnation to their greedy or miserly character, then follows a discourse about the animals and the explanation that the kind of animal selected for the reincarnation is determined by the nature of the former existence; no fuller particulars are given ¹⁾. The Pañcagati is more expansive, its Southern tradition naturally had no direct influence on the Barabaður pictures, but from this we can select some details to give an idea of the ruling opinions in this matter ²⁾.

The pleasure-loving reappear as geese, cranes, and donkeys, the fools as worms, the angry as snakes, the proud, the haters, as dogs and asses, the cowards and envious, as apes, the gossips and shameless as ravens; those who ill-treat animals as parrots, scorpions, tigers, jackals, bears, vultures etc.; the angry and cruel become nāga's, those who offer sacrifice in anger and the haughty, become garuḍa's. Then come the different kinds of preta's ³⁾, those who deprive others of food, ill-treat or deceive the sick, are incurably lazy or greedy, neglect to offer gifts and hinder others from doing so, are miserly, desire other men's goods, speak evil words in anger, are cruel, unfeeling or quarrelsome etc. Those who kill and eat animals and force others to do the same, become rākṣasa's and the angry and drunkards become yakṣa's. We need not continue the list, but just notice that the becoming a preta as the result of refusing to offer gifts, is common to the tradition of the Pañcagati as well as that of Barabaður.

As regards the sequence we can learn from Tibetan source that there are mentioned consecutively 1. the hells, 2. reincarnation as animals, 3. preta's, 4. gods, 5. strangers, especially savages, 6. those afflicted with deformity, 7. followers of false creeds (mithyādarṣanam) 8. people of a Buddha-less period ⁴⁾.

Now a few words about the heavens, which are also found in great

¹⁾ Beal, Catena p. 67 and foll.

²⁾ See vs. 45—65 of the text or p. 520—523 of Feer's translation.

³⁾ According to Nāgārjuna's Letter, preta's in general suffer through greed, hunger and thirst, heat and cold, exhaustion and fear.

⁴⁾ Çarad Candra Das, ll. p. 5 note. In other places the hell comes at the end, after gods, demons, man, animals and preta's.

numbers on the Barabudur, in many cases identified by the inscription *svargga* ¹⁾. This shall be done briefly because what the sources tell us about the Buddhist heavens gives very little help for explaining the reliefs. It is true the system of the heavens is pretty well fixed, but we hear nothing of the difference between the different sorts of heavens and need not be surprised that all the heavens on the Barabudur resemble one another ²⁾ and are nearly all distinguished in the same way by a wishing tree with or without *kinnara*'s. Meanwhile let us add a short review of the system of these heavens; especially because in the *Lalitavistara* on the first gallery, various kinds of heavenly gods appear, it will be better to give some attention to their place in the Buddhist cosmos.

The heavens are divided into three kinds, those of the *Kāmadhātu*, the *Rūpadhātu*, and the *Arūpadhātu*. This last, the shapeless world, naturally cannot be represented. In the *Kāmadhātu* is the lowest heaven half-way on Meru that which belongs to the guardians of the four points of the compass, the so-called Four Great Kings with their attendant *Caturmahārājakāyika*-gods. Then comes, on the top of Meru, the heaven of the *Trayastrimṣa*'s, the three and thirty gods with *Çakra* or *Indra*, king of the gods at their head. Beyond that, disappearing into the clouds, we find one after the other the *Yāma*'s, the *Tuṣita*'s where the future Buddha lives before his last incarnation, the *Nirmāṇarati*'s and the *Paranirmitavaçavartin*'s (or *Paranirmāṇavāçin*'s). The *Rūpadhātu* or *Brahmā*-world contains the heavens of four sorts of *dhyāna*. Those of the first *dhyāna* are the heavens of the *Brahmapārşadya*'s or *Brahmakāyika*'s, *Brahmapurohita*'s and *Mahābrahmāṇa*'s; in the second are found consecutively, the *Parittābha*'s, the *Apramāṇābha*'s and the *Ābhāsvara*'s; in the third, the *Parittaçubha*'s, *Apramāṇaçubha*'s and *Çubhakṛtsna*'s. Finally the heavens of the fourth *dhyāna* contain the *Anabhraka*'s, *Puṇyaprasava*'s, *Bṛhatphala*'s, *Avṛha*'s, *Atapa*'s, *Sudṛça*'s, *Sudarçaṇa*'s and *Akaṇiṣṭha*'s ³⁾. The five last-mentioned gods are also called collectively *Çuddhāvāsa*'s.

We surmise of course that it is virtue alone that can open the gates of

¹⁾ According to Candra Das p. 7, this would mean „state of worldly happiness“, but for Java we must undoubtedly keep to the only meaning there used: „heaven“.

²⁾ The same monotony is noticeable in the Buddhist heavens of the stūpa at Sāñchi, see Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (1901) p. 60 and fol. and Foucher, *La porte orientale du stūpa de Sāñchi*, Mus. Guim. Bibl. de Vulg. 34 (1910) p. 18 and fol.

³⁾ See de la Vallée Poussin in above-quoted article.

⁴⁾ Chinese sources (Feer l. l. 531—536; Beal, *Catena* p. 83—85) give *one* heaven more for the 4th *dhyāna* placed by Beal with the name *Asangisattra*'s after the *Bṛhatphala*'s. In the same

heaven, but exactly which virtue earns a place in which of the various heavens, is not clear. Speaking generally, the following qualifications are required for a rebirth into heaven: obedience to the ten commandments or gifts of garments, incense and food, the practice of religious exercises, refraining from murder, desire and anger, hospitality to monks and nuns. Some slight difference is made between the virtues and their reward; those who kill no animals come to the Four Great Kings, those who as well do not steal, to the Trayastrimṇa's, those who do not commit adultery to the Yāma's, and those who in addition never tell lies, to the Tuṣita's, those who keep all the commandments and practice the seven virtues of speech and body to the Nirmāṇarati's and Paranirmitavaṣavartin's ¹⁾. Also by placing the standard a bit higher, obedience to the ten commandments finds its reward in Caturmahārājakāyika's and Trayastrimṇa's, the exercise of kāmārūpasamādhi into the higher heavens; and according to another authority, the ten commandments bring the virtuous into the Kāmadhātu, the samādhi into the Rūpadhātu, and absolute control of mind into the Arūpadhātu.

All this gives little towards the explanation of the reliefs, no more than the Southern tradition that rewards a simple unselfish conduct of life, with the heaven of the Great Kings, the honoring of father and mother, devotion and tolerance with the Trayastrimṇa's, avoidance of dispute and quarrels with the Yāma's, obedience to the law and search after salvation with the Tuṣita's, striving with great personal effort after good conduct (çīla) and religious observance (vinaya) with the Nirmāṇarati's, freedom of mind and subjugation of the senses with the heaven of the Paranirmitavaṣavartin's ²⁾.

Let us now consider the reincarnation into the human world, the explanation of which will also be found in former good or evil deeds. We quote a few cases from the Southern tradition ³⁾ which without giving direct indication for the solution of this or that relief, gives all the same a correct idea of the line of thought that has formed the foundation of the text illustrated on the Barabuḍur. It must be noted that there is often a very direct connection between the deed and the reward,

Avṛha's and Atapa's have changed places. The Tibetan system given by Waddell, Lamaism (1895) p. 85, puts above the Arūpa-heavens that of the Jina's and above that again the heaven of the Ādi-Buddha, which appears to be the same as that of the Akanisṭha's. Compare Koeppen, Die Religion des Buddha I (1857) p. 260 etc.

¹⁾ See Chinese sources Beal, p. 80 and fol. and Feer p. 537.

²⁾ Beal p. 86.

³⁾ See Pañcagati vs. 102—108; Feer p. 527.

⁴⁾ Same vs. 70—102 and p. 523—526.

in such a manner that the blessing gained is in the same spirit of the good deed performed, while besides, in reference to our remarks about the inscription *sus vara* on page 60, we draw attention to the statement that those who in their former lives made gifts of musical instruments are reborn with a beautiful voice.

We find the following. Leprosy, consumption, fever, madness, are the result of blows given, deeds of violence, imprisoning. Those who laid hands on another's goods and never shewed compassion, however much they try, will never become rich; those who have gathered riches by dishonest means but are benevolent, will be reborn poor; those who have not become rich by dishonest means yet are not compassionate, will be able by trying hard to attain riches; those who have achieved prosperity by the same means and give generously, will without trouble have continual good fortune. Those who give food, become strong, wise, healthy and happy; those who give clothing become beautiful, loved by all and receive fine clothes; those who have given a dwelling, are served willingly by all; those who dig wells and make pools are happy and never suffer heat or thirst; those who give a garden are always féted with flowers; he who spreads knowledge is born again as learned man; those who have tended the sick, remain always in good health. The gift of a lamp brings good sight in the next life; of musical instruments, a fine voice; who gives beds and seats, will always have comfort. The gift of a cow or other milky creature brings strength and long life; of a girl, brings great pleasure and numerous servitors; he who gives land shall roll in riches and grain. But those who give their gifts with an eye to heaven's favor or from fear, ambition or self-interest, receive no benefits; gifts must be the sign of compassion, the virtue rated as the source of all happiness. He who lusts not after other men's wives obtains the spouses he desires; he whose desires run after the wives of others, shall become a woman, but the woman who despises her womanhood, lives unsullied and forms no earthly bonds, shall be reborn as man. The pure and humble shall be exalted, perfect in conduct, honored even by the gods. Those who obey the commands of their guru's and distinguish good from evil, their words shall be of weight everywhere. To despise others brings degradation, the opposite, promotion; the conferring of benefits brings happiness, to cause suffering will bring misfortune. Those who deceive others become dwarfs, hunchbacks, the same as those who are proud of their beauty; he who has never spread his knowledge, becomes stupid, those who do not respond to affection become dumb, those who are offended at good advice, blind and lunatic. Thus pain is made the result of sin, and happi-

ness of virtue and every deed brings its own suitable consequences.

We have here given the tradition from a Southern source, not only because what this offers agrees better with what we learn about the hells, reincarnation into non-human forms and the heavens, from the same source, but also because the way in which the connection between cause and effect is shewn appears to coincide with the way in which that law is demonstrated on the Barabuḍur, more than is the case with a source like the *Karmavibhāga* ¹⁾ though that is such an important one. This text gives first the results and then various causes which lead thereto. For instance, the question is put how it comes that someone is often ill, and the answer is given that there may be ten reasons: a blow with a stick, hand etc.; repeated blows therewith; praise of such beating; the desire to do it; nursing ill-feeling towards father and mother or those afflicted with great sorrow; joy over the afflictions of one's enemies; or the non-recovery of those we dislike; giving injurious medicines; eating without chewing. Thus 52 questions are asked and answered, some very remarkable ones among them, yet it is clear that the text of the Barabuḍur is expressed in some other way. The same is the case with the continuation of the *Karmavibhāga*, where just the other way about, every deed is mentioned with a number of possible results, for instance: for gifts of food the reward is long life, power, strength, good memory and eloquence, one's presence brings joy into company, rejoices gods and men, brings riches and prosperity, rebirth in heaven is achieved and soon afterwards the *nirvāṇa*. It seems hardly worth while to make any longer study of these and similar texts, we can gather from the reliefs that the way of treatment, with them, has been different, and for the present be satisfied that without knowing the text followed on the monument, we know now to some extent the meaning of what we see there before us. Now and then the relief is articulate enough, even without its inscription, to shew us what is the deed and how it finds reward or punishment.

Now if this Law of the Karman is an absolutely inexorable one, without the least chance of escape from the result of one's evil deeds, then we can realize that the impression these scenes made on the beholder must have been rather a depressing one. True, he would find the solution of much that was obscure in human life and be at the same time encouraged to walk in the path of virtue for the future, but all the same the punishment for the sins already committed was inevitable. The Hindu-Javan conception seems to have discovered a means to mit-

¹⁾ Mdo XXVI (fol. 465—481), Feer I.I. p. 250—279 (cf. 492—513).

igate the evil already committed. This is clearly expressed in the Kuñjarakarṇa where by favor of the high Buddha Vairocana, a repentant sinner is shewn the way, not to avoid the well-deserved punishment, but considerably to modify it; he must plunge into the hell-cauldron but after a short torture, the cauldron bursts asunder and in its place comes a kalpataru ¹⁾. Do we see something of this sort in relief No. 110, where the victims are making off with signs of a joyful deliverance? It looks rather like it. In the Kuñjarakarṇa it is the redeeming influence of the Higher Wisdom that works the miracle. What the idea on the Barabudur may be, must be left doubtful; if it resembles that given by the writer of the Kuñjarakarṇa, then we might see in the reliefs of the buried base, not only an image of the saṃsāra, and encouragement to virtuous living but also a signpost towards the Higher Wisdom of which the pious beholder of the highest galleries can have some conception.

In later chapters we shall describe, with the recognised texts, each relief separately, but in the unknown ones we shall restrict ourselves to a review of the reliefs as a whole, which has the advantage that the most striking and probably most important among the scenes come more to the front and in this way just those points are prominent, which can be of value later on for the search of the text followed. For detailed description of the reliefs we refer the reader to the Dutch edition of this monograph.

The first fact noticeable in the series of the covered base, is the entire absence of any introduction, the more strange because it is here not merely the beginning of a particular series but the first scenes of the whole monument. Several of the panels contain two or more consecutive pictures which often apparently have no connection with each other and in which further on, as we have seen, the good and evil deeds and their results are combined. Further it has already been noticed (p. 48) that a good many of the reliefs give scenes depicting very humble folk, the life and labor of the desa-man, sometimes people of better standing, probably village officials or lower-class townspeople, but hardly ever the great ones of the earth.

Relief No. 1 brings us into a scene of fishing, combined with the sale of fish. Fish are being brought on poles and in traps, displayed and bargained over. A man with a drum round his neck and beating with a little hammer, acts as town-crier, just as we see one elsewhere

¹⁾ See pag. 13, 19 and 42. Compare the changing of the hell-cauldron unto a pool in Avalokiteśvara's visit to the hell Avīci, as described in the *Karaṇḍavyūha*.

in processions. No. 2 contains three scenes, right, a hunter, at any rate a figure with bow and arrows, stands talking with others, one of whom also has arrows; in the centre, some people sit conversing, while in the foreground two men prepare a meal, one blowing up the fire on which a pot boils, the other, with a knife getting the fish ready, maybe the fish off No. 1 and so connecting the two reliefs. Left, is a covered bench with a child, its head on the lap of a woman, while two men also seated on the bench, both with curious turbans on, look attentively at the child, the front one examining its neck; it looks like a sick child being attended to¹⁾ but of course it is only guessing. The next relief is not finished, the figures are only given in outline; right, we see an indistinct group of people and one figure reclining with legs drawn up; in the centre, a woman massaging another's body; left, some more people by a recumbent figure, possibly a corpse. No. 4 also is not cheerful, two men with swords, one holding a noose put round the neck of a victim sitting between them and away on the left a remarkable picture of a graveyard, where lie two corpses, a skull and bones, a jackal and a raven. A very much disabled figure of a man is just walking away. No. 5 is in quite another style, four men armed with swords and shields (one has a lance) are performing a dance before some spectators; in a group left, a man and woman holding a recumbent child. The following two reliefs are not expressive, only conversation and receptions. No. 8 shews, right some five men standing, rather indistinct, the one on the extreme right with a sword on his shoulder and the next looks as if his hands were bound; left, a reception with a child seated beside the chief person, behind the child's head a crescent-shaped ornament, often seen with the representation of children and to be discussed later on.

On No. 9 the animal world reappears. Two men right, leading a pig by a rope, two others bearing bowls, in one a couple of fish. Their intentions seem to be friendly, for a fifth man kneels beside a pond and lets the fish swim away out of the bowl. This must mean the good deed of letting animals free; what the fowls on the edge of the pond are doing is not clear²⁾. No. 10 is a very striking scene in which a ruffian or murderer armed with a sword attacks three pedestrians, one is already on the ground, another who tries to defend himself with his umbrella is caught by the ankle, evidently with the intention of throwing him down. From

¹⁾ As such this scene is depicted by von Römer, *Historische Schetsen*, IV Congress, Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine (1921) fig. 218 and p. 306.

²⁾ The combination of fowls and pig calls to mind a place in the *Milinda-pappha* (IV, 8, 7) where these are both mentioned among the things not suitable for gifts.

the right, three men better-dressed, come as if to the rescue. The following very crowded reliefs, are several conversations and similar scenes. We note that on No. 11, among other things, a distribution of food is taking place under the direction of a landowner or some such person, sitting with a woman and two children on a bench under an awning. No. 12 shews a monk or person extremely like one, receiving food, drink and other good gifts. No. 13 is damaged, thus not very clear, a man is being brought by two others towards a group of people conversing, on the extreme right another reclines lazily on a bench; on No. 14 a figure asks pity from a man standing near him with a sword in his hand and left, apparently without any connection, another sits at a wellspread table: a large ball of rice with a couple of fishes on top is set among dishes with other food and the man for whom the meal is ready is just lifting a bowl, into which drink is being poured. No. 15 shews a pot on the fire being stirred with a spoon under the direction of a brahman seated; a little further is a woman beside a man seated with a dish before him, the fare looks too like rice with fish. On No. 16 an ascetic is speaking, he can be recognised by the usual style of hairdressing with a twisted top-knot on his head, while a conference of brahmans is going on. No. 17 shews also a conference.

No. 18 and 19 on their right, are very similar. Both shew as chief figure a man in the centre, subject of special attention to a group of kneeling, sitting, and standing persons, on 18 chiefly women, on 19, men. It looks like a sick man or invalid whom all are concerned about, they hold his arms, support him, and bring dishes or bowls with food or medicine. No. 20 shews again a young child with well-dressed parents, on the left a meal is set out and copious drinking goes on. The result appears the same as later given on a Jātakamālā-relief representing drunkenness: there are people of respectable appearance, brahmans among them, dancing in the wildest manner, one making unseemly advances to a young woman. The next two reliefs are those depicting ugly deformed persons as mentioned above (p. 51 and 55) and according to the inscription, *virūpa*, intended as such; evidently they do nothing but talk. Note the cat on No. 22 in the right hand corner, sitting opposite a not misshapen man and to judge by its prominent position, intended as an actor, not mere decoration in the scene. On No. 23 we have the recurrence of a family with a child. No. 24 is remarkable for a building, probably a temple, to judge by the monumental lamp set up next to it, on both sides appear a group of men armed with swords, sticks and blow-pipes, evidently ready to attack, whether each other or the temple is not clear. Discord is

the subject of No. 25 though without weapons; right, some people are evidently in dispute, left, the object of the general indignation seems to be an old woman advancing with a stick in her hand, and a child on her back.

The next scenes are again not very expressive. No. 26 another ascetic and again distribution of garments and money to brahmins among others. No. 28 three ascetics who in an outlined rocky wilderness seem to receive the homage of a company of visitors. Then comes on No. 28 a temple with a stambhā next to it, being honored by two persons, one on each side of it, on the right, one who throws flowers down from a dish, on the left, certainly a woman with a scallop and aspergillum in her hand. No. 30 gives quite another sort of building, a dwelling in the common sort of rice-shed style, with a porch. Within, several men sit talking, one is climbing a ladder to the upper storey, another comes towards the building from the right with a pikulan on his shoulder. The seated man on the left is a queer figure, altogether out of scale, for his forehead touches the roof of the porch; he has a hammer in his hand. On No. 31 another building, most likely a monastery, as a monk sits in the doorway with his hands on his knee, an incense stand next to him, while he receives the homage of a man who is kneeling, probably a brahmin, attended by a man and woman.

The two next-following reliefs take us into the highest rank of society with lofty tiaras, splendid ornaments and rich surroundings. One of these important people on No. 32 stands, with wife and child beside him, opposite to a very poor old man with a stick in his hand and a bundle on his shoulder; another rich man on No. 33 appears next to a temple, he has two women and two servants with him one of the latter bearing a standard crowned with a cakra, the other a vase with a spout such as used at the presentation of gifts. No. 34 and the next, bring us back to the desa and we see continual groups of more or less well-to-do people; their appearance and surroundings vary here and there, as well as their way of sitting and talking, but what may be the subject of the conversation is too difficult to make out. I will mention only a few peculiarities. On No. 37 two ascetics conversing in a wilderness each with a parrot behind him on the rocks; in these cases, it is of course impossible to say if the figures of animals or other things are mere decoration or actually play a part in the text. By mentioning them we might perhaps give them too much importance, but by taking no notice of them we might possibly neglect an important point and lose a valuable indication that could eventually lead to the discovery of the real meaning. On the same No. 37, we see left, some three men with small pots beside them. On No. 38 among other things a poor man walking with his wife and child, he car-

ries the child in a slendang and leads the woman, who has a bundle on her head, by the hand. No. 39 is most important because here we are introduced to pastoral music in contrast to the court and heavenly melodies such as will be met with chiefly in the upper galleries. Here we see, right, some musicians before a village headman and his wife, one plays on an oblong board with notes with a small stick, another holds up a sort of long, hollow, basin that contains some rods with little knobs at the end. Left, the audience consists of very low-class people, two of the performers play on a mouth organ, a third dances, on the ground a basin with rods, the same as in the last scene, and another round instrument with a twisted opening.

Nos. 40 and 41 are partly damaged and partly unfinished, on the first of the two we see a family of importance with two children, on the second, as far as we can discern, umbrellas being presented to monks; monks as well on No. 42 sit listening respectfully to the discourse one of them is preaching, seated above in a niche. Then on No. 43 some more humble folk, one of whom carries a curious object on each end of his pikulan, a receptacle with legs and a cone-shaped lid: in front of a gateway, a sambah is being made towards these objects, so there must be something particular inside them. On the other side of the gateway sits the "eminent person" of the inscription with his company. No. 44 shews a man and woman poorly-dressed, receiving homage amid rocky scenery, left, a damaged scene, a couple of women with children can be descried. Nos. 45 and 46 are very much damaged; as they shew persons that look like monks, we are inclined to think the figures on the right hand scene of No. 47, must be bhikṣu's as well. Here we have two buildings inside a fence, one like a rice-shed with stairs to the upper floor, and one, the usual open wooden building with smooth sloping roof, on beams curved and leaning outwards. In both buildings men are sitting and lying, their heads are like monks though the figures are too small to see if they have the other monkish attributes, but the fact that some of them plainly wear earrings, makes us think that after all they are not intended for clerical persons.

On No. 48 we notice, as well as two groups of persons in conversation, the arrival, left, of three lower-class men with bundles over the shoulder, who look like manual laborers but may be musicians, as one of them carries an oblong-shaped instrument with a stick, such as we saw being played on a former relief. On No. 49 two men with umbrellas and two others seated who have a dog with them. What looks most interesting, is on the left, of which the lower half is unfortunately

entirely damaged. Above appear three cylinder-shaped poles and three men standing with their backs to them, there are bands round the poles and over the heads of the men, just at the height of the skull, there is a disk on each of the poles. We can't see the meaning of this; to look at them, the men might be monks. Next, in the middle of No. 50 is a breadfruit tree, from which a man has gathered fruit and is tying them together; left, is a portable table with a flat semicircular object, under which sits the owner, further to the left, some merchants all damaged, the first with his wares on a carrying-pole with an umbrella on it, the second has his goods in a large covered tray on his head. Then comes No. 51, a complete undecipherable wreck. No. 52 shews first, three ascetics in their usual costume and one layman; then a group of performing jugglers, such as we shall see again on the balustrade of the 1st gallery; a woman dancing, a man balancing a large oblong block on his chin and two others beating drums and cymbals. The left part of the next relief seems as if connected with this latter; there is also a musician, this time with a mouth organ and two men with sticks appear. One of the spectators has a little dog sitting next him. In the following reliefs, all conversation and suchlike, we notice the very respectful greeting of a woman and next to that the presentation of an object like a paper-bag — similar to one found only on the 1st balustrade — then a tray of moneybags on No. 54; on No. 55 some monks teaching and the saluting of a couple of brahmans, one of whom holds a flower in his hand.

We pass over some less striking scenes and only call attention to No. 59 representing a desa-man offering a branch of pisangs to some of his fellows, more likely displaying them, as no-one offers to touch them though all are evidently interested. On the righthand scene of No. 60, two men seem to be trying to take away from a third something he has under his arm; a fourth rouses the attention of a person sitting on the ground, takes him by the wrist, while he remains quite uninterested; I need-not repeat every time that the conclusions we draw merely from the attitudes of the figures, may of course turn out in the end to be something entirely different. On No. 61 we see right, a fruit garden, inside of its fence a woman with a man outside, just about to rush at two others. No. 64 brahmans again, being received by an eminent person and his wives.

The left side of No. 65 gives us something quite new. It shews a field of maize loaded with grain, among which a lot of rats are eating their fill, on the left of the field a very primitive little building with a grain-shed built on piles, underneath which two people are sitting, while below them lies a large animal, perhaps a watchdog. On No. 66 right, an asce-

tic sits discoursing and on the left, the house of a rich man; look at the big chest and the vessels filled with valuables near him. The next reliefs also shew us rich people with treasures stored in the same way. No. 67, one of them is talking to two monks, further up, a few more receiving homage and gifts which others distribute among all sorts of poor people. The figures on No. 67 right, who are accepting gifts, look like monks but they are certainly wearing a loincloth, no monks frock, so they must be another sort of folks with shaved heads, not bhikṣu's. This kind of scene with rich and benevolent persons, goes on up to No. 73; on No. 72 we see a dancing party, same as usual, but on a small scale, the not very grandly dressed dancing-girl displays herself on a small platform, near her, two women with bells and a musician beating on a pot-shaped drum. The high and mighty individual, with men and women attendants, in whose honor the party is given, looks rather bored.

Beginning with No. 74, we come to another sort of scene, chiefly to do with the lower classes. No. 74, right, a man and woman in close converse in the presence of another man on a cushion, while a pig is being killed in the foreground; impossible to make out, without the text, what this represents. In the centre, again a woman with two men, one has hold of her, while at the same time the other gives or receives a ring. This may naively signify some undignified intrigue. Notice the peculiar hairdressing of the eminent person seated among his followers on No. 75, he wears it twisted in a knot in the style of an ascetic, yet he is dressed fashionably like a man of the world. Further on are numerous conversations, shewing men resembling monks but who are probably something else. On No. 77 the chief person has a large book before him on a lectern. No. 78 right, a man and woman seated on a dais, she holds the hand and arm of the man, next to them another couple standing, holding each other's right hand while the woman with her left, holds up a small dish and the man points with his left hand to the first couple. Another man stands on the left with a dish in both hands. On the left hand scene of this relief, two men standing lay their hands on the heads of two seated ones and a fifth standing by, calls attention with a gesture to the seated figures; I am unable to make out the meaning of this scene.

Books are very evident on the five next-following reliefs; on No. 79 a man plainly-dressed, is sitting with a large kropak on a lectern before him, discoursing to some others also holding palmleaf books in their hands and on the next reliefs all sorts of people with books in their hands or in front of them, are lecturing, laymen, brahmans, also an ascetic; the audience as well, often have books with them. And so on till No. 85,

where we find a person without a book giving a lecture, in full dress with a halo round his head, therefore probably a Bodhisattva. No. 83 is the only one of this series where no book is to be seen, but the lectures are in full swing, given by a monk on the right and an ascetic on the left.

The reliefs No. 86—96 have been fully discussed above (p. 62—75), I shall only call to mind that in my opinion No. 86—89 depict the eight great hells with the sins that lead to them, that on No. 90—92 in the same way, the torments of one or various sub-hells are seen, and on No. 93—96, among other things, reincarnation into the animal-world as *garuḍa*, *nāga*, *preta* and *yakṣa*.

Let us now continue the series with No. 97. Here someone is just sitting down to a luxurious meal, a large ball of rice with fish on top and various sidedishes, as we have seen several times already, and a servant bringing a bottle of liquor. In the background is a scaffolding with a crescent-shaped object, similar to the one on No. 50, here with a pair of birds in front of it; the object is not smooth, so there might be reason to think it a birdcage. Then comes the offering of a tray with money-bags to a brahman, and next to it some four groups, each one a separate man with wives and servants seated on a dais on No. 98; the most noticeable thing on No. 99 is a large ornamented pot out of which chains of precious stones are hanging and the same kind of chain is being shewn by a man standing near and offered to the eminent personage, with his wives, sitting by. No. 100 shews the giving of alms, and in the centre a small building like a temple.

The next scenes seem, at least partly, to bring us to the heavens. No. 101 as well as No. 102 shew in the centre of the relief a *kalpadrūma* with a pair of *kinnara*'s on the traditional money pots placed at the foot of the tree. On the tree of 101 lies a tiara on an open lotus-flower, under an umbrella. On No. 102, plainly to be seen, the left hand scene represents heaven; next to the tree sit a pair of musicians, one with the *vīṇā*, the other with a pair of bells, and on a throne of state, left, sits a man surrounded by women, gorgeously dressed with a halo round his head, surely a god. The lefthand scene of No. 101, two eminent men with wives, by itself might just as well represent a scene on earth. The one on the right might be in both cases, such things as lead to admittance into heaven: on No. 101, gifts to a brahman, and 102 exercise of benevolence by persons with bald heads who look like monks. The right-hand scene on N. 103 is the same kind of picture of charity, on the left there is no *kalpadrūma*, yet possibly a heaven, here too a haloed man sits in fine clothing among several women, a small temple can be seen

near, the whole enclosed in a palissade. Though somewhat different in style, No. 104 must be connected with the foregoing, right, a gift to some brahmans, and six men with haloes on the left, certainly gods.

No. 105 is quite taken up with a picture of rocks and plants. In the middle four persons in the costume of monks, this time undoubtedly *bhikṣu*'s, each seated in a separate niche with hands in their lap in meditation. Between them and along the lower edge, to enliven the scene forest animals are carved. On the next relief a bunch of *pisangs* appears, on both scenes it is seen, with a tree between (not a wishing tree) and jewel pots. Right, the bunch is being offered to three men with shaved heads sitting on a bench, here no monks because of their earrings, on the right, a servant holds the *pisangs* in a dish near a man and woman in full dress both wearing a halo and seated on the same couch. Nos. 107 and 108 give, right, charitable deeds, here performed not by servants but by the high-born givers themselves; on No. 107 two in number, on 108 a whole group. On the left in both cases, a rich man with his treasure is depicted; the one on No. 108 is rejecting the suppliants approaching, with a wave of his hand.

In both the next reliefs we must return to hell for a moment. No. 109 gives us, right, a forest scene with deer and apes and then a pond filled with fish, where fishermen are doing very well with the nets, for we see the catch being taken away on carrying-poles. Punishment is at hand: away on the left, they themselves are being boiled in a cauldron while a hell fiend armed with a club is waiting for them ¹⁾. In No. 110, two of hell's minions armed with swords are going to attack a couple of men taking refuge in a corner; in the centre a bearded man is preaching from a throne to a kneeling congregation; on the left we see the remarkable picture of the victims scrambling joyfully out of the cauldron as already mentioned on p. 80. The three next-following are very much alike, right, presentation of gifts, left, a rich man seated among wives and servants, possibly the two scenes are connected and riches is the reward of former benevolence. No. 111, we notice in the lefthand corner, a very poorly-dressed couple going to the left, the man carries the child on his shoulder, the woman a bundle on her head and in the left hand a round, pointed object, may be a hat or a vessel for boiling rice such as is still used in Java. As we see on this No. 111 right, besides the charitable people one or two who are not giving anything away, we may presume that the benevolent ones on the left are reborn in prosperity as the result of their

¹⁾ It is of course also possible that the hell is visible to the fisherman as a warning and guidance. With this representation can be compared I Ba 17.

good deeds and the avaricious have fallen into poverty. No. 114 is partly not carved at all and partly just shews the scene in outline.

On No. 115 and 116 are, right monks or monk-like persons receiving homage and gifts, and left, men, rather well-to-do, sit among their household listening to petitioners, who on 115 seem to be rejected but get something on 116. On No. 117 it is the righthand scene that represents poor people applying for a dole; and here too is plainly to be seen that they are refused both by master and servant. The avaricious man on the left of the same relief re-born into poverty, might be the punishment of the above shewn conduct: there we see a grass cutter, his scythe and bundles of grass beside him, sitting under a tree with a woman and child, while two other natives of the desa stand by, one playing the flute. Trapping and killing of animals is the crime on No. 118 where fishermen with traps and fishing rods are at work and hunters with bow and arrow are shooting at birds; quite on the left a very poor man and woman are walking through a plantation, the first with a carpenter's or ploughman's tool on his shoulder, the woman with a bowl in her hand. No. 119 shews right, a man and woman arm in arm walking away from an unfinished person with a sword, next to them on a rocky eminence, a simple desa-house on piles, with trees round it, and left, various persons sit and stand talking to one another; among them notice a pair who have their hands over their mouths. Of No. 120 only the right part is finished, also a conversation.

With No. 121 we begin the last quarter of this series of reliefs, for which, as mentioned before, some information can be gathered from the inscriptions. The very first ones shew us plainly what hopeless work it is to attempt the explanation of the reliefs by themselves, without having the text on which they are founded, to refer to. No. 121 right, gives us some unfinished figures in a pēṇḍāpā, and a man and woman on their way to a maize field; it would never occur to anyone to connect this scene with "covetousness" and yet such is the meaning. And how could we tell that the intentions of the four persons in conversation in a wood on the left are actually "malevolent" ones? No. 122 is still more queer in this way, a man with two women is sitting under a shed with a meal set out, rice, fish and side dishes¹⁾; servants are coming with a jug and a garment, other people are seated on the ground, a little more to the left is a man with an umbrella talking to another who carries a club. All

¹⁾ There seems to be a mouse on one of them. From Nāgarakṛtāgama 89 : 5 and 90 : 2 it appears that these animals, at that time according to the books of Indian Law were forbidden food, but nevertheless were set before the guests at a Royal banquet.

these represent, no-one would ever guess it, "false creed" or "mistaken views." Quite away on the left the same couple as on No. 118 are walking in a plantation, the man with some tool on his shoulder, and the woman carrying a bowl.

No. 123 with its inscription *kuṣāla* gives a tutor, non-clerical, in fine clothing discoursing to brahmans standing and servants with pots kneeling, this we noticed on p. 58; next to this some men sit listening to some one under a pent house within a palissade and further, left, is a cultivated garden. Then comes No. 124 on the right, the worship of a *caitya* in the shape of a small temple (also already mentioned), and left *Suvarṇavarṇa* with two wives sitting on a bench in front of some visitors or servants; while No. 125 gives *Susvara* seated on a bench with women, servants at his side with dishes and musicians with string-instruments, right; and a conversation between important men on the left in a *pēṇḍāpā*. In the centre of No. 126 a wishing-tree with jewel pots and *kinnara*'s shews again a heaven as indicated by the inscription "heaven" above the figure of a god with a halo sitting on the left with some women; on the right we see another such man in full drees with a halo, sitting on a bench in the company of ladies, this one besides is talking to some standing and kneeling men, probably brahmans by the look of their smooth brushed-back hair twisted into a knot on the top of their heads. On No. 127 right, we can see plainly an umbrella being presented, as the inscription says, to a person who looks like a brahman, on the left sits an important person with his train, about whose identity the inscription says nothing: it merely alludes to what he hears or thinks. No. 128 is a conversation between two men of high position each with one or two wives sitting opposite one another in a *pēṇḍāpā*.

A "ruler of the world" occupies the whole of relief No. 129, himself and his company; he is sitting with a halo round his head, on a seat in the middle, at his side the "jewel of a queen" also haloed, among the rest of the seven gems belonging to the *cakravartin* are the elephant and horse set up on the right, above which on lotuscushions the *cintāmaṇi* and the *cakra* hover; on the left sit female, on the right, male subjects but among the latter the jewel of a minister or a general or a common householder are not to be distinguished from one another. We shall see too elsewhere that of the seven gems only four or five can be correctly recognised and the males are missing or else lost in the great crowd. No. 130 shews a presentation of gifts, right, and left a heaven with wishing-tree, jewel-pots and *kinnara*'s but without any figure of a god with halo; it may be that all on this relief is one scene and the god of this heaven is

the damaged figure on the right, the same to whom the gifts are presented. On No. 131 appears a large bell, fixed to a stand beneath which men are kneeling paying homage to a temple crowned with lotus-ornement, in the centre of the relief; on the left, again two important men in conversation in a pëndâpâ. For the second time a cakravartin appears on the scene on No. 132, again sitting in a circle of women among whom the queen is no more to be identified than the male gems among the company placed on the right, with a horse and elephant; left, are kneeling the female courtiers and the disc and precious stone float above on their lotus-cushions. The chief person here has no halo.

No. 133, conversation between important men, and an individual in full dress with a halo, in front of whom a group offering dishes; then too on No. 134 a high individual with a halo, receiving homage from subjects or visitors, then next a man and woman sitting back to back on a bench under a tree in the midst of their followers. We should not take this for a heavenly scene if the inscription did not mention it. On the right hand of No. 135 is, according to the inscription, a brahman being presented with a garment, the left, that should have depicted a prasādita is not carved. No. 136 also partly finished, shews again an eminent personage sitting among his wives and receiving homage.

Relief No. 137 is entirely dedicated to a heavenly scene, the chief person sits in the centre, women and courtiers around him and on each side rises the kalpataru with its kinnara's and jewelpots. No. 138 gives a presentation to three men and as left hand scene some four monks sitting under an awning, turning towards four ordinary people who listen respectfully; the inscription calls our attention to the virtue, either of the monks or their audience or both. No. 139 gives a great personage with many followers and servants; No. 140 right, another rich man with his wives. On the left a heaven is indicated, not by the usual wishing-tree but by the figure of a god standing next to a temple, before whom a servant holds up a bowl of flowers. On No. 141 again a small temple and a number of people sitting and standing near it with banners, particularly noted as such on the inscription. The two next-following reliefs shew as we have so often seen, an important personage in the midst of wives and followers; No. 143 quite on the left, there is as well a wishing-tree with kinnara's and treasure pots and in the tree a tiara under an umbrella. Possibly this is meant for a heaven, but there is no inscription svargga. Then No. 144 gives us a meal served up, this time without any fish, and, separated from it by a palissade another important man with his company; No. 145 a conversation between some im-

portant men, and No. 146 a man with several women seated on a bench beneath an awning; nobody is wearing a tiara, but they are dressed just the same as some of their followers with hair brushed back and twisted together at the back of the head.

With No. 147 we begin a part of the series in which heavenly scenes become very numerous, we get seven heavens on nine reliefs. No. 147 gives from right to left the traditional wishing-tree with its attributes, the figure of a god walking to the left in the company of women, a small temple in a line of cloud, above which the inscription and a lotus pond among trees in the background. No. 148 shews first, the pouring of drink into a bowl for a couple of the respectable poor, and next to that a repetition of the eminent gentleman with wives and servants. Then comes No. 149 with a heaven and a temple, the usual wishing-tree and between the two, a dance performed for the amusement of some fortunate god of the heavens; the dance is just the same style as practised upon the earth, a dancing-girl on a small platform, women with bells standing by, with musicians with pot-shaped drum and cymbals sitting on the ground. Both scenes on No. 150 give a presentation to a couple of brahmans and a king taking a journey in a palanquin; he is preceded by a horse and an elephant and strange to say the first is larger than the last animal. On No. 151 we have, right, a man in full dress with two wives near a building given only in outline and on the left a heaven with a tree, but no pots or kinnara's; the heavenly beings, some of them making music, are all of earthly aspect. No. 152 gives on the right, again the honoring of a temple and as the inscription indicates, with flowers, left, a heaven, we should not think it, but the inscription assures us it is so; there seems no sign of anything heavenly about the figures here sitting and standing, they look like ordinary inhabitants of the earth. The same can be said of the left hand scene, marked *svargga*, of No. 153, whose right hand picture shews the presentation of gifts¹⁾; just like the right-hand scene on No. 154 whose heaven on the left has a wishing-tree with umbrella, though it is without any pots and kinnara's. It looks rather strange somehow not to find the inscription *svargga* on No. 155, where we see again the kalpadrūma with the jewel-pots, while dwarfish figures take the place of the kinnara's. The tree with its god and goddesses is on the left; in the middle is a large temple with stairs and double door, panels with pillars, side-gables on either hand, a storey with niches and a five-fold roof-top; on the right is a monumental lamp and in the cor-

¹⁾ The appearance of the heaven makes it not likely that the inscription *vṛddhi* actually means „usury” (see above p. 54).

ner a group of male and female worshippers both standing and sitting. The two next reliefs are similar in design, both consisting of three scenes of which the middle and left ones shew an eminent man with his company; on the right of No. 156 is the presentation of a stool to a brahman, on No. 157 homage in sēmbah (añjali) to a man standing with a red lotus in his hand and followed by an umbrella-bearer. No. 158 on the right, a house, surrounded by a fence, built in the rice-shed style, a porch at the side with two persons sitting under it; a third climbs up a ladder to the storey above, three others, large ones — they are as tall as the house — are seen outside the building on the right. The scene on the left, unfinished and worn-off, is again a man in full dress with wife and company.

Of the two last reliefs No. 157 is all in one scene, with another cakravartin. He is seated in the midst of wives and female attendants. On each side is a separate pedestal, the one on the right with a woman sitting, of course the queen; left, a man, but no indication which of the masculine gems he may represent. He holds a flower in his hand, this peaceful emblem looks more fit for a statesman than a field-marshal. Above him hovers the disc on a lotuscushion and traces of the precious stone can be seen. On the right next to the queen are the elephant and horse. In the corners right and left, are servants seated, one of whom holds a sword, but is too plainly-dressed to do for a general. The last relief is divided into two scenes. In a pavilion on the right sits a man grandly dressed, with a couple of wives, a little to the left of them a group of females wearing high tiaras but apparently servants with flowers, fly-fan and bowl in their hands. Persons of such distinction acting as servants is only possible in a heaven, therefore the traditional tree with kinnara's appears next to these. The last figures of this series of reliefs are, left, some four men, with trees in the background, seated, their hair is worn twisted into a knot on the top of their heads, in the style of ascetics, but they cannot be ordinary ones because of the earrings, necklace and sash. Two of them have their hands in their lap in meditation. It is impossible to guess what they mean, but it will certainly not be by chance, that after all this show of heavenly and earthly glory, the whole series closes with these quiet figures lost to the world in meditation ¹⁾.

High above the series of reliefs on the covered base, the visitor used to see like a frieze, the panels, which now by walking on the platform can

¹⁾ For detailed description of the reliefs see the Dutch edition of this work p. 79—119.

be looked at close to. Originally, this was not intended; the eyes of those making the pradakṣiṇā round the base of the monument were to be fixed on the series of reliefs portrayed down below just in front of them. The text there illustrated was what mattered; in that was the lesson they must take to heart. The frieze above had of course its part to play in the whole plan of Barabudūr but this consisted chiefly in the rich allegorical decoration it gave to the sanctuary. It is important to form a clear idea about this. Walking along the embankment and taking these reliefs carefully one by one, without anything else to distract us, it is easy to give these panels more meaning than they possess, and consider them as a connected continuous series of scenes like the reliefs on the galleries. We must first do away with the embankment, then only can we get a clear idea of what the founders of Barabudūr intended: the chief thing is the series now out of sight; what we have before us, clearer and nearer than was intended in the design of the monument, is only of secondary importance, meant chiefly as decoration.

The discussion of these panels is more suited to the architectural part of this monograph, where all the ornament is treated of in connection with the architectural design of the stūpa. We shall here give only a moments attention to it. This ornament is of an unusual kind, because it consists of human figures and in that way it is connected with the reliefs. Besides, it is of course not without reason and intention that these figures are placed there; special beings have been carved in special places, and it is conceivable that the choice of the figures was not fixed only by the requirements of the decoration, but there has probably been another reason for selecting just those very forms and no other for the place in which they appear, when any other would have done as well as far as ornament goes. In other words, the panels of this frieze, though chiefly of a decorative character, may at the same time have a meaning and embody ideas that combine with the whole teaching and imagery of Buddhism that is to be found in the design, the statues and reliefs of Barabudūr.

As is to be expected in a decorative series, there is a great deal of repetition of the same motifs, but then, in obedience to a never-neglected law of Hindu-Javan art there is endless variety of detail as well.

As a rule, on each of the eight panels between the stairs and corner of the stūpa, there are two sorts of decoration, each repeated 14 times. The first consists of three panels divided by flat bands, one broad one between two narrower ones. On the middle panel is the figure of a man

(human being, *rākṣasa*, *nāga*) between two women; on each of the side panels, a female figure with some emblem, a flower, fly-fan etc., the flower often coming out of a plant designed into a sort of pedestal on the left of the figure. All five figures are standing. This style of three panels, described in the architectural part as *a*, *b*, *c*, etc. alternates with the second numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. that consists of only one panel framed in pillars with *makara*'s in outline above, facing inwards, and surmounted by a monster's head in the centre with pendant bunch of flowers at the sides. On this panel we see one figure, a man, well-dressed but not always in ceremonial robes, kneeling or sitting, the face turned in the direction of the gateway and holding some or other emblem in his hand. This general description does for all the panels, though we must bear in mind that 3 and 9 are taken up by the gargoyles and *d* and *j* at the corners, consist of only two panels, narrow ones, without a centre panel, while at *n*, near the furthest corner, the last panel is altogether left out ¹⁾.

If we confine ourselves first to the chief figures from the reliefs with three panels, the result is as seen below:

	First part.	Second part.	Third part.	Fourth part.	Fifth part.	Sixth part.	Seventh part.	Eighth part.
<i>rākṣasa</i> 's	6	6	6	6	6	4	5	5
<i>nāga</i> 's	1		1	1		3	5	2
human figure	4	5	5	5	5	5	2	5
<i>rākṣasa</i> , or human (indistinct)		1			1			
woman	1							

From this list it is to be seen directly that one thing is very evident: they can never have been intended for individual, recognisable persons. Consider the great number of *rākṣasa*'s. Buddhist art has never tried to individualize these beings and distinguish one *rākṣasa* from another; there was no reason for such a distinction where the texts as well, seldom give a name to the *rākṣasa*'s they introduce but in general only speak of "a *rākṣasa*". There can be no possibility that here on Bara-budūr 44 different *rākṣasa*'s each with individual characteristics, should have been carved; the sculptors only intended 44 times to represent "a *rākṣasa*"; if it were not so, they would not so monotonously resemble one another. That some of them have a club and others not, has

¹⁾ A review of these panels will be found in the Dutch edition p. 121—127.

probably no iconographic meaning and is merely owing to the style of decoration, variation in detail being required in the repetition of the general type; nor will there be anything particular in the fact that some of them are holding a gem.

If this is correct then two things are the result. First, it is not very likely that where in half the number of chief figures it is decided there is no individualizing, in the other half we should suppose there is. In the second place let us notice that the women in the sidepanels next to the *rākṣasa*'s, shew the same variety of emblems, flowers, fans, and sometimes jewels, as those in the remaining panels; if now in the figures near the *rākṣasa*'s this variation gives no proof for distinguishing one person from the other, then we may certainly believe that the variation has no such intention with the female figures placed elsewhere. Even the jewel, that we might think to have more significance than the flowers or camara, seems to have its most important place just near the *rākṣasa*'s; if in this place it has no particular meaning, then it surely has none elsewhere.

To be brief, the circumstance that nearly half of the chief figures are *rākṣasa*'s as well as the resemblance of their attendants to those on the other similar panels, seems to show plainly that the sculptors intended to place not persons but types in the positions indicated. Among the types we recognise first of all *rākṣasa*'s and *nāga*'s. It is not so easy to see what the human figures actually represent; Mr. van Erp calls them *gandharva*: probably the presence of the one-stringed instrument that an occasional one of them has, may be a reason for calling these persons heavenly musicians. At the same time this instrument occurs very seldom, not enough to signify all these people as *gandharva*'s, and as we on one hand can accept, by reason of their position on one line with *rākṣasa*'s and *nāga*'s and the halo behind the head of several women in the sidepanels, that these are no ordinary people and yet on the other hand find insufficient reason for deciding them to be actually *gandharva*'s, let us give the preference to calling them heavenly beings of some kind, and of the lower ranks, some of the demi-gods, half-divine beings of which Indian mythology has so many and to which the *gandharva*'s also belong.

Among the semi-divine beings, such as *siddha*'s or *vidyādhara*'s — these were specially popular in Java — or any others, we can also place the figures that appear on the panels of the second type. Though richly-dressed, they are not wearing the attire of great gods, and being entirely without haloes, they can never be *Bodhisattva*'s or gods, but either heavenly

beings of lower rank or human beings. Which of the two is not to be decided from the panels themselves. If they were intended to be human, we might expect something else than only persons of the same age and class, young men, dressed alike, not in princely robes, yet like people of high rank. At the same time this is the very costume for heavenly second-class beings; they share the youthful aspect of the gods but must dress more soberly, being of lower rank. That is why we should put the figures from these panels among the heavenly beings and perhaps, if the chief-figures of the other type of panels are gandharva's and suchlike creatures, place them with the vidyādhara's.

In any case here too we can exclude the idea of individuality; it is equally improbable that 96 actual persons are portrayed, — who bear anyhow an extraordinary likeness to each other — as that 96 vidyādhara's, to be recognised by name, should be carved there. It is certainly only repetition of a type. We might hesitate about this conclusion, if we saw only figures such as E. S. 10 (plate DO 11) with a book in one and a jewel in the other hand, E. S. 13 with a jewel on a utpala, S. W. 1 with rosary and fly-fan, W. S. 8 with a jewel on a lotus-cushion (plate DO 22) or N. E. 13 (plate DO 32) with a wreath: all which seem to be the marks of one distinct figure, emblems that belong to no other. But when we examine the whole series, then these appear to be special cases. There is certainly great variety and all sorts of combinations to be found, of lotuses, censers, rosaries, fly-whisks, jewels etc. but on closer inspection frequent repetitions are seen, for instance, padma and jewel, padma and rosary, padma with right hand on thigh, all these occurring several times, padma and censer, padma with the other hand raised, that occurs 5 times, padma with other hand on the knee, 7 times; and there are a few cases, where emblems are entirely wanting. I consider therefore that in these panels too only a type was planned, and that the sculptors have succeeded with unusual skill in introducing some variation.

This frieze therefore consists entirely of representations of all kinds of non-human beings, heavenly ones, rākṣasa's and nāga's. They chiefly seem to be intended as decoration to the architecture; if any other task is demanded of them it may be found in the pious homage of the figures on the panels of the 2nd type, maybe also in the gesture of the hand that invites entrance to the sanctuary (the same kind of thing is found on the Mēndut); while some of the rākṣasa's, their finger raised in warning, seem to enforce the lesson of the sculptured text below. Thus the designer has arranged that this frieze while fulfilling the more important task

of decoration, also cooperates, though in a modest way, with the great teaching of the reliefs and images.

In connection with the figures of what was called here above the 2nd type, I will also mention the decorative scenes on the outside of the balustrades above, between the niches with Dhyāni-Buddha's, all of the same character, panels decorated only along the upper side, containing a single human figure with emblems and vases or censers, the same as on the frieze. The chief difference is that here women are among them and that several, in particular women, but men as well, have haloes; moreover the dress is often really gorgeous raiment. If all these figures were in full dress with haloes, then we should be inclined to think they must be Tārā's and Bodhisattva's. As there are so many among them without a halo and in less splendid clothes, it would not be correct to put them all in the same class. Perhaps it will be best to identify these figures as superhuman un-earthly beings of higher rank than those depicted on the frieze, without racking our brains to discover to which category of superior beings they properly belong. The question is of no vital importance, for here the intention of these panels is even more decorative than of those lower down. ¹⁾

¹⁾ For description of these panels, see Dutch edition of this work p. 129—131 (series D B').

CHAPTER III

THE STORY OF THE LIFE OF BUDDHA

(First gallery, chief wall, top series)

It has long been known that the top row of reliefs on the chief wall of the first gallery represents the life-story of the historic Buddha, and it seems quite unnecessary to discuss this fact again. As far as we know, it was Wilsen who first attempted to trace this more or less consecutive story by means of the reliefs; his article, offered to the Batavian Society for publication, was never printed but put into the hands of Leemans who inserted it in his monograph. It was not until 1901 that a careful comparison of the scenes depicted on the monument with the text followed, took place; this was done by C. M. Pleyte in his: "Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Tempels von Bôrô-Budur" ¹⁾. This text is the Lalitavistara, which on being compared bit by bit with Wilsen's drawings, with a few unimportant exceptions, gives the key for the explanation of the reliefs. The sculptors of Barabudur have not had exactly the same version of the text before them that we now possess, but at any rate, a sūtra that in all essentials agrees with it. ²⁾.

Pleyte's very useful work does not however relieve us from the task of examining the text and reliefs anew, especially because for both, we now have at our disposal much more reliable material than was available twenty-five years ago. Pleyte, as mentioned, was restricted to Wilsen's drawings. It is true that a visit to the monument enabled him to correct various inaccuracies in these drawings which were adjusted before reproduction in his book ³⁾, but nevertheless the drawings though

¹⁾ Amsterdam, De Bussy 1901, in 12 parts.

²⁾ A parallel to such an illustrated history of Buddha will be found in the reproduction of the Avidurenidāna at Pagān which Seidenstücker treats of in his Südbuddhistische Studien I, Mitt. aus dem Mus. f. Völkerk. in Hamburg IV (1916).

³⁾ Vorwort p. V.

only incorrect in minor details, proved incomplete as foundation for a comparison with the text ¹⁾. As for the text itself Pleyte had to manage with translations ²⁾; even if he had wanted to consult the original Sanskrit text, the results would hardly have been satisfactory on account of Rájendralála Mitra's inadequate edition, at that time the only one in existence. We are much better off now-a-days, van Erp's excellent photographs can be used, and the maybe not perfect, but on the whole reliable edition of Lefmann ³⁾ is at our disposal.

Other differences too, will be found between the method of treatment followed here below, and that of Pleyte. As the title of his work indicates, he is concerned only with the 'Buddha-legende' as illustrated by the reliefs on this gallery, while on the contrary, my aim is chiefly to explain the reliefs themselves. For instance, if we find, quite rightly, in Pleyte a rather elaborate discussion of portions of the text that are not depicted on the reliefs, but which nevertheless are indispensable for the coherence of the story as a whole, in this archaeological description I consider elaboration justified only in what concerns the scenes that appear on the monument so that as regards everything not there depicted, a mere reference will be sufficient. Further I have carefully tried to make it possible for the reader to form his own opinion as to the correctness of the identifications. As it would be of little use to fill up this description with quotations from the Sanscrit, I think the best way to make it clear will be to translate, as literally as possible, those portions of the text that are represented on the relief, giving besides this portion of the text, a short description of the relief itself, that is, of the manner in which the sculptors have depicted the passage in question and then of course to indicate the divergence of detail between text and relief.

Still this way of treatment is not quite safe. It is always difficult enough to discern which particular details must be considered essential in a description, and though in some cases this difficulty can be

¹⁾ Jochim after visiting the Barabaður, draws attention to some inaccuracies in *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 48 (1905) p. 13—20. As these drawings need no longer be made use of, we need not call attention to the remarks of Jochim or any later authority; notwithstanding their evident unreliability, in 1922 another „Verkleinerte Wiedergabe der Umrisszeichnungen von F. C. Wilsen" appeared in Germany under the title „Die Buddha legende auf den Flachreliefs der ersten Galerie des Stüpa von Boro-Budur."

²⁾ Anhang p. 177.

³⁾ I (Text) Halle 1902. The objections are mentioned by Speyer, *Museum* 10 (1903) p. 146—151. A French translation of the *Lalitavistara* is given by Foucaux in *Annales Musée Guimet* 6 (1884).

avoided by an unabridged translation of the whole piece of text under discussion, on the other hand it is not advisable to do this if the scene represented on the relief consists of whole pages of the Lalitavistara. In such cases abridgment is inevitable and for these I have used my own judgment. Of course I have tried everywhere to be as careful as possible to maintain an objective point of view, but the reader must be warned that where it has not been possible to quote the whole Lalitavistara, here and there, in reliefs that include large portions of the text, some bits of useful data can still be found in the portions that have been left out in my quotation. In the few cases where the relief could not be explained from the text or in which it was not clear which of two similar passages was the one represented, the fact is carefully noted.

1. *The Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita-heaven*

The Bodhisattva dwelt in the pleasant abode of the Tuṣita (heaven), worthy of honor and adored, having received the consecration, lauded, honored, praised and glorified by a hundred thousand gods. When he was seated there beatified, in that great palace which resounded with the music of a hundred thousand million koṭi's of apsaras (nymphs), while jyotis-, mālikā- and sumanas-blossoms exhaled their perfume and which was so placed that a hundred thousand million koṭi's of gods fixed their eyes thereon, there rose up from the sounds of harmony of eightyfour thousand tūrya's (musical instruments), as a fruit of the accumulation of the Bodhisattva's former good deeds, these inspiring hymns. . . . "Now is the time come, let it not pass unused" (7:21; 10:19, 22; 11:3, 7; 13:5)¹).

On the relief we see the Bodhisattva between four apsaras, seated on a throne in a sort of pavilion. That this building bears little resemblance to the description (not given above) of the splendor of the magnificent palace in the Tuṣita-heaven, is due only to the fact of it being utterly impossible to represent all that grandeur on a relief, where of course the persons must remain of the most importance. As was to be expected, the Bodhisattva is clothed in the ceremonial robes appropriate to gods and princes. Right and left of the pavilion, we see in two

¹) Pages and lines of the edition-Lefmann.

rows the homage-paying inhabitants of the heaven, among them many apsaras and musicians; to give a distinct heavenly touch to the scene the front persons of the top row are placed upon clouds. The first nymph on the left holds an incense-burner, one of the next a dish with jewels; what the nearest on the right holds is not distinct, the second one seems to have a tiara. Among the music instruments we see, as usual on such occasions, *viṇā*, cither, flute, cymbals and a great many drums. May be these represent the *tūrya*'s of the text. Not quite in agreement with the performing apsaras there mentioned, is the fact that all the musicians are men, and therefore *gandharva*'s. Both the persons in front on the clouds, on both sides, are not wearing the usual god's dress but what resembles that of *brahmā*'s; so they are recognisable as dwellers of *Brahmā*'s heaven.

2. *The Bodhisattva announces his approaching human birth*

Leaving the great *vimāna* the Bodhisattva sat down in the great palace called *Dharmoccaya* and expounded the Law to the *Tuṣita*-gods. He entered this palace and seated himself upon the lion-throne called *Sudharma*. Thereupon all the gods sons who share the state of the Bodhisattva and are found in the same Vehicle, entered the palace. And the Bodhisattva's of the ten winds came together, those who follow the same rule of life as the Bodhisattva, with the gods sons; they also entered the palace and set themselves each on his own lion-throne. As soon as the crowds of apsaras and the lesser gods sons were departed, they were a company of sixty eight thousand *koṭi*'s all sunk together in pious meditation. Then (were the words uttered): "After twelve years shall the Bodhisattva descend into a mother's womb" (13: 9).

The Bodhisattva is seated on a throne in a pavilion with one female attendant near him, while, in a distinctly conversational attitude, he turns to the company of gods and Bodhisattva's seated under a *pēṇḍāpā*, the first man of which is making a *sēmbah*. The third wears a rather unusual headdress which it is not easy to see the meaning of; was the intention to distinguish in some way the costume of the gods from that of the Bodhisattva's, then this person would not have been the only one. Quite on the right of the pavilion are seated two more listeners; the first one is also making a *sēmbah*, the second holds an

utpala; these persons are also put under a pēndāpā-roof and evidently belong to the same company of gods and Bodhisattva's. None of them are sitting on the lion-thrones required by the text nor does the seat of the Bodhisattva shew any sign of the lion-throne mentioned.

3. *The sons of the gods, as brahmans, give instruction in the veda's*

Thereupon the Çuddhāvāsa ¹⁾ gods sons, betook themselves to India and after laying aside their divine forms and assuming the dress of brahmans, they gave instruction to the brahmans in the veda's (13 : 21).

Then follows the description of what was taught, chiefly concerning the manner in which the Bodhisattva, should he after his birth wish to become ruler of the world, might acquire the seven jewels of the cakravartin.

This relief is very much damaged and part of it is entirely missing. Right, at the top, two heavenly beings on clouds; undoubtedly the descent to India. The rest of the scene is taken up with the lecture, given by a brahman (a god of course in brahman dress) seated, with a pupil, in a small pēndāpā, to the company seated in front of him. This company consists of two groups. In front sit the real brahmans recognisable by their style of hairdressing; note the rich ornaments they wear. Only a few have beards and most of them hold lontar-leaves in their hand. Of this group only those seated in the foreground have been saved; behind these were also some figures standing, most of them have disappeared. Quite on the right, under the hovering gods, the second group are seated, the pupils, some holding the folded and square vessels often seen with brahman-pupils.

4. *The disappearance of the Pratyekabuddha's*

Meanwhile other gods sons descended to India and informed the Pratyekabuddha's: "O reverend ones, leave open the field for the Buddha. After twelve years the Bodhisattva will descend into a mother's womb."

At that time there lived in Benares in the deer-park at R̥ṣipa-

¹⁾ Concerning the various sorts of inhabitants of heaven that appear in the Lalitavistara, see p. 76 above.

tana, five hundred Pratyekabuddha's. On hearing these words, they rose to the height of seven tāla-trees in the air, and reaching the kingdom of fire, they were extinguished like meteors (18: 11, 20).

Below, on the left, we see by the two gazelles couched under the trees, that the deerpark at Benares is meant; above this the gods sons are descending from the air to announce the coming of the Buddha to the Pratyekabuddha's. These are seated, three of them, in dhyāna-mudrā, each on a lotus-cushion beneath a tree, they look just like ordinary Buddha's. A fourth, quite to the right, has already risen from his lotus-cushion and is ascending to reach the nirvāṇa. Pleyte's observation (on p. 10) that the three objects on the right hand of the still-seated Pratyekabuddha's, i. e. a plant without flower, a plant in bloom, and a lighted lamp, may have some relation to the three yāna's, viz. the Ārāvaka's, Pratyekabuddha's and Bodhisattva's, is not acceptable seeing that the text as well as the relief shew that the persons in question are exclusively Pratyekabuddha's and not Ārāvaka's or Bodhisattva's.

The Bodhisattva now takes into consideration the time, the part of the world, the country and family into which he shall be born. The last question is also discussed by the gods sons and the Bodhisattva's and they request the Bodhisattva that it may be as the son of king Cuddhodana and queen Māyā. It is not impossible that this discussion is depicted on the next relief; because otherwise the 4th chapt. of the Lalitavistara would not be represented on any relief.

5. *The Bodhisattva instructs the Tuṣita-gods in the Introduction to the perception of the Law*

And when the Bodhisattva had thus fixed the family for his human birth, it was the great palace called Uccadhvajā in the Tuṣita-heaven spreading over sixty-four yojana's, wherein seated the Bodhisattva was explaining the Law to the Tuṣita-gods.... All the Tuṣita-gods sons and the hosts of apsaras were gathered together in that palace.... There the Bodhisattva seated himself on the lion-throne adorned by the stream of his ripened merits.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva again addressed that great company of gods and spake thus: "Give ear, most worthy ones, as

sign of the descent and to the joy of the gods, to the Introduction to the perception of the Law which the Bodhisattva's teach to these gods sons. One hundred and eightfold, o reverend ones, is this Introduction to the perception of the Law, which of necessity, at the time of his descent, must be proclaimed by a Bodhisattva to the congregation of gods." (29:13; 30:1, 7; 31:8).

The Bodhisattva is here too in a separate pavilion, seated with his right hand (knocked off) raised, teaching. On the front of his throne there are two rosettes. Right and left sit the divine auditors, a few trees appear in the background; the first on the right holds an incense-burner with a fan, the left one a flowerbud, several of them are making a *sēmbah*. The lion-throne of the text is here also missing; as well as the *apsaras* mentioned, for the company consists of men only; a fact that might be used to identify this relief as the above mentioned discussion about the family to be selected, but seeing the latitude taken in so many details, I think it not convincing. Notice further that the persons sitting on the left, like the Bodhisattva himself, for all we can distinguish wear a wide sash, not those on the right; as this attribute is found elsewhere especially on Bodhisattva's, it is possibly meant for a distinction between the Bodhisattva's and the gods who make up the audience. In that case it is noticeable that on No. 2 where the text clearly mentions the two sorts, this distinction is not given and on No. 5, where only gods are mentioned, it is put in.

✓The teaching in the *Tuṣita*-heaven is also the subject of a relief at *Amarāvati*¹⁾. There, the Bodhisattva also sits on a throne in the middle and the gods are gathered round him; not in the same two, long seated rows as on *Barabudur*, but, most likely because of the shape of the relief, in a group kneeling, sitting and standing in front, at the sides and behind the throne. The *vitarka-mudrā* of the Bodhisattva and the reverent manner of the listeners, plainly indicate here that he is preaching. Different is a *Gandhāra*-relief shewing a meditation in the *Tuṣita*-heaven²⁾: the Bodhisattva is represented in *dhyāna-mudrā* while on each side of him four gods, in

¹⁾ Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship* (1873) pl. 74 and Burgess, *The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta*, Arch. Surv. New Ser. 6 (1887) fig. 17 on pag. 64. See also Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra I* (1905) fig. 146 pag. 287.

²⁾ Foucher, *Les bas-reliefs du stūpa de Sīkri*, Journ. Asiat. 10: 2 (1903) no. 8, and A.G.B. fig. 145 pag. 286.

adoring attitude, are standing. This scene also occurs at Ajaṇṭā. ⁴⁾).

6. *The Bodhisattva gives his tiara to his successor Maitreya*

Thus spake the Bodhisattva to the blessed company of gods :
 "Most honorable ones, I will go to India It would ill become me and shew ingratitude, did I not acquire the most high and perfect Wisdom". Whereupon the Tuṣita-gods sons wept and clasped the feet of the Bodhisattva saying unto him: "This dwelling of Tuṣita, o noble one, when thou art departed, will not shine any more". Then the Bodhisattva spoke as follows to the great company of gods: "Behold, here, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, he shall instruct you in the Law." Upon this the Bodhisattva removed the tiara from his head and placed it upon the head of the Bodhisattva Maitreya (saying): „After me, o noble one, shalt thou attain the most high and perfect Wisdom." (38: 14, 17).

The middle of the relief is taken up by a (very much damaged) palace with a pēṇḍāpā next to it, in which both the chief persons are placed, the one, sitting on a plain seat wearing the ordinary headdress, the other standing before him bare-headed, with the tiara in his hands. It seems that the text has not been followed literally, the Bodhisattva does not put the tiara straight on to the head of Maitreya, and we can not be sure which of the two is the Bodhisattva and which Maitreya. One might think that the person seated on a throne here, as elsewhere, must be the Bodhisattva, but the gesture of the hands of this figure is not that of some one who has offered something, but much more like some one who holds out his hands to receive something; the figure standing is thus evidently the Bodhisattva who has just removed his tiara and is on the point of giving it to Maitreya. The headdress of the latter does not shew the stūpa that characterises Maitreya, and the tiara that is being handed over (what is left of that damaged object) has neither any sign of this emblem. Right and left are seated the Tuṣita-gods with flowers and trays full of ornaments in their hands; quite on the right is one with a vase of lotuses; behind, two are standing,

⁴⁾ Foucher, *Lettre d'Ajaṇṭā*, Journ. Asiat. 11: 17 (1921) p. 223; compare Griffiths, *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave temples of Ajaṇṭā*, (1896) pl. 25 and 26. This work is not to be found in any library in Holland, so that I was unable to verify the quotations. For Paḡān see Seidenstücker abb. 1 and p. 26, 80 and 88.

while on the left, in the background, is a tree. The objects on the trays do not resemble any of the offerings that constantly appear on so many reliefs, but are more like personal ornaments; observe what seem to be bracelets on the front tray. Possibly the sculptor was following a version of the story unknown to us in which other ornaments than the tiara are given or received.

No representation of Maitreya's investiture is known to us in the old Buddhist art; it does occur in the comparatively modern Tibetan painting, part of a series of pictures of the life-story of the Buddha, published by Hackin¹). Naturally this series differs widely in its manner of delineation from Barabudur and it would be useless to quote from it every time; nevertheless I draw attention to its existence as it may furnish data for the evolution of Buddhist art in its post-Indian period. On this point of course the results of the researches in Turkestan are of special importance; a number of pictures from the life of Çākya-muni are, as will be seen, found by Stein.²)

7. *The Bodhisattva consults with the gods over what form he shall assume*

When the Bodhisattva had installed the Bodhisattva Maitreya in the Tuṣita palace, he spoke again to the great congregation of gods: "In what form, o worthy ones, shall I descend into the mother womb?" Then answered some of them: "O divine one, in human form". But others said: etc.

Among them was a Brahmakāyika gods son, by name Ugrateja, in a former birth a ṛṣi and one who did not turn away from (the struggle after) the most high and perfect Wisdom; he spake thus: "So as it is given in the mantra-, veda- and çāstra-books of the brahmans, in such form must the Bodhisattva descend into the

¹) Les scènes figurées de la vie du Buddha d'après des peintures tibétaines, Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale, II (1916) pag. 9—25 and pl. I—IV and IX (so far as concerns the episodes to compare with the Lalitavistara). A number of incidents are brought together on one picture. Plate I, for instance gives as chief scene the birth of the Bodhisattva, and above on the left the investiture of Maitreya, right, the Bodhisattva's descent as a white elephant towards Queen Māyā asleep (also right); left, below is the space used for the scenes following the birth, the bath and the seven steps. On II the sojourn in the women's apartments, the contests that precede the marriage, the four encounters and the Great Departure, are all combined, and so on.

²) Ruins of desert Cathay (1912) II pl. VI; Serindia II (1921) p. 855 foll. and pl. LXXIV—LXXVII.

mother-womb. And what is that form? The mighty shape of a splendid elephant, with six tusks, as if enclosed in a golden net, brightly shining, with a head red and most beautiful with the sap that oozes from its forehead." (39: 6, 13).

On this relief it is easy to see that no lecture or sermon, but a conference is going on as the attitudes of the figures plainly shew. The Bodhisattva sits with a incensestand in front of him in the middle of his pavilion, the gods are seated on both sides under the trees, some listening, others joining in the discussion. It seems impossible to distinguish Ugrateja among the company (as Pleyte does l.l. p. 16, misled by a fault in the drawing).

The text now brings us again to earth, and shews us several omens within the palace of Çuddhodana. Then follows :

8. *Māyā's conversation with Çuddhodana*

Queen Māyā after bathing herself and anointing her body, her arms decorated with various ornaments and wearing splendid soft and fine garments, full of joy, contentment and happiness, with a company of ten thousand women, came into the presence of king Çuddhodana, who was seated pleasantly in his music room and advancing towards him, she seated herself at his right hand on the throne covered with jeweled gauze and spoke with smiling face, with unfrowning eyebrows and laughing mouth, the following verses to king Çuddhodana (41:8).

Her request, that is too elaborate for literal quotation, is that the king will permit her to perform a vow of selfdenial and virtue, to which he agrees.

The king and queen are seated in a pavilion in the middle of the relief ; there is no sign of this being his majesty's music room ; on the contrary, according to the trees on both sides, it should be in a garden. The ten thousand women are represented by three sitting and two standing, all on the lefthand of the pavilion, thus behind the queen, who in agreement with the text is sitting at the king's right hand. One of those sitting holds a dish with a lid, one of the standing ones, a dish with a wreath. Right of the pavilion, near the king sits a bearded man, his hair dressed-up brahman-fashion, but wearing more ornaments than becomes an ordinary brahman ; he seems by his gestures to be

taking part in the conversation, and it is possible that, as Pleyte suggests (1.1. p. 17) it may be the court-chaplain, but it may be also, as on no. 13, the officer of the guard. Behind him, just as quite on the left behind the women, is the armed guard with sword and shield; quite to the right is another servant with a large bowl, in the shape of the cuspidors that are still used.

9. *Māyā in her chamber ; visit of the gods daughters*

The best of kings gave command to his followers : "Bring rich decorations to ornament the top of this most eminent palace, splendid with the flowers strewn about it, with delicious incense and perfumes, with umbrellas and banners and ripe tāla-trees. Let twenty thousand splendidly-armoured warriors with javelins, lances, arrows, spears and swords, surround the softly-echoing Dhṛtārāja to guard it vigilantly and keep the queen from fear. Let the queen, surrounded by her women, like a daughter of the gods, her body bathed and anointed and adorned with splendid garments, recline like a goddess on the pleasant couch, the feet of which are ornamented with all sorts of costly jewels, and that is strewn with many blossoms, while a thousand tūrya's discourse sweet music."

Then in the Kāmadhātu-gods daughters who had seen the perfection of the body of the Bodhisattva, arose this thought: "What shall she be like, the young woman who is to bear this perfectly pure being?" And full of curiosity they vanished in a moment from their dwelling in the abode of the gods and in the most magnificent of great cities, named Kapila, adorned with a hundred thousand gardens, in the palace of king Çuddhodana in the great pavilion Dhṛtarāṣṭra, that resembles the abode of the immortals, these gods daughters wearing soft swaying robes, adorned with the immaculate lustre of beauty, their arms glittering with heavenly jewels, pointed with their fingers to queen Māyā reclining on her splendid couch and spoke to one another in verses (43: 15; 48: 17, 21).

Both passages here quoted are separated by several pages in the text where, among others, the episode of the next relief appears. It

is not expressly stated that the king's command is carried out and Māyā retires to the chambers made ready for her, but on the visit of the gods daughters, she is shewn already installed there.

She sits in her pavilion with two attendants; it is not actually a couch on which she is seated and the splendid decoration, as well as the music, is missing, unless we may consider the object held by the seated person quite on the right, to be a musical instrument ¹⁾. The attendant women are there; one standing on the right with a fly-whisk, the others kneeling on both sides holding trays with toilet requisites as well as a water jug with a spout ²⁾. Right and left of the women are the soldiers mentioned in the text. Then above on clouds, two goddesses come flying to behold the future mother.

10. *The gods decide to accompany the Bodhisattva*

In the meantime were gathered together the four Great Kings (see p. 76) and Çakra the king of the gods, and Suyāma the gods son etc. etc., these and many others, hundreds and thousands of gods, speaking together as follows: "It were not becoming of us, o worthy ones, and would betoken ingratitude should we allow the Bodhisattva to depart alone and unattended. Who among us, o worthy ones, is able faithfully and continually to attend the Bodhisattva?"

On hearing these words there gathered together eighty-four thousand gods (from the heaven) of the four Great Kings. . . . And moreover, hundreds and thousands of gods from the East, the South, the West and the North gathered together. And the highest gods sons among them spake unto that great company of gods in these verses: "Hearken, o rulers of the immortals, to these our words and consider which is our irrevocable decision. Forsaking riches, love and pleasure and the great happiness of meditation, we shall bind ourselves faithfully to this pure being." (44 : 9, 13; 46 : 19; 47 : 2).

Nearly the whole of the relief is taken up by a large hall or pëndāpā ;

¹⁾ It will be the kind of cither ornamented with tassels or bells that is to be seen more distinctly on No. 52.

²⁾ In some ways this resembles the scenes of Māyā's dream at Pagan, see Seidenstücker l.l. abb. 2—6 and pag. 27 and 88.

only on the right is a building in the usual temple-form with a fine monster-head above the entrance, rampant lions at the corners and a roof in tiers; this is undoubtedly a palace of the gods. In the hall, the gods are sitting in two opposite groups, in consultation; the absence of a central figure plainly shews that the Bodhisattva is not present and that it is a party exclusively of gods. They are all in the dress of gods, without any special divine attribute, so that it is quite impossible to distinguish the different sorts mentioned in the text.

11. *The other Bodhisattva's render homage to the Bodhisattva*

Then at the time of the Bodhisattva's descent, many hundred thousands of Bodhisattva's from the East, all bound to only one birth and dwelling in the beautiful Tuṣita abode, gathered themselves together at the place where the Bodhisattva was, to render him homage. Also from the countries of the ten winds came many hundreds of thousands of Bodhisattva's all bound to only one birth and dwelling in the beautiful Tuṣita abode, to the place where the Bodhisattva was to render him homage. And from the assembly of the gods of the four Great Kings etc. etc. came eighty four hundred thousand apsaras with the sound of music from many tūrya's to the place where the Bodhisattva was to render him homage. (50 : 15 ; 51 : 1).

In this relief only the homage of the Bodhisattva's is shewn, and nothing of the apsaras. The Bodhisattva sits here not in a separate pavilion but his throne is set up in a large hall that fills up the whole of the relief and where the Bodhisattva's are also seated. Next to him is a burning incense stand. The figures seated on the right and left are all in ordinary god's dress, so that without the text it would have been impossible to make out that these are Bodhisattva's and not gods.

12. *Descent of the Bodhisattva*

After the Bodhisattva had placed himself on the lion-throne Cṛigarbha, that originates from all his merits, in the sight of all the gods and nāga's in his vast pavilion, he set out on his journey with these Bodhisattva's, surrounded by a hundred thousand millions koṭi's of gods, nāga's and yakṣa's, from the beautiful Tuṣita abode.

Without being touched, hundreds of thousands of millions koṭi's of divine and human music-instruments offered sweet sounds. A hundred thousand, ten thousands of koṭi's of gods bore the great pavilion on their hands, their shoulders and heads. And the hundred thousands of apsaras, everyone making her own music, placed themselves in front, behind, left and right of the Bodhisattva, praising him with the melody of their harmonious songs. (51 : 4; 52 : 16).

In the middle of the relief in dhyāna-mudrā in a double pavilion (the one he is sitting in being surrounded by a second one) sits the Bodhisattva and is carried down to the earth. This is shewn by the clouds that are seen beneath the building which hovers in the air, as well as by the figures of gods holding it on either side ; this they do only with their hands, not head and shoulders. On both sides of the pavilion also on clouds that appear here and there, are the escorting gods with umbrellas, banners, fans, incense-burners and flowers in the hand. The nāga's and yakṣa's the text speaks of are not there ; but on the left we can see the apsaras are present. Whether these are singing we cannot tell, but there are no music instruments. The sculptor has succeeded by the hovering attitude of the gods and the flutter of the banners and fans in giving an impression of the swift motion through the air.

Javanese art is considered to have been greatly influenced by that of Amarāvati, but we can here see that as regards the descent of the Bodhisattva, an essential difference exists between the two schools. It will be seen that at Amarāvati¹⁾ the Bodhisattva has already assumed the form of a white elephant on leaving heaven, while at Barabudur according to the Lalitavistara text he still retains his divine shape. I shall refer later to this fact. At Amarāvati too the Bodhisattva is carried in a pavilion; it is borne by yakṣa's and surrounded by the gods in attitudes of flying, dancing, and making music.

13. *The conception*

When the winter was over, in the month of Vaiṣākha, the Bodhisattva descended from the beautiful Tuṣita abode, entered the womb of his mother, on the right side, in the shape of a white

¹⁾ T.S.W. pl. 74, also Burgess fig. 7 on p. 35 and A.G.B. I fig. 147 pag. 289; other illustration Burgess pl. 11.

elephant with six tusks, his head cochenille colored, teeth streaked with gold, complete with all limbs and parts of limbs and faultless in every organ. On entering there he leaned against the right side and in no way to the left. Queen Māyā sleeping gently on her couch, dreamed this dream: "Like snow and silver, with six tusks, beautiful legs, a fine trunk and a red head, a magnificent elephant has entered my womb, graceful of motion and with limbs strong as diamonds."

And in the same night that the Bodhisattva entered his mothers womb, in that same night a lotus rose up from beneath the mass of water and splitting the great earth over sixty eight hundred thousand yojana's ascended to the heaven of Brahmā.

And no man saw this lotus but the Leader, the best of men, and the Great Brahmā, ruler of ten times hundred thousands. Every germ of the three thousand great thousands of worlds, all their power, their essence or quintessence, was contained like a drop of honey in that great lotus. When the great Brahmā had put that drop into a fair bowl of lapislazuli he offered it to the Bodhisattva who took it and drank it up in deference to the great Brahmā (54: 18 ; 55: 2 ; 64: 11).

These two passages are a good distance apart in the text ; their being placed together on one relief is explained by their chronological sequence ; as the text specially mentions that the lotus rose up in the night of the conception, while the intervening events (relief 15—21) took place after that night, it was logical to put the lotus-episode where it chronologically belongs.

The queen is still in the upper chamber as before in relief No. 9, the details of which are now for the first time clearly discernible : on the ground floor we see the closed door, the guard sitting before the palace and above, the chamber of Māyā lying on her couch and surrounded by her waiting women, one of whom holds a fan. At the head of the bed is a lamp, and a water jug with a lotus. The queen is lying on her right side, which differs from the account given in the text, in so far as the Bodhisattva is to enter the womb on that side, and the position of the royal lady, makes this no easy task, as Foucher remarks ¹⁾. On

¹⁾ I.I. pag. 293.

the right of the chamber is a balcony on which two more attendants are standing, still more to the right, under the trees and outside the building, some soldiers of the guard are sitting and standing, the same as was to be seen on relief no. 9. Like the guard on No. 8 here is also a bearded man who in this case is armed with sword and shield and therefore belongs to the soldiers. From the upper corner, left, the Bodhisattva is descending towards his future mother, in the shape of an elephant, surrounded by flowers and shaded by an umbrella, with feet on lotus cushions. Beneath sit three persons in devotion before a tree stem rising high in front of them, and terminating in a lotus, which must be the giant lotus of the text. On top of it is a bowl, certainly the lapislazuli bowl in which Brahmā puts the drop of honey from the lotus flower to offer the Bodhisattva. That three persons are paying homage to the lotus, does not agree with the statement that only Brahmā and the Bodhisattva saw the wonder-plant; neither is there the least indication that one of these figures is Brahmā. The first one holds an ordinary lotus, the last one is making a sēmbah and it is not improbable that they do not specially belong to the great lotus but are intended for divine witnesses of the conception. In that case Brahmā does not appear at all and the sculptor has considered the wonderplant with the bowl on top, enough to represent the second passage.

The head of the elephant is rather worn-away; if the drawing by Wilsen is reliable, then the animal was carved with only two instead of the requisite six tusks; this might be expected, as nowhere in Indian art are the six tusks to be found. No more the wrong position of Māyā is due to carelessness of the Barabudūr artist, for it is found just as well in other Indian representations, the same with the proportion of the elephant towards the mother that is much too large: in both cases, the Gandhāra art as well as that of Amarāvati sometimes give a more natural picture. The peculiarity that the Bodhisattva who appears on the previous relief in divine shape, is here shewn as an elephant and has therefore changed his appearance on the way, is, according to Foucher's convincing explanation (A.G.B. I pag. 291—296) the result of the fact of what was first a dream being later accepted as reality; in this way the texts became confused, which naturally affected the monuments as well. The later Chinese art solved the difficulty by trying to unite both representations, putting the Bodhisattva in divine shape upon a white elephant. ¹⁾

¹⁾ So already in Tun-Huang; see Stein, *Serindia* II (1921) p. 855 and pl. LX XIV.

The oldest representation of the conception known to us, is that of Bharhut ¹⁾, with the inscription : *bhagavato okkamti*. Very simple and at the same time very unnatural : a plain bench, upon which the queen lies on her right side with three sitting attendants near her, while a lamp shews that it is night. Above her hovers an elephant nearly the same size as his future mother. It is not much better at Sānchi ²⁾, where her majesty too lies on her right side with a palace in the background and the head and front legs of a gigantic elephant appear in the air. There is an Amarāvati relief ³⁾ with the same position of the queen and size of the elephant, where she is guarded by four womenslaves and the four Guardians of the world. On another relief of the same stūpa, the queen is seen in the right position and the elephant in the right size; the Guardians of the world and attendant women are also here present ⁴⁾. In the art of Gandhāra ⁵⁾ the position is right, but the elephant rather too large, though the proportion is nowhere as bad as in the older Indian school ; generally the queen reclines quite alone on her couch in a chamber supported by pillars where in the wings a couple of *yavanikā*'s keep watch. A relief discovered at Sarnāth ⁶⁾ on the contrary, returns entirely to the older representation ; the queen reclining on her right and the elephant very large ; in its design too this scene is inconsistent, being a combined picture of the conception and the birth, while the persons of the two scenes are not kept separate. At Ajantā the conception is twice represented ⁷⁾, and it is also found at Pagān ⁸⁾.

14. *The gods do homage to the Bodhisattva (?)*

In the mother, when the entering of the womb has taken place, there appears directly on the right side a *ratnavyūha*-pavilion. And further, in that pavilion remains the Bodhisattva, descended from the *Tuṣita*, sitting with legs crossed. For the body of a Bo-

¹⁾ Cunningham, *The stūpa of Bharhut* (1879) pl. 28; also reproduced elsewhere, for instance pl. 42 of *The Cambridge History of India* I.

²⁾ T.S.W. pl. 33; also Foucher, *La porte orientale du stūpa de Sānchi* (1910), pl. 6.

³⁾ Burgess pl. 28.

⁴⁾ T.S.W. pl. 74, Burgess fig. 18 on p. 65, A.G.B. I fig. 148 p. 294; see also T.S.W. pl. 91, Burgess pl. 32.

⁵⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 149 p. 295; fig. 160 p. 313.

⁶⁾ Pl. 4 in the article *Archaeological Exploration in India 1906—7*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1907.

⁷⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 223; coll. *Griffiths Paintings* pl. 25 and 48.

⁸⁾ *Seidenstücker*, abb. 7 and p. 27 and 89.

dhisattva in his latest existence has not the nature of the fleshly substance of a foetus but he appears seated complete with all his limbs and parts of limbs and with all the (requisite) tokens.

When midday was past and the afternoon was come, then appeared Brahmā Sahāpati attended by some hundred thousands of Brahmakāyika gods sons with the divine drop of essence and approached the place where the Bodhisattva was, to behold him, to adore him and serve him and hear the Law. When the Bodhisattva had seen that they were seated, he instructed them with a discourse on the Law, made it clear to them, encouraged them and filled them with joy (65: 19; 69: 15; 70: 3).

As after the conception, in the text follow the scenes given on the reliefs 15—21, without intermission, it becomes difficult to explain No. 14; it may only be looked for in the part of the text that follows on the scene depicted on No. 21, yet it remains doubtful whether in guessing what it represents we may have hit on the right incident.

On the relief, in the middle is seen in a pavilion, a god or Bodhisattva seated on a lotus cushion with the right hand in a sort of vitarkamudrā of third finger and thumb. Right and left a similar figure standing, on the right with a lotus and left with a bowl. Next on each side a number of seated gods, the right with richly-adorned headdress, the left hand ones with a somewhat different hairdressing made up with plaits. On both sides two heavenly ones are hovering in the air; those on the right flying towards the pavilion, the left ones, away from it.

Pleyte (l.l. pag. 27) calls this relief: „Çakra und die Beherrscher der Windgegenden“ and describes the text relating to it as follows: „In derselben Nacht begaben sich die vier Beherrscher der Windgegenden, acht und zwanzig Yakshaanführer und der Häuptling der Guhyaka's, die Yaksharace welcher Vajrapāṇi entstammte, zu Çakra und nachdem sie Rath gepflogen hatten, beschlossen sie alle zusammen die Māyā-Devī zu überwachen.“ Thus he considers the person in the middle to be Çakra, the flying figures as the Guardians of the winds, while misled by the drawing, he conjectures there is a vajra on the lotus of the standing god, which would indicate him to be Vajrapāṇi. But if we consult the text itself, it then appears that the translation used by Pleyte was not a very good one, for to begin with it is not there stated to have taken place on the night of the conception, nor do we find that

the persons came to Çakra and there consulted, but only (66 : 4), that Çakra, the Guardians of the world and the yakṣa-leaders mentioned, were continually on guard over the Bodhisattva concealed in the mother's womb ¹⁾. There is thus no consultation, nor is any mention made of any special part played by Çakra on this occasion, and finally there is no explanation for the advancing and returning flight of the Guardians.

Following in the footsteps of Barth ²⁾, I am led to seek the solution elsewhere, guided specially by the unusual shape of the pavilion which is really a sort of pavilion within another pavilion and this is just the building described in the text, the ratnavyūha-pavilion ³⁾, with this difference that there ought really to be a third pavilion enclosing it.

The central figure seated on the lotuscushion, can be no other than the Bodhisattva, as in the text, with legs crossed and expounding the Law to the gods visiting him. There are several groups of gods who come consecutively to do him reverence ; the reason for my quoting the above passage about Brahmā's visit is the possibility that the bowl held by the figure on the left may be intended as the same sort of bowl in the former relief, in which Brahmā offers the essence and which according to the text he now has with him. Which visit of the gods is indicated, does not either matter very much ; the flying figures are perhaps meant to shew the coming of one and the going away of another group of divine worshippers. The great difficulty, the great objection to my interpretation is of course that the Bodhisattva with the ratnavyūha and all, is supposed to be within the mother's womb. We must allow that it was utterly impossible for the sculptor to depict this, and being given the episode of the ratnavyūha for his subject, he was compelled to do it in some such sort of way as on No. 14.

15. *Māyā retires to the aṣoka-wood*

Then queen Māyā rose up from her splendid couch, wearing ornaments and soft garments, cheerful in mind and body, filled with joy, vitality and contentment, and surrounded and followed by her com-

¹⁾ The Southern tradition also gives the guarding of Māyā by four of the gods, but after the telling of the dream; represented at Paṅān, Seldenstücker abb. 9 and p. 28 and 89.

²⁾ Bulletin des religions de l'Inde 4—5 (1902) p. 73.

³⁾ The same sort of pavilion served, as we saw, for the descent.

pany of women she descended from the top of the magnificent palace and betook herself to the aṣoka-wood. As soon as she had entered it, as she wished, she dispatched a messenger to king Çuddhodana : "May it please your majesty to come, the queen desires to see you." (55 : 11).

On the right is seen the palace just vacated by the queen, crowned with the triçūla motif ; on both sides are sitting guards with a tree in the background. On the left, stands the queen just arrived at the first tree of the aṣoka-wood, her women following. One kneels with an umbrella, a second holds up a mirror, two others carry the fly-whisks. Beneath the tree three figures are kneeling ; both those behind are servants, the front one is much damaged but to see by the headdress it was a man. He puts his hands respectfully on the ground in front of him and the queen is evidently turning towards him ; so he must be the messenger who is to take the message to the king.

16. *The king comes to the queen*

When king Çuddhodana had heard these words he betook himself cheerful of mind, after stretching his body and rising from his magnificent throne, surrounded by councillors, citizens, attendants, and relations to where the aṣoka-wood was situated ; but when he was come there he became incapable of entering the aṣoka-wood. He seemed to have become too heavy. Pausing at the entrance he spoke after a moment's reflection, at this time, the following verse : "Never can I recollect, even when leading my soldiers, that ever I felt my body so heavy as now. I am not able to enter the abode of my own family ; what will overtake me here and to whom can I turn for advice ?" (55 : 16).

Out of the air some of the gods sons inform him that the cause thereof is the presence of the Bodhisattva in Māyā's womb.

If the connection between text and reliefs was not so clear, no-one could have any idea that this and the next scene are placed in the aṣoka-wood, for there is not a tree to be seen. It looks much more likely that the queen is in a palace, the right hand of the relief is occupied by a building crowned with triçūla motifs, in which the queen sits on a lofty throne ; an attendant with a fan behind her, other women kneeling round. In the right lower corner a guard is seated, and there are two

others on the left of the building in the adjoining courtyard that is closed by a gateway, more to the left. In front of the gateway we see a sitting and a standing person, belonging to the king's suite that takes up the left half of the relief ; their rich garments make it probable they are the royal councillors or relations. It even looks as if they might be gods, who, though not from the air, are speaking to the king, but the respectful *sēmbah* of the front one is not becoming for a god. The king stands in a reflective attitude and is evidently depicted, musing over the strange occurrence. His suite sits on the left behind him and in the background is his elephant, hung with bells, its driver on its back with the *angkuça* in his hand.

17. *The queen relates her dream and asks for its interpretation*

With hands clasped in a *sēmbah* and bent head, the king entered and looking at *Māyā* who shewed no sign of pride or presumption (said unto her): "Say, what am I so do for thee, what matter is this? Speak!" And the queen answered him: "Like unto snow and silver, exceeding the glory of sun and moon, with stately pace and well-built, with six tusks and noble, his limbs as firm as diamonds and full of beauty, a splendid elephant has entered my womb. Discover the meaning thereof. . . . It will be well, o prince, to send swiftly for the brahmans who can expound the *veda*'s and interpret dreams and who know the rules of astronomy; let them come and reveal the truth of my dream, if it may bring me happiness or if it might foretell evil to our race." (56 : 9 ; 57 : 1).

In the middle of the relief sit the king and queen (the latter kneeling) in a *pēndāpā*, each on a throne and turning towards one another ; the queen makes a *sēmbah* and is certainly asking that the interpreters of dreams may be sent for. On both sides of the *pēndāpā* are the attendants in a sitting and a standing row ; on the right, among others, the queen's women with garlands, left, the men attendants of the king, bearing garments and jewels. In the last group notice those in the foreground who wear no headdress ; the seated one has his hair done up brahman-fashion in a twist, of the standing one facing us no hair is to be seen ; also the figure next to him wears an unusual headdress in the shape of a diadem at the back of his head. All three have a *mbustache* and do not look like ordinary attendants ; probably they are

brahmans. For the rest, the attendants on both sides carry the usual objects.

/Perhaps this scene is also depicted at Amarāvati¹⁾; but it is possible that there a later conversation is intended, one that takes place before the journey to Lumbinī and is not represented at Barabudūr. It is a court scene; the king sitting in the centre on a large throne, the queen adorned by a nimbus on a separate seat at his right hand. Courtiers are sitting on seats, male and female attendants stand round them. The fact that at Barabudūr the story of the dream is given but not the conversation before the journey to Lumbinī, proves that the first conversation was considered the most important, and makes it probable, that at Amarāvati the same conversation may be intended as on relief no. 17 at Barabudūr. At Ajanṭā this scene is given twice²⁾ and at Paḡān it is also found. ³⁾.

18. *The interpretation of the dream*

When the king heard these words, he commanded the brahmans to be sent for, learned in the veda's and skilled in the interpretation of ṣāstra's. And Māyā standing before them, spoke to the brahmans and said: "I have seen a dream, expound the meaning thereof to me." And the brahmans spoke: „Relate, o queen, what dream thou hast seen; after hearing it, we may understand it." Then the queen answered: "Like unto snow and silver, exceeding the glory of sun and moon, with stately pace and well-built, with six tusks and noble, his limbs as firm as diamond and full of beauty, a splendid elephant has entered my womb. Reveal to me the meaning of this."

On hearing these words, the brahmans spake as follows: "Behold, a great joy shall befall thee, it brings no misfortune to your race. A son shall be born unto thee, his body adorned with tokens, worthy descendant of the royal race, a noble ruler of the world. When he forsakes love, royal power and palace and without giving any more thought to them wanders forth in pity for the whole world, he will become a Buddha to be honored by the three worlds and

¹⁾ T.S.W. pl. 65.

²⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 223; Griffiths, *Paintings* pl. 25 and 47.

³⁾ Seldenstücker, *abb.* 8 and p. 27 and 89.

he will make glad the universe with the marvellous nectar of immortality". (57 : 5).

Left on the scene are the brahmans explaining the dream; one sits on a chair under a tree, a second kneels a bit more to the right, resting his hands in front of him on the ground. In the lefthand corner some attendants, sitting and standing. The pëndápá is separated from the seated brahman by an incense-burner; within, both king and queen are seated; below the dais on which the thrones are placed, some four other attendants sit on the ground, their faces turned towards the kneeling brahman. On the right of the pëndápá a female servant kneels with a folded tray on a bench, beneath which is a box, and behind that more of the royal suite are sitting; there are two ordinary servants with umbrella and sinté-leaf, the rest is the armed guard. In the background on the left is a tree and on the right we see the upper part of a palace.

The interpretation of the dream is also to be found on a couple of reliefs at Gandhāra, where king and queen as here are on the right sitting next each other and opposite on the left a brahman. ¹⁾ Another version shews the king between an old and a young ascetic and gives the explanation of the dream to the ṛṣi Asita who rightly ought not to appear until after the birth of the Bodhisattva ²⁾. At Barabudūr there was no cause for such confusion; according to the text, we now have the interpreters of the dream before us and presently on No. 31 Asita will appear on the scene.

19. *The reward of the brahmans*

When king Çuddhodana heard this from the brahmans, sooth-sayers, interpreters of tokens, skilled in the explanation of dreams, he rejoiced and was satisfied, glad, gay, cheerful, happy and joyful and refreshed those brahmans with a banquet of deliciously-prepared viands, presented them with garments in which he made them attire themselves and dismissed them. (58 : 3).

The design of this relief is very similar to the last one; the palace on the right, the pëndápá of the king in the middle, the brahmans on the left. Here too the king sits with his throne on a dais and below that

¹⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 150 p. 297 and fig. 160 p. 313.

²⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 151, and text on p. 299 etc. This scene is also found at Ajantā; Foucher. *Lettre* p. 223, *Paintings* pl. 27.

are two more servants, one of them now armed ; behind these a little dog appears. Rather lower than the king sit two other persons also inside the pēṇḍāpā ; a bearded man, his hair done up in a loop, looking like a brahman but holding the folded tray generally carried by servants in attendance, and a very much damaged person in full dress, according to Pleyte (l.l. p. 33) on the authority of van Kinsbergen's photograph, a woman, of course the queen, though it is difficult to explain why she, now the future mother of the Bodhisattva, is placed lower than her spouse. In the right of the pēṇḍāpā two more servants and two guards. On the left of the relief in front sits a brahman under a palmtree on a high seat ; he holds out his hands to receive a packet, a kind of purse, which also might contain food, that is being handed to him by a standing servant. A second and third brahman are quite on the left, one standing with an umbrella and one sitting who has already received his bag and a folded garment. The rest of the space between those already described and the pēṇḍāpā is occupied by a fourth brahman standing, and by servants, one carrying a bowl with gifts towards the three brahmans, two others turning towards the king for orders.

20. *The gods offer their palaces to Çuddhodana*

Then the question occurred to king Çuddhodana : "In which building should queen Māyā dwell, pleasantly and undisturbed?" At the same moment the four Great Kings approached king Çuddhodana and spoke thus : „Have no care, o king, be not disturbed nor distress thy mind about this ; for we shall prepare a house for the Bodhisattva." Then came Çakra, the king of the gods, to king Çuddhodana and spake thus : "Small is the pavilion of the Guardians of the world ; the best is the palace of the three and thirty gods ; I shall give the Bodhisattva a dwelling like that of Vaijayanta." (58 : 12).

Four other gods make the same offer.

A great hall or pēṇḍāpā. On the right the king on his throne, his attendants are sitting and standing on the same side next to the hall. The gods are on the left, making their offers, seven of them. There is no noticeable difference in their dress, so that it is impossible to make out which may be Çakra. The sculptor has not attempted to give any thing more than "the gods" in general.

21. *Māyā shews herself in the various palaces*

Thus in the splendid great city named Kapila, all the Kāmāvacara-rulers of the gods each built a palace in honor of the Bodhisattva. And king Çuddhodana prepared a dwelling that exceeded all human buildings in splendor and resembled nothing less than the heavenly ones. Upon which the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, by the power of the mahāvyūha-meditation caused Māyā to appear in all the buildings. While the Bodhisattva remained in the womb of queen Māyā he continued to be on the right side, sitting with legs crossed. And all the rulers of the gods thought to themselves : "It is in my palace that the mother of the Bodhisattva is living and nowhere else." (59 : 16).

Three palaces are erected on the relief next to one another, all richly decorated as might be expected from divine architects, with many triçūla- and jewel-motifs. In each of the three buildings the queen sits on a throne with cushions on it ; she here wears a halo for the first time. In the two outer palaces, attendants with fly-whisks stand at her side ; and on the extreme right and left other female figures are kneeling under a tree, also servants but very much injured and worn-away, though we can see the first on the right carries an incense-burner and a fan, and some others are holding flowers. Their dress is too plain for them to be goddesses who, according to a later passage in the text (66 : 7) served the Bodhisattva, four of them ; but these would more likely be the four standing figures.

22. *The queen heals the sick*

And all those in the splendid great city named Kapila, or in other countries, who were possessed by a god, nāga, yakṣa, gandharva, asura, garuḍa, or bhūta, women, men, boys or girls, when they saw the mother of the Bodhisattva, recovered their senses immediately and got back their memory, those who had lost their human shape, recovered it on the spot. And those beings suffering from various diseases, on them the mother of the Bodhisattva laid her right hand upon their heads and immediately on being touched the sickness disappeared and they returned to their homes. At last queen Māyā took a handful of grass from the

ground and gave it to the exhausted creatures and as soon as they took hold of it there was no trace of their disease left. (71 : 17 ; 72 : 4).

Beginning on the right, we see on this relief first, three of the guard, sitting under a tree, and then a small building with the roof of a temple, that we might consider to be a little chapel, but on other reliefs this kind of building is used for a gateway. A little further the queen is sitting on a throne with three attendants behind her ; apparently in front of the gateway to the palace grounds and in the open air ; observe the clouds above her and the trees further to the left. She raises her hand towards the person sitting in front of her, who is holding his right upper-arm with the left hand, maybe one of the sick who is to be cured by the laying on of hands ; this is not certain for his dress is the same as the other attendants of the queen and not the ordinary costume of the desa-folk invalids depicted. The group which occupies the left side is not quite in keeping with the text as it seems more to represent a distribution of food and medicine by the attendants than any laying on of hands by the queen. One sits with a pot in front of him and a spoon in his hand ; and another stands with a dish serving out something with a spoon. Among the sick, one is half lying on the ground and holds his hand to his head, two others sit and stand with hands upraised, then another is crouching, feeling a sore place on his shoulder and two more are leaning on a crutch. Thus it is quite plain that these are sick and helpless ones, not just only poor who receive alms from the queen.

23. *Distribution of alms*

All the Çākya's and other beings in the splendid great city called Kapila ate and drunk, amused themselves, lived pleasantly, gave gifts and performed meritorious work. (72 : 17)

The sculptor or rather the one who ordered the design, has clearly suggested the more edifying part of the Çākya's life, the giving of alms, for the picture, as nothing else is represented on this relief. On the right a building, a dwelling house of two storeys with closed in niches below, windows with trellis-work above, an oblique sloping roof with top-ornaments and above the entrance a balcony with projecting roof. On the rest of the relief against a background of trees, we see a picturesque group : the Çākya's¹⁾ recognisable by their rich garments, who are distributing valuables and food from trays held by their servants, to a crowd of poor

¹⁾ The one standing on the right might be the king, judging by his attitude.

of all ages and sexes depicted in all sorts of attitudes. The sculptor has succeeded in giving a natural and animated scene, by here not dividing the givers and receivers on each side as on so many of the reliefs, but shewing them in a mingled group.

24. *The king as brahmacārin* (?)

And king Çuddhodana living the life of a brahmacārin without attending to the affairs of state, perfectly pure as those who retire to the forest of repentance, was concerned only with the exercise of the Law. (72: 20).

Only the sequence of the text makes it probable that the above passage may really be depicted upon this relief; but it is not clear and the identification remains very doubtful. On a throne, right, under a canopy, a plainly-dressed person is sitting, unfortunately rather damaged, this might be the king who has retired from the world; he makes a gesture of refusal to the group before him, separated by an incense-burner. This group consists of a number of women, also plainly-dressed and surely no ladies of the harem, unless they have followed their masters example; they are kneeling on a platform with a few trees behind it. Quite in front, below the nearest woman, a person (sex doubtful) has thrown himself at the feet of the king.

On the platform follow some sitting and kneeling men, some of them bearded, none of them well-to-do, some with smooth brushed-back-hair and some with hair tied up. These too are turning towards the king. Quite on the left stand three better-dressed men, the first with a dish full of wreaths, the next with a fly-whisk; perhaps royal servants, perhaps some of the festive Çākya's mentioned in the text of the previous relief. As the text gives no decisive statement about what these people are up to and there is evidently something on hand not included in the above quotation from the text, this must remain an unsolved mystery.

25. *The miracles at Kapilavastu*

Now when ten months had passed in this way and the time for the Bodhisattva's birth was come, there appeared in the palace and the park of king Çuddhodana two and thirty omens.... From the slopes of the Himālaya came young lions continually and after pacing round the excellent city named Kapila with rejoiced

greetings, keeping the city on their right, they lay down on the thresholds of the gates without doing harm to any one. Five hundred young white elephants came and saluted king Çuddhodana's feet with the end of their trunks. Children of the gods with girdles round their waist appeared in king Çuddhodana's private apartments and seated themselves on the lap of first one and then another. (76:8, 16).

Only the three omens shewn on the relief are quoted out of the thirty two; the lions, the elephants and the divine infants. The scene with the lions is on the right; two lions sit before the usual style of gateway, next to them are the guards and three other persons standing, perhaps also guards, expressing their wonder. On the left a pëndâpâ, in the right end of which the king is sitting; the space between him and the gateway is taken up by elephants about the size of dogs, one of which, as the text says, touches the king's foot with his trunk.

The king has a divine infant on his knee, a second stands near and a third on the king's other side; they all have a band crossed over the middle of the breast, fastened with a large clasp, and are indicated further by a crescent behind the head. To the left of the pëndâpâ are three female attendants, inside the pëndâpâ three more female figures are kneeling whom, to judge by the grander costume of the front one, we may consider to be the queen with two of her women. According to Pleyte (l.l. p. 41) they are the gods daughters who are mentioned in the description of other tokens; if this were correct, then the sculptor must have deviated from the text which tells us that these apparitions remained part of them in the air and part of them carried specially-named emblems that do not appear on the relief.

26. *The preparation for the journey to Lumbinî*

Now when queen Mâyâ by the power of the Bodhisattva's radiance knew that the time of his birth was near, she betook herself in the early vigil of the night to king Çuddhodana and spoke unto him these verses:

"It behoves me, o king, to retire to the pleasure garden. It is the best of seasons, the spring, when women adorn themselves. Mid the hum of the bees, the song of the kokila and peacock is heard; clear, glittering and radiant is spread the glory of the blossoms. Come, give command, let us set off without delay!"

When the king had heard these words of the queen, he spake, pleased and light of heart to his retinue: "Make ready a troupe of horses, elephants, carriages and attendants; decorate Lumbinī, the place of most perfect quality" (78 : 1, 11).

On the relief we do not find just what the text quoted leads us to expect; it is not the conversation of the king and queen that is given¹⁾, but what follows thereon. The scene is divided by a gateway into two unequal parts, on the right, the smaller, sits the queen, clearly indicated by a halo, on a throne in a niche; kneeling before her, a small tree in the back ground, are two attendants, the front one holding a bowl, perhaps containing ornaments. The queen is probably preparing herself for the journey, even if the text does not literally say so, and the passage in Pleyte (p. 42): "Inzwischen war Māyā-Devī nach ihrem Zimmer zurückgekehrt und hatte sich von ihren Dienerinnen die schönsten Gewänder anlegen lassen" is not to be found in the original Sanscrit. On the left of the gateway a quite mutilated figure is sitting in a pēṇḍāpā whom Pleyte rightly recognises as the king; a servant kneels behind him with the usual folded vessel in his hand; opposite to them sitting and standing, a large number of attendants. In this scene as well, Pleyte thinks of adornment and entitles the whole relief as "Der König und die Königin schmücken sich." He has been misled by Wilsen's drawing on which someone is holding ready a headdress; where, in reality, as clearly shewn on the photograph, a very much damaged attendant is wearing it on his own head. As for the rest, there is only one attendant who has ornaments on a tray; the nearest one standing, carries a bouquet, another a box; the lowest row are quite without any articles in their hands. Adorning himself, or making any toilet, we see no traces of in this scene, and there is no reason for the king to trouble about his dress as he is not going with the party to Lumbinī. I am much more inclined to think we here have only the king giving orders to his attendants, in preparation for the queen's journey.

27. *Māyā betakes herself to the Lumbinī-park*

"Let queen Māyā alone be seated in the splendid carriage and no other man or woman ride in it. And let women in various garments draw that carriage."

¹⁾ As at Paṅān; Seldenstücker, abb. 10 and p. 29 and 89 etc.

Then did queen Māyā pass, accompanied by 84,000 horse-carriages decorated with all sorts of ornaments and by 84,000 elephant-carriages decorated with all kind of ornaments, escorted by 84,000 warriors, brave, warlike, well-favored, handsome, clad in mail and armour, followed by 60,000 Čākya-women, guarded by 40,000 Čākya's of the family of king Čuddhodana, old, young and middle-aged, accompanied by 60,000 persons of king Čuddhodana's private appartments, who made harmonious music consisting of singing and the sound of all sorts of instruments, surrounded by 84,000 gods daughters, 84,000 nāga-daughters, 84,000 gandharva-daughters, 84,000 kinnara-daughters, and 84,000 asura-daughters, adorned with differently composed ornaments who sang all kinds of songs of praise." (80 : 9 ; 81 : 21).

Not much is seen on the relief of the enormous procession that escorted the queen to Lumbinī according to the text. She sits in a comfortable arm chair with cushions on a four-wheeled carriage, and she sits there quite alone.¹⁾ This agrees with the text in the first words of the king quoted above ; the rest of his orders was not carried out by the sculptor, for it is not women who draw the carriage but two horses hung with bells, upon one of which is the charioteer. In front walks a troop of partially-armed men who to judge by the fine clothes, will be Čākya's ; behind and next to the carriage are servants with umbrellas and leaf-fan and these too are armed with swords, some of them. Finally come the queen's women. The other carriages with horses and elephants are not there and the music as well as the attendant daughters of the demi gods are left out. At Ajaṇṭā, the queen sits in a palanquin and begins taking her bath²⁾, at Pagān too the vehicle is a palanquin borne by men.

28. *The birth of the Bodhisattva*

Now when queen Māyā had entered the Lumbinī-park, and had descended from that splendid carriage, surrounded by human and divine women, she moved from one tree to the other, from

¹⁾ That is unless the attendant whose half figure appears between the horses and the side of the carriage, is considered to be sitting in the carriage.

²⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 225 ; *Paintings* pl. 28.

³⁾ Seidenstücker, *abb.* 11 and p. 29 and 90.

one thicket into another, looking at one tree after the other, and came gradually to the place where that great plakṣa, jewel of all great trees, grew. Thereupon the plakṣa-tree, moved by the power of the Bodhisattva's glory, bowed down and saluted her. Queen Māyā stretched out her right arm like a flash of lightning in the air, laid hold of a branch of the plakṣa and stood there without any effort gazing up to heaven with her mouth slightly open. At that moment appeared 60.000.000 apsaras of the Kāmāvacara gods and formed a train to serve queen Māyā. Attended by such miracles the Bodhisattva formerly had entered the mother's womb; now he appeared, at the end of ten full months, out of his mother's right side, in possession of memory and knowledge, unsullied by the impurity of the mother's womb. At the same moment came Çakra, the king of the gods, and Brahmā Sahāpati and stood before him. With the greatest respect they received the Bodhisattva in a divine kāñika-garment, recognising him in all his limbs and parts of his body, and knowing him. Immediately at his birth the Bodhisattva descended to the ground. As soon as the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, touched it a great lotus appeared splitting open the great earth. Nanda and Upananda, the nāga-kings, shewing the upper part of themselves in the air, caused two streams of water to appear both hot and cold and bathed the Bodhisattva. It was Çakra, Brahmā and the Guardians of the world, with many more hundred thousands of the gods sons, who bathed the Bodhisattva directly after birth, sprinkled him with all sorts of perfumed water and strewed him with blossoms; fly-whisks appeared in the air and an umbrella adorned with jewels. He placed himself on the lotus and looked towards the four winds.

Without any man's help the Bodhisattva took seven steps to the East (and said): "Behold I shall be the first of all dharma's who are the roots of Salvation". And as he walked the divine white large umbrella and the two magnificent fans moved above him in the air unsupported. At every spot where the Bodhisattva set his foot sprung up lotuses. And he took seven steps to the South etc. (82 : 14 ; 83 : 3, 12, 19 ; 84 : 15).

It is certainly remarkable that while everywhere else the sculptors of the Barabaḍur do not hesitate when the text allows, to spend a new relief on scenes that are very similar, they have here chosen to combine the three important events, the birth, the bathing and the seven steps, into one panel. In the middle of the relief the plakṣa-tree is designed, shaded by an umbrella and decorated with hanging strings of jewels. On the right is the queen with attendants ; the birth was just taken place as is shewn by her standing in the prescribed attitude ; the right arm raised and holding a branch of the tree. One attendant supports her left arm, a second kneels before her with a water-jug, a third is behind her with some four other of her women. To the left of the plakṣa-tree, the bathing is ingeniously combined with the seven steps. Here seven lotuses have sprouted up, strangely enough out of the familiar, but here quite misplaced, jewel pots. On two of these flowers the Bodhisattva sets his foot ; thus the seven lotuses that sprout up under his seven footsteps are clearly indicated. At the same time, above his head floats a cloud from which streams of water and flowers pour down on to him.

Here the Bodhisattva has already reached the stature of a growing youth, and wears besides the usual dress of high-born boys the crescent ornament behind his head. On the left of the scene is a row of gods, standing, among whom is no figure that can be distinguished as Çakra or Brahmā, and a row of kneeling women, with high headdress, thus no servants but probably the apsaras mentioned at the birth. They have some objects in their hands, but this part of the relief is too damaged for us to see what they are.

We can see plainly that to make a whole of all this, the sculptor has had to sacrifice a good deal. At the birth-scene, the new-born infant himself, and the two gods who fold him in the cloth are missing ; the two nāga-kings are not present at the bath, though they are responsible for the water. There was no room either for the large lotus on which the Bodhisattva rested before the seven steps were taken and the umbrella and the two fly-whisks are not given at all.

Deviations of this sort are very extraordinary when it concerns such an important incident as the birth of the Bodhisattva, for we should imagine both the Bodhisattva and the two gods who receive him, to be so deeply-rooted in the tradition that it was impossible to leave them out of the picture. This is the more striking because in other Indian art, all three, or at least the new-born infant and one of the gods, appear, and while, in other respects, the Barabaḍur sculptor so evidently adheres

to the existing tradition, even where the text omitted the particular in question: for example, the presence, known also in Gandhāra art ¹⁾, of the standing woman who supports the young mother, and that of the attendant holding a water jug. In connection with my remarks on No 13 it is noticeable that at Amarāvati too the child is sometimes left out and the two gods Çakra and Brahmā are replaced by four gods all alike, who nevertheless hold a cloth and are therefore not reduced to the role of spectator, like the five divine persons on the Barabaḍur scene ²⁾. Also as regards the placing of these three incidents on one relief, the Javan artist is not as original as might be thought, examples of two, the birth and seven steps, are known in Gandhāra; and when we see there just below the Bodhisattva coming out of Māyā's side, another image of him making the seven steps, the Barabaḍur scene is surely to be preferred, that represents the child only once. Even with the lotuses the Javan sculptor has not been original for this is to be found in Magadha ³⁾, but the way in which they are shewn is a vast improvement on that of his colleague in Hindustan who piles the lotuses stupidly on top of one another; the most sensible way is the later Tibetan manner of placing the lotuses in a cross towards the points of the compass. Finally it is curious that neither does the bath incident exactly imitate the Indian examples. As above quoted, the text describes first that the nāga's let the streams of water fall and afterwards Çakra, Brahmā and other gods pour out their water and flowers. It is known that the Gandhāra art adheres to the latter and shews the bath being performed by the gods, while the later Indian art prefers to give it to the nāga's. On Barabaḍur there are no nāga's, nor either any signs of the two gods who pour water over the Bodhisattva in Gandhāra. There is nothing to be seen but the gods as spectators who have no hand in the bathing, though perhaps the shower of blossoms may be an indication that the sculptor intended the bath by the gods, not the nāga's, the flowers being mentioned in the text only for the gods. The impression of the whole is, that in spite of being bound by text and

¹⁾ Representations of the birth in the Gandhāra art, generally with a good deal of resemblance among them, are to be found A.G.B. I fig. 152 p. 301, 154 p. 306, 158 p. 311, 164 p. 321, 208 p. 412, the seven steps fig. 155 p. 307, and the bath fig. 156 p. 309, 157 p. 310. Also Burgess, *The Gandhara sculptures*, Journ. of Ind. Art. and Industry 8 (1898) pl. 10; Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India* (1901) fig. 64 and 65; Burgess, *The ancient monuments, temples and sculptures of India* (1897) pl. 98, 126, 134.

²⁾ T.S.W. pl. 65 and 91; Burgess pl. 32 (= 91). From Amarāvati is also A.G.B. II fig. 506 p. 563.

³⁾ See Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde* I (1900) fig. 28 p. 160; also from Magadha A.G.B. II fig. 500 p. 545.

tradition, the artist of the Barabaður exhibits a surprising amount of originality.

In other Buddhist art as well, the birth of Çākyaṃuni remains a favorite subject, in that of Sānchi¹⁾, Sarnāth²⁾, Ajanṭā³⁾ Cambodia⁴⁾, Pagān⁵⁾, the Indian miniatures⁶⁾, the Serindian⁷⁾, the elder Chinese⁸⁾, the later Tibetan⁹⁾ art. As Barabaður by the singular combination of three incidents is so exceptional, there is no reason for comparing with the other examples. With all the variations, one chief thing has remained the same: the tree and the queen holding it with one hand (later always the right, in the older art sometimes the left hand) in the middle, with her attendants on her left side and the gods on her right; if necessary the two groups are reduced to one representative for each. As for the rest, this scheme could be combined in various ways with whatever text was followed by the sculptor.

29. *The congratulations and feasting of ṛṣi's and brahmans*

Then all the ṛṣi's from other parts, who were present in India and acquainted with the fivefold knowledge came flewing through the air to king Çuddhodana, set themselves before him and gave utterance to their wishes for health and prosperity. And all the troupes of Çākya's gathered together and uttered cries of joy, gave gifts, performed meritorious deeds, and every day satisfied two and thirty hundred thousand brahmans; whatever each of them needed, it was given unto him. Çakra, the king of the gods, and Brahmā took

¹⁾ A.G.B. II fig. 474 p. 387.

²⁾ A.M.I. fig. 67, 68; A.G.B. I fig. 209 p. 413; II fig. 498 p. 539; fig. 507, p. 563; I.B.I. fig. 29 p. 163; Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1907 I.I. pl. 4.

³⁾ Foucher, Lettre p. 223; comp. Paintings pl. 28.

⁴⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 153 p. 303.

⁵⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 12—18, p. 29, 84—86, 90.

⁶⁾ I.B.I. pl. X, 3.

⁷⁾ Grünwedel, Altbuddh. Kunstst. Turkest. fig. 383 (A.G.B. II fig. 523 p. 605); Stein, Serindia II p. 855 foll. and pl. LXXIV (Tun-Huang).

⁸⁾ Chavannes, Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale, Publ. Ec. franç. d' Extr. Or XIII, 2 (1915) fig. 275 and pag. 319 (Yun-Kang), fig. 1735 and pag. 555 (Long-men); fig. 432 and pag. 590. In all three of these cases the bath (by the nāga's) and the seven steps follow immediately.

⁹⁾ See ill. in Grünwedel, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien (1900) abb. 50 on p. 105, or Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei (1900) abb. 7 pag. 16; more modern Hackin I.I. pl. I; compare above pag. 107.

the foremost seats in that conclave of brahmans, after assuming the human form, and pronounced these verses of congratulation (96 : 17, 21).

On the extreme right, in front of a very much damaged building, are sitting armed guards and unarmed servants of the king who sits on his throne a little to the left, in a pēṇḍāpā. According to Wilsen's drawing this little building was a gateway, but there may be some imagination about that. Opposite to the king also on a dais in the same pēṇḍāpā, is a ṛṣi, to be recognised by his untidy, done up-high mass of hair but otherwise rather delapidated ; between them a dish of food(?). The left hand of the relief gives the feasting of the brahmans. These are sitting in the left hand corner under a small pēṇḍāpā-roof, one of them is seated a little higher, a second sits on the ground, a pupil stands behind with an umbrella, the (very indistinct) head and arm of a fourth seem to be sticking up above the seat. Both the first-mentioned have each a meal set before them, among which the large balls of rice and dishes with sambalan's and other things can be descried. Between this group and the pēṇḍāpā of the king the distributors of food are sitting or standing, they look just like servants, not at all like Çākya's of distinction as given by the text. The sitting ones have in their hands a water-jug with a spout, a box, and a bowl ; the first of the standing ones is ready to serve out from a basin, with a spoon, while those behind him are bringing dishes and bowls. A tree in the background.

30. *Gautamī undertakes the care of the Bodhisattva*

Seven days after the birth of the Bodhisattva, his mother, queen Māyā died. After her death she was born again among the three and thirty gods. Thereupon five hundred Çākya-women spoke each to herself in this wise : „I shall take on myself the care of the prince". But the eldest Çākya's, both men and women, said: „All these women are young, beautiful, well-formed and proud of their youth and beauty ; they are not suited to bring up the Bodhisattva as it befits. None other than Mahāprajāpati Gautamī here, the sister of the prince's mother, is able to bring up the prince in a wholly satisfactory manner, and to assist king Çuddhodana". As soon as they were agreed upon this, they encouraged Mahāprajāpati Gautamī. Therefore she brought up the young prince. And two and thirty

nurses were appointed to the Bodhisattva, eight to carry him, eight to give him milk, eight to bathe him and eight to play with him". (97 : 3 ; 100 : 10).

The middle of the relief is taken up by a large pavilion ; within sits king Çuddhodana with his son on his knees, on each side of him a group of women. The Bodhisattva again has the half-moon ornament behind his head. Among the women a few hold a bowl or dish and must be servants as can be noticed by their dress ; the one sitting directly in front of the king has nothing to distinguish her from the others, so there would be no reason to think she is the princess Gautamī. Although it is most probable, considering the position of the relief between the feasting of the brahmins and the visit of Asita, that the choice of a foster-mother is here intended, there is still a good deal of doubt, because also the old Çākya's of the text are omitted. Right and left of the pavilion, servants are sitting under a palm-tree, armed guards only on the right. In connection with the possibility that we may have here before us some other scene than the text suggests, I must mention that the return from Lumbinī to Kapilavastu, a favorite scene in sculptured art, at least in that of Gandhāra ¹⁾, that should have found a place here, is altogether missing on Barabaður, notwithstanding the elaborate description in the Lalitavistara.

31. *The visit of Asita*

At that time there lived on the slopes of the Himālaya, the king of the mountains, a great ṛṣi, named Asita, learned in the fivefold knowledge, with his sister's son Naradatta. Now this Asita saw at the birth of the Bodhisattva many miraculous and supernatural apparitions. He rose up with his sister's son Naradatta into the air as a royal swan and flew to the great city of Kapilavastu.

And Asita, the mighty ṛṣi, spoke thus to king Çuddhodana : "Unto thee great king is born a son, and I am come hither desirous to look upon him" . . . Thereupon king Çuddhodana took up prince Sarvārthasiddha gently and carefully in both hands and brought him to Asita, the great ṛṣi. And when he saw that the Bodhisattva was marked with the thirty two signs of the Great Being, he wept,

¹⁾ A.G.B. I pag. 310—314 and fig. 157—160 On the contrary the journey to Lumbinī, (No. 27 of this series) has not yet been found in Gandhāra.

shedding tears and sighing deep. King Çuddhodana . . . spake unto Asita, the great ṛṣi: "Wherefore, o ṛṣi, doest thou weep and shed tears, and heave deep sighs? Is there any danger for the prince?" At these words spake Asita, the great ṛṣi, to king Çuddhodana: „I do not weep for the prince and no danger threatens him. Nay I weep for myself. And for what cause? Great king, I am old, full of years and worn with age . . . This prince shall without doubt attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom and save a hundred thousand million koṭi's of beings from the ocean of life's circle to the other coast and help them to attain immortality. And we shall not see that jewel of a Buddha. Therefore I weep, great king. (101 : 1 ; 102 : 1 ; 103 : 1, 8, 21 ; 104 : 3 ; 105 : 3).

Asita points out the thirty-two chief signs and eighty additional signs of the future Buddha, he is feasted and departs.

The fulness of detail with which the text relates this Simeon episode, compels me to curtail the quotations and refer the reader to the text for the whole tale.

The king and his visitors are sitting in a pëndâpâ on the left of the relief with a dish full of wreaths between them, on a wide seat with cushions. The king has his son upon his knee, the child holds a stem, probably of a flower in his hand ; behind him some female servants are standing and sitting. The bearded ṛṣi Asita sits in front making a sêm-bah ; behind him Naradatta without a beard. Both have their hair in the usual fashion of ṛṣi's fastened up in a large coil, and both wear the necklace customary for ṛṣi's as well as ascetics. The ṛṣi is evidently lost in contemplation of the Bodhisattva ; no trouble has been taken to shew his sadness, as for instance is done on a Gandhâra-relief by putting him with his hand to his head ¹⁾). On the right of the pëndâpâ three female attendants are coming with garments etc. as gifts for the guests, but this part of the relief is not very distinct. Further, there is a building in the background, possibly a guard-house, the usual guard seated, and finally on the extreme right three horses and an elephant, with his mahout holding the angkuça. These animals have nothing to do with the Asita episode, so they must have been put in as decoration.

The representations of Asita's visit in the Gandhâra art ²⁾, differ in so far from those on Barabudûr, that the queen is also present and

¹⁾ *A.G.B. I fig. 161 p. 305.

²⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 160 p. 313, 162 p. 131, 165 p. 323, and the one already mentioned.

Asita, not the father, is holding the child. The last is also the case on the painting at Ajanṭā, of which only the one ṛṣi figure with the child is known to us¹⁾, so that we can form no idea of the further design of the scene. The old Chinese art gives only Asita with the child²⁾; on the contrary at Paḡān the king holds his son, that is if the interpretation of the relief is correct. ³⁾

32. *Maheçvara and other gods sons do homage to the Bodhisattva*

As soon as the Bodhisattva was born, the gods son Maheçvara turned to the Çuddhāvāsakāyika gods sons and spake thus: "The Bodhisattva, the Great Being, has appeared in the world and will in a short time attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom. Come, let us go and greet him, do him homage, honor and praise him". Then the gods son Maheçvara surrounded and followed by twelve hundred thousand gods sons, after filling the whole great city of Kapilavastu with radiance, came to the place where king Çuddhodana's* palace stood . . . and after saluting the Bodhisattva's feet with his head and throwing his upper garment over one shoulder, he walked round him some hundred thousand times, keeping his right side towards him, took the Bodhisattva in his arms and spoke encouraging words to Çuddhodana. After the gods son Maheçvara with the Çuddhāvāsakāyika gods sons had thus performed the ceremony of the great homage, he returned to his own dwelling. (112: 3, 13; 113: 1, 4, 11, 13).

On this relief too the royal pēndāpā is on the left, here with triçūla-ornements on the roof, king Çuddhodana still sits with his son on his knee on a cushion with some female attendants behind him. The gods also sit on cushions, three of them; the nearest, making a sēmbah, must be Maheçvara. Nothing is to be seen of the homage to the feet of the Bodhisattva or of a pradakṣiṇā; the gods son is sitting just like the ṛṣi on the last relief. The right is occupied by the king's suite, servants standing, some of them with the usual bowls of flowers, and seated ones,

¹⁾ Fergusson-Burgess, The cave temples of India (1880) p. 308; Burgess, Notes on the Bauddha rocktemples of Ajanta, Arch. Surv. West. Ind. 9 (1879) pl. 14; Griffiths, Paintings, pl. 45; Foucher, Lettre p. 224.

²⁾ Chavannes, Mission, fig. 432, p. 590.

³⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 20 and p. 31 and 91. For Cambodia see A.G.B. II fig. 518 p. 589.

the front ones only bearing swords and shields, while in the background, as well as the king's umbrella, bows and arrows are to be seen ¹⁾).

33. *The Çākya's request that the prince may be brought to the temple*

Then the oldest Çākya's, men and women, gathered together, came to king Çuddhodana and spake thus: "O king, this thou should know, the prince must be brought to the temple". And he answered and said: "It is well, let the prince be brought there." (118:3).

Here again the king is sitting with his son on his knee, he is placed quite in front because those with whom he converses are outside the pēṇḍāpā. Behind him and inside the building, some female attendants are kneeling; the front one who has nothing in her hands and on whose hip the king rests his hand, might be Gautamī, but according to the text, she was not present at the conversation, as the king informs her later, on his return to the palace, of his commands for the procession to the temple. On the right, outside the pēṇḍāpā, are sitting servants and guards. On the left stand and sit a number of persons, men and women, whom we must consider the Çākya's and their followers; the front one, who has a vase in the hand, seems to be a brahman. This group is very much damaged; but it is still clear that in any case those sitting at the back, as well as the three figures standing, the last ones with a fly-whisk and gifts in their hands, belong to the staff of attendants. In the background there are some trees.

34. *The procession to the temple*

Thus, while praise and rejoicing sounded everywhere and the streets, crossways, markets and gateways were dressed with innumerable adornments, king Çuddhodana set forth after decorating the carriage of the prince within the palace, accompanied and followed by brahmans, teachers of the veda's, chiefs of the guilds, heads of families, councillors, rulers of the frontier, guardians of the gateways, followers, friends and relations, with the prince along the road, that was sprinkled with perfumes, strewn with blossoms, filled with

¹⁾ Perhaps this homage is also represented at Pagān, Seidenstücker abb. 21, p. 32 etc., 81 and 92. According to the latter, the passage, not preserved in the Avidūrenidāna, might be borrowed from the Lalitavistara.

horses, elephants, carriages and troops on foot, where umbrellas, flags and banners were planted and all kinds of music resounded. A hundred thousand gods drew the carriage of the Bodhisattva and many hundred thousand millions of kōṭi's of the gods sons and apsaras scattered showers of blossoms in the air and made melody upon instruments of music. (119 : 11).

Comparing the text with what is represented on the relief, it is interesting to notice the way in which the Barabudur sculptors worked. Here they had to depict the procession of Çuddhodana and his son with attendants, and that the sculptor has given, but he has passed over all the details in the description. To begin with the gods are left out, those who were to draw the carriage as well as those who enlivened the journey with music and flowers. No notice has been taken of the selection of the king's company according to the text, or of the appearance of the road. What remains is as follows : A large four-wheeled carriage and four, with canopy, in which are sitting the king, the Bodhisattva, with his usual crescent ornament, and two female attendants. The driver is seated on the shaft, behind the carriage crouches a soldier. In front and behind are servants and guards, the last of whom in the front group carry bow and arrows, in the back one, swords. In this way the sculptor carried out the instructions.

35. *The gods of the temple do honor to the Bodhisattva*

Then king Çuddhodana and the prince entered the temple, with great royal ceremony, great royal splendor, and great royal magnificence. As soon as the Bodhisattva placed the sole of his right foot upon the floor in that temple, the lifeless images of the gods, of Çiva, Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, Kuvera, Candra, Sūrya, Vaiçravaṇa, Çakra, Brahmā, the Guardians of the world and other images, stood up each from its pedestal and threw themselves at the feet of the Bodhisattva. And all the gods of whom these were the likeness, shewed their own shape and spake these verses. (119 : 19; 120 : 7).

The text places the doing homage, inside the temple but the relief gives it outside the building. The temple is on the left side of the scene. It is of two storeys, a double door with a kāla-makara ornament, next to that panels of so-called wallpaper-design and pilasters; above, the same pilasters and windows ornamented with a reversed triçūla. The roof slopes

straight up; in the centre it is crowned with a cakra between two banners; on the right side of the temple a porch projects supported by columns, and here sits a rākṣasa as temple-guard with the usual short sword. Two persons look out of the window, probably gods; a third is coming out of the half-open door. Four gods are already outside the temple; three are kneeling, one standing, all make a reverent sēmbah to the Bodhisattva advancing on the right. Among the gods the one standing and not wearing the usual style of high hair-dressing, but merely a tied-up coil of hair, is probably Brahmā, who is also represented elsewhere as Çikhin. The Bodhisattva is standing next to his father, both with haloes and an umbrella over their heads; behind them the suite, sitting and standing servants with the ordinary objects and soldiers armed with swords or bow and arrows. It is curious that the Bodhisattva here all at once has no halo, which he was given in the last relief in the carriage. Observe that here he is for the last time represented as a child, that is to say with a low diadem on his head: on the following reliefs he wears the ordinary royal headdress.

36. *The offering of jewels and their loss of brilliance*

Then king Çuddhodana caused five hundred ornaments to be made by five hundred Çākya's, namely, ornaments for the hand, the feet, the head and the neck, ornaments with seals, rings for the ear and arm, girdles, silk-stuffs woven with gold, gauze woven with bells and jewels and ornamented with the maṇi-stone, shoes embellished with all kinds of precious stones, pearl necklaces, bracelets and diadems.

And when the night was past and the sun had risen, the Bodhisattva went to the park called Vimalavyūha, and there was received into the arms of Mahāprajāpati Gautamī. Eighty thousand women came there and beheld the face of the Bodhisattva, and ten thousand girls came and five thousand brahmans. Then the ornaments that the fortunate Çākya-king had caused to be made were placed upon the Bodhisattva's body. As soon they were put on, they were dimmed by the radiance of the Bodhisattva's body, they

- glittered no more, sparkled no more, they ceased to shine.

Whereupon Vimalā, the goddess of the park, appeared in heavenly

person, stood before them, and spoke to king Çuddhodana and the great company of Çākya's, these verses : "He shines with his own glory, and is adorned by a hundred virtues ; on him whose body is without blemish, jewels will lose their lustre ; the radiance of the sun and moon, the stars and the glitter of the maṇi-stone, the brightness of Çakra and Brahmā grows dim in the effulgence of his splendor. He, whose body is embellished with tokens, the signs of his former good deeds, what should he do with worthless adornments made by the hands of others ?" (121 : 5,16 ; 122 : 10, 21).

Two episodes of the above-quoted story are depicted on this relief, the offering of the ornaments and Vimalā's explanation of their loss of brilliance. In the middle of the relief and giving the *mise-en-scène* for both pictures, are the trees of the park. On the right, on a throne in a pēṇḍāpā sits the Bodhisattva, to be recognised by his nimbus ; contrary to the text he is not shewn on Gautamī's knee ; she herself is not there, and the many thousand women are represented by one solitary attendant with a fly-whisk standing quite on the left, the brahmans are nowhere to be seen. Here too the sculptor has neglected the circumstantial details. In front and behind the Bodhisattva sits a servant, quite to the right, an armed soldier. On the left the Çākya's are advancing with the ornaments to be presented, they are dressed like ordinary courtiers, the front one is holding a headdress, those following, trays with rings and other trinkets.

On the left part of the relief, also a pēṇḍāpā in which is seated a person in royal robes. The space behind him is filled with standing women, sitting servants and soldiers. In front of him sits a courtier and just under the last tree of the park, the female figure, who by her attitude must be addressing the seated royal personage. This woman can be no other than Vimalā the goddess. The chief figure according to Pleyte (p. 59) should be the Bodhisattva and though it is not impossible, as proved by the relief following, that the same person is depicted twice on the same panel, I am not able to agree with him about this, not only because the figure in question in contrast to the Bodhisattva wears no halo (compare foll. relief), but because the text states expressly that it is Çuddhodana to whom the goddess speaks. In my opinion the figure in the left hand pēṇḍāpā is the king who is being told the cause of the miraculous occurrence.

37. *The arrival at school*

When the prince had grown up in this way, he was brought to the school with hundred thousands of good wishes, surrounded and followed by ten thousand boys and ten thousand carts filled with delicious food and things good to eat and filled with gold and silver.

As soon as the Bodhisattva had entered the school, Viçvāmitra the schoolmaster, fell with his face to the ground, for the majesty and radiance of the Bodhisattva was greater than he could bear. When a Tuṣitakāyika gods son named Çubhāṅga, saw him lying thus, he took him by the right hand and raised him up. (123 : 15 ; 124 : 9).

We have ventured to omit the further description given in the text of the procession that escorted the prince to school, the instruments of music, the strewing of flowers, the young girls on the balconies and galleries of the houses, the gods daughters and other demi-godlike beings who joined the troop ; because the relief shews nothing of all this. Instead, the sculptor gives him a rather misplaced military escort, the more unsuitable, because he leaves out the boys with the carts of good things for distribution etc. that are mentioned in the first place by the text. The procession advances from the left. In front come two men in full dress, one with an umbrella over him, doubtless the king and his son, who has no halo. Behind them, kneeling and standing servants with the usual objects and soldiers with sword, bow and arrows. In front of the royal persons kneels the schoolmaster and behind him stands a second very much damaged figure. This reception takes place before the entrance to the school : just behind the master the school gateway can be seen next to which a palissade begins. On the gateway a pair of peacocks are perched ; a third is flying towards them. Inside the palissade a pēṇḍāpā can be discerned, which according to the next relief is used for a school building. At the door are two figures, one holding a book, who will be a pupil, while on the extreme right the schoolmaster has sunk down overcome and is being assisted by the gods son in brahman dress who holds his right hand. This part is very much damaged and worn away. On this relief we see represented two consecutive episodes showing the same person twice.

38. *The teaching in the school*

When the Bodhisattva had taken a writing-tablet made of uragasāra-sandelwood of a rich color edged with gold and encrusted with jewels, he spake thus to the master Viçvāmitra: "Well, teacher, what kind of writing wilt thou teach me? Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭī or" ? etc. And Viçvāmitra the master replied smiling with a cheerful countenance and without any pride or self-conceit: "Marvellous it is, how the pure Being, having come to the world follows the world's uses ; learned in all çāstra's, yet he comes to the children's school. Writings of which I know not even the name, learned in these, yet he comes to the children's school."

And there, ten thousand boys learned writing with the Bodhisattva. While the boys spelled the alphabet, whenever the letter A was spoken, by the power of the Bodhisattva the sound was uttered: "A-ll appearance is transitory" etc. (125 : 17; 126 : 13; 127 : 3).

The teaching goes on in two adjacent pēndāpā's. In the largest, on the right, sits (left) Viçvāmitra, here, for some curious reason, beardless though bearded in the last relief, and on the right the Bodhisattva with his knee held in the sling like a real prince, and just behind him two attendants in brahman-dress very much dilapidated; the rest of the servants and soldiers are next to the pēndāpā quite to the right. In the left-hand pēndāpā, on the roof of which four doves are perched, and at the side of it under a tree, the schoolmates are sitting, many with palm-leaf rolls in their hand. This writing material commonly-used in Java has taken the place of the writing tablets found, according to the text, on the Gandhāra-reliefs ¹⁾. On one of these tablets fragments of one of the verses known from the text, that was uttered at the spelling of the alphabet, could be recognised; so the Gandhāra sculptor will have had the same passage from the Lalitavistara in mind. On these Gandhāra-reliefs only the Bodhisattva is sitting, the others stand round him. The school is also to be seen at Ajañṭā ²⁾, and in Serindia ³⁾.

39. *The journey to the village*

When the prince had grown older, he went once with other youths, sons of councillors, to see a village of farmers. (128 : 15).

¹⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 156—167 and pag. 322—326.

²⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 224, Griffiths, *Paintings* pl. 45.

³⁾ Stein, *Serindia* II p. 856 and pl. LXXVI (Tun-Huang).

The procession that accompanies the prince to the country begins with a horseman armed with bow and arrows, whom Pleyte (p. 62) thinks to be the king. Considering that in the text the king does not accompany the expedition and that the horseman in question is followed by a troop similarly armed, it seems more probable that he is only the captain of the body-guard. Next comes the prince in a carriage-and-pair of the ordinary covered four-wheeled sort. The coachman is mounted on one of the horses (though probably meant to be on the shaft); a soldier at the back; in the carriage, the Bodhisattva with a lotus in his hand and three companions. Next to the horses walk a couple of servants, behind the carriage another troupe of soldiers, armed most of them with sword and shield.

So as we see, the text does not describe the manner of the journey; and for want of other representations we cannot find out whether the sculptor followed his own fancy or some actual tradition in making this a carriage-expedition.

40. *The Bodhisattva under the jambu-tree; homage by ṛṣi's*

While the Bodhisattva roamed about here and there aimless, alone and without a companion, he saw a lofty and splendid jambu-tree and sat down, his legs crossed, beneath its shade. Sitting there, he fixed his thoughts upon one subject.

About that time five strange ṛṣi's skilled in the fivefold knowledge and possessed of supernatural power, flew through the air from South to North. When they came above that part of the forest, they became as it were held back and could go no further. Filled with anger and impatience, they spoke this verse: "We, who have been able to fly through the air, above the city of the immortals and over the dwellings of yakṣa's and gandharva's, are held back at this part of the forest. Whose is the might that can destroy our supernatural power?" And there answered the deity of that part of the forest and spoke to the ṛṣi's this verse: "The offspring of the race of the king of kings, the son of the Çākya-king, radiant with the brilliance of the morning sun, shining with the color of the unfolding lotus flower, lovely as the face of the moon, the lord of the world, the wise one, has come here into the forest, his thoughts given only to meditation, honored by gods, gandharva's, nāga-princes and yakṣa's, having

accumulated his merit in hundreds of koṭi's of lives; his might destroys your supernatural power". And when the ṛṣi's heard these words of the deity, they flew down to the earth and saw the Bodhisattva in meditation, pure of body and glittering like a heap of brilliance. Turning their thoughts towards the Bodhisattva, they praised him with verses.

When the ṛṣi's had praised the Bodhisattva with these verses and walked three times round him turning their right side towards him, they vanished through the air. Meanwhile king Çuddhodana found no content, not seeing the Bodhisattva. He said: "Where is the prince gone to? I see him not". Then many people went out on all sides to seek the prince. And a councillor not belonging to them, saw the Bodhisattva sitting in meditation in the shade of the jambu-tree, his legs crossed. By that time of day the shadows of all trees had shifted, but the shade of the jambu had not deserted the person of the Bodhisattva.

(128 : 18 ; 129 : 12, 19 ; 131 : 1, 19).

Though in some of the well-known events in the life of the Buddha, the sculptors have followed certain ancient traditions from the continent, as well as the text, this is not the case with the equally well-known scene of the "first meditation" under the jambu-tree. In the old-Indian art, the lakṣaṇa that distinguishes this event, is the presence of a farmer behind his ox-drawn plough, to make it clear that the meditation is the one of the village and no other¹⁾. On the Barabudur there is no sign of the farmer-ploughman. The Bodhisattva sits in the prescribed attitude with crossed legs in dhyāna-mudrā, on a slope between two trees. To the right are more trees, and to shew that this is a forest and not a pleasure-garden or suchlike, two deer are lying near the Bodhisattva. We can appreciate the impossibility of doing justice to the faithful shadow, in sculpture! The episode of the ṛṣi's is represented. With hair dressed in the knotted fashion usual among ascetics and the accustomed necklace, all wearing beards, they are kneeling on the left of the relief making a sēmbah; the front one bows so far forward that his hands rest on the ground. Two heavenly ones are hovering above the ṛṣi's, also making a sēmbah, according to Pleyte (p. 63) the wood-god and a companion; in my opinion more probably (why should the wood-god be

¹⁾ A. G. B. I p. 346.

floating in the air, and whence comes the never-mentioned companion ?) a couple of not-specially described heavenly beings who witness the miracle. Also rather obscure is the identity of the large group sitting on the right under the trees, that consists of servants and soldiers. Here too, I cannot agree with Pleyte, who looks upon them as the minister and his suite, who when the king had become anxious, found the prince (p. 63). The text distinctly states that the councillor, as soon as he discovered the Bodhisattva, hastily informed the king, who at once set off for the jambu-tree to do homage to his son. There is no accommodation here for the councillor and his (nowhere mentioned) suite ; it would be more likely that this is the king doing homage, as in fact is to be met with on Gandhāra-reliefs. ¹⁾ But on the Barabudūr scene, the objection to that is, besides the difficulty of the ṛṣi's having taken flight before the king arrives, that the figure sitting in the foreground is an umbrella-bearer, and that this umbrella, judging by the attitude of the bearer, belongs to the Bodhisattva, while nowhere in the group is a person in royal robes to be found. The simplest explanation seems to be that it is after all only the Bodhisattva's ordinary retinue, that the sculptor can not resist inserting even where the suite is not present in the text.

The representations of this episode in other Indian art are recognisable, as already mentioned, by the figure of the farmer ploughing. The ancient relief of Mahābodhi ²⁾ shews him next to the empty throne under a tree, on which the Lord is supposed to be sitting ; in Gandhāra he is never omitted ³⁾ and in the same way he is found at Ajanṭā ⁴⁾. The ṛṣi's on the contrary are nowhere pictured ⁵⁾. Points of similarity with Barabudūr are therefore not found elsewhere, except of course the Bodhisattva himself seated in dhyāna-mudrā ⁶⁾.

The next chapter begins with a conversation between Āuddhodana and the Ākya's who warn the king that, according to the prophecy,

¹⁾ Foucher, Sikri pl. 10; A.G.B. I fig. 175 pag. 342 ; II fig. 353 p. 95; cf. fig. 434 p. 251.

²⁾ Cunningham, Mahābodhi or the great Buddhist temple at Buddha-Gayā (1892) pl. 8, 11 ; as well as A.G.B. I fig. 177 p. 347.

³⁾ Besides the already-mentioned, A.G.B. fig. 176 p. 345 ; J.I.A.I. 8 pl. 25. On this last, the companions are present on the right.

⁴⁾ Foucher, Lettre p. 224.

⁵⁾ Maybe perhaps A.G.B. II fig. 489 p. 521 (Mathurā).

⁶⁾ Of the relief at Sarnāth, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. I.I. pl. 4, if rightly recognised for the same scene, the farmer and his plough are omitted. Wholly different is the scene at Pagan ; Seidenstücker, abb. 23 and 24 ; p. 35 etc. and 92.

the prince will become either a Buddha or a ruler of the world, and that as the latter is the more desirable, it would be well to bind him to this world by marriage.

41. *The Çākya's request the Bodhisattva to marry*

Then spake king Çuddhodana and said : "If that is so, then look around which maiden would be suitable for the prince". Thereupon, the five hundred Çākya's said each to himself: "My daughter is suitable for the prince, my daughter is worthy of him". And the king answered: "The prince is not easy to please. Therefore we must inform him and ask: which is the maiden that finds favor in your eyes?"

Then they assembled all together and explained the matter to the prince. And the prince answered them and said: "In seven days shall ye know my answer". (137 : 5).

The Bodhisattva sits, leaning against the cushions and with his right leg in the support, in a pavilion-shaped niche with a pēṇḍāpā adjoining it on both sides. Above the roof of the pēṇḍāpā, trees can be seen. On the right, behind the Bodhisattva, sit his servants; left, where there is more room, the Çākya's are placed. The nearest who has a beard and is clearly a brahman, is their spokesman.

The king then orders all kinds of ornaments to be made for the prince to distribute among the maidens on the seventh day.

42. *The Bodhisattva offers the ring to Gopā*

Then all the young maidens of the great city of Kapilavastu gathered together in the assembly-hall where the Bodhisattva was seated, to be looked at by him and receive the magnificent ornaments. The Bodhisattva gave unto all the maidens, that had come, the magnificent ornaments; the maidens could not endure the majesty and radiance of the Bodhisattva and hastened away as soon as possible after receiving the magnificent ornaments. Then came the daughter of the Çākya Daṇḍapāṇi, the Çākya-maiden Gopā, surrounded and followed by a retinue of slave-girls, to the assembly-hall, to the presence of the Bodhisattva and stood next to him; and she looked on the Bodhisattva without closing her

eyes. By that time the Bodhisattva had given away all the magnificent ornaments. Then she came to the Bodhisattva and spoke with a merry look: "Prince, what have I done that you despise me"? And he said: "I despise thee not but thou comest last of all". And he took from his finger a ring of many hundred thousands value and gave it to her. (142 : 1).

In the middle of a pavilion with two wings, the Bodhisattva is sitting on a throne, holding in his hand the ring which he offers to Gopā kneeling before him and making a sēmbah. On the right, behind the Bodhisattva, inside and outside the pavilion, sit his servants and quite in the corner even two horses with their groom. In a pēndāpā adjoining the pavilion on the left Gopā's slaves might be sitting, if the sculptor had here followed the text ; but as they are far too well dressed for slaves and none of them hold anything in their hands, it is much more likely that they are meant for the Çākya maidens who, in spite of the text, have not yet quitted the apartment. Outside the pēndāpā two guards are seated. The roof of the pavilion is decorated with flowervases, and peacocks perch there as well as on the pēndāpā ; a dove is flying out of the left corner.

Gopā therefore is the bride selected for the Bodhisattva, but her father objects to give his daughter to a man who has never shewn any skill in learning or athletics.

43. *The Bodhisattva proclaims himself willing to shew his proficiency in learning and sport*

The Bodhisattva heard what was going on, he went to king Çuddhodana and spake unto him thus: "King, why art thou so sad of heart?" And the king replied: "Young man, say no more." The prince spoke: "King, yet is it better we should speak"; and the Bodhisattva repeated this question to king Çuddhodana three times. Thereupon the king told him of the matter. Then said the Bodhisattva: "King, is there here in the city any man who can compete with me in skill?" (At this king Çuddhodana spoke to the Bodhisattva with a cheerful countenance: "Art thou able then to shew thy skill, my son?" And he answered: "That I am, king; therefore let all those exercised in all skill assemble together, that

and the other young Çākya's excelled in accomplishments And the Çākya's said: "Let the prince be the best in calligraphy, he must now shew his skill and knowledge of arithmetic". Now there was a cipherer among the Çākya's named Arjuna, a great arithmetician, a master of calculation ; he was chosen as judge : "Examine which of the young men here excels in arithmetic." Then the Bodhisattva gave a problem, one of the young Çākya's calculated it, but he could not solve it, etc. Then spoke king Çuddhodana thus to the Bodhisattva: "Can'st thou, my son, compete with the great calculator Arjuna in skill of the calculations of arithmetic?" and the Bodhisattva replied: "I can, o king". Then said the king: "Well then, begin" And when the Bodhisattva explained this chapter of arithmetic, Arjuna, the great reckoner, and the whole company of the Çākya's were satisfied, delighted, cheerful, full of joy and great admiration". (145 : 15 ; 146 : 8 ; 147 : 14 ; 150 : 19).

The extensive description the text gives of the arithmetic competition, allows only a fragmentary quotation from the passages referring to it, but the relief requires little explanation. On the extreme right sits the king on a high seat wearing a halo, with another nearly-vanished figure beside him, evidently holding a fly-whisk in the hand, therefore a female servant. Below the seat are a number of attendants ; and near the king three more maid-servants. Then, more to the left, the unpretentious seat of the Bodhisattva, and under his chair a chest. The prince, of course with halo, by his gesture is explaining something, to which the Çākya's listen respectfully ; they sit on a platform, some of them making a sēmbah. Their position is to be recognised by the lofty head-dress of the mighty ones, worn by the whole group. The scene is closed on the left by some sitting and standing guards.

47. *Continuation of the contests (no text)*

Here we have one of the very rare instances where the text followed by the sculptor differs from that of the Lalitavistara. We can only state that the scene must belong to the contests, for we find on No 49 the archery tournament, and that in any case the wrestling-match is *not* depicted, though separately described in the text and not unknown in sculpture ¹⁾, so that its omission on Barabaḍur is the more noticeable.

¹⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 171 and 172, p. 334 etc. Neither do the other contents, jumping, swimming, running get any notice. On p. 156 of Lefmann's edition the full list will be found.

On this relief we see the Çākya's on the left in a group under a roof in a sort of pēṇḍāpā, while in front of it one of them stands making a sēmbah to the Bodhisattva. On the right are the king and his suite ; the king is now sitting alone on his high throne and has a halo ; two female servants with fly-whisks stand next to him, some attendants are kneeling near. In the centre of the relief the Bodhisattva stands on what looks like a cushion ; two followers, one with an umbrella, stand behind. He holds with his right hand the stem of a large knob-shaped lotus, which grows out of a decorative plant¹⁾. This part of the relief is very much worn-off so that the figure we think is the Bodhisattva seems to have no halo, and we can't be quite sure about him, though he looks so likely, in the middle of the picture, taking an active part in the proceedings, in contrast to the figure looking on from his right-hand throne.

48. *Continuation (no text)*

This relief joins on directly to the preceding one. The chief business is the same, though the details vary a little. The principal person who by accident has lost both his headdress and aureole, still stands on his cushion in the centre, with his umbrella-bearer ; he now has the lotus-plant on the other side and holds it with his left hand. The haloed king is again on a throne to the right, but this time in a pēṇḍāpā ; there are also a pair of kneeling attendants and the handmaidens standing, only more of them. On the left too are the Çākya's, now all on their feet ; the furthest left, holds a large padma. Above this group, clouds are introduced. Although the presence of the Çākya's was to be expected, these figures as far as their costume is concerned, might as well be gods, who the text says ²⁾ were also present at the contests.

49. *The archery-tournament*

Then Daṇḍapāṇi spake to the young Çākya's and said: "This is what we desired to know and we have seen it ; come now and shew us the shooting with the bow". Then Ananda put up an iron drum at two kroça's as target and Devadatta at four kroça's, Sundarānanda at six kroça's, Daṇḍapāṇi at two yojana's. The Bodhisattva set up an iron drum at ten kroça's, behind that, seven tāla-trees

¹⁾ The lotus plant, on this as well as the following relief, prevents me agreeing with Speyer (Onze Eeuw 1902, III, p. 89) who explains these scenes as the moment when the Bodhisattva wins fame in further arithmetical problems, and the one where he proclaims himself ready for the wrestling match.

²⁾ 151 : 9 ; 153 : 4.

and an iron boar on a pedestal. Then Ananda hit the drum at two kroça's but could not get further, Devadatta the one at four, etc. But the Bodhisattva broke each bow that was handed to him. Then said the Bodhisattva: "Is there here in the city, o king, any other bow suited to my reach and power of body?" And the king replied: "There is, my son". "Where is it, o king"? asked the prince. The king answered him: "Thy grandfather, my son, was named Simphanu; his bow is preserved in a temple, honored with perfumes and garlands, but never has another man been able to bend the bow, let alone to draw it". The Bodhisattva said: "Let the bow be brought, o king, let us make trial of it". And the bow was brought immediately. Then the young Çākya's, though they put forth their utmost strength, were none of them able to bend the bow, let alone draw it.... At last the bow was brought to the Bodhisattva; and he took it with his left hand, and without rising from his seat, or uncrossing his legs, he drew it with the point of one finger of his right hand.

When the Bodhisattva had drawn the bow and fixed the arrow, he shot it off with the same strength. The arrow shot through the drums of Ananda, Devadatta, Sundarananda and Daṇḍapāṇi, all of them, and beyond that, at the distance of ten kroça's, his own iron drum, the seven tāla's and the iron boar on the pedestal, then pierced the ground and vanished utterly. (153:20; 154:10, 22; 155:14).

On the right, the king still sits on a throne under an awning, watching the contests; a servant, here too, kneels before him and there are two attendants maids with fly-whisks. Quite on the left are the seven tāla-trees in the rocky ground, the other objects used as targets are not shewn ¹⁾, while it is noticeable that on the corresponding Gandhāra-reliefs, the targets figure prominently in the foreground ²⁾. Between the king and the trees are the Çākya's, standing, nearly all armed with bow and arrows, with some kneeling and sitting servants holding more arrows. The Çākya furthest to the left is drawing a bow; in the fore-

¹⁾ We might suppose that the rock closing in on the extreme left is a target, but this is not very likely.

²⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 170 p. 332, 171 p. 334; J.I.A.I. I.1. pl. 11. The fragmentary Serindian representation (Tun-Huang; Stein p. 857) is recognisable by the row of drums.

ground stands another one, perhaps the Bodhisattva, with the bow in his right hand and the left in the attitude of having just shot, and we can see the arrow speeding in the direction of the trees. It does not agree with the text, that one Çākya is just bending his bow and a second stands in the pose for shooting at the same time as the Bodhisattva; for it is written that he took his turn last of all. It is of course possible that the sculptor may have had a variation of the text for this scene, and still more probable that the Bodhisattva is not the figure actually shooting, described here above, but the one with an arrow in one hand and the bow in the other, who is waiting his turn more to the right, and over whose head an umbrella is being held. Yet it seems strange that the sculptor did not prefer to depict the Bodhisattva giving his decisive shot, rather than the archery trials in general. The Gandhāra reliefs shew only one person shooting, of course the Bodhisattva; while the old Chinese art of the rock-temples at Yun-Kang ¹⁾ gives a version that resembles this of Barabudur: on the left, three men shooting ²⁾ at the same time, and right, three or more trees to which here the metal drums are attached. The scene at Ajañṭā, that is to represent the archery-trials ³⁾, gives only one man bending the bow; the surroundings are not to be seen. The series of reliefs at Pagān shew too, only the Bodhisattva with bow and arrows in the midst of spectators ⁴⁾, while another scene also depicted at Pagān from the Sarabhangga-jātaka shews four more competitors ⁵⁾.

50. *Gopā defends herself against the reproach of going unveiled*

At this same time the Çākya Daṇḍapāṇi gave his daughter the Çākya-maiden Gopā to the Bodhisattva and she was accepted by king Çuddhodana for his son.

The Çākya-daughter Gopā did not veil her face in the presence of anyone, not for her mother-in-law, nor for her father-in law nor for the people of the palace. And they condemned her for this and spoke their disapproval: "This young woman is surely not modest for she remains always unveiled". Then when Gopā, the Çākya-

¹⁾ Chavannes, Mission fig. 204 and p. 306.

²⁾ As all three are wearing a halo, Chavannes supposes that the Bodhisattva has tripled himself to hit the three targets at once.

³⁾ G.T.I. p. 308 and Burgess, Notes pl. 14.

⁴⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 29 and p. 37 and 93.

⁵⁾ To be found as fig. 8 in Seidenstücker, p. 36.

daughter, became aware of this, she stood before all the people of the palace and spoke these verses: "Though those whose mind knows no cover, who have no shame or decorum, who have no such virtues and do not speak the truth, should cover themselves in a thousand garments, yet do they walk the earth more naked than nakedness. While those who veil their minds, have always their senses under control, are satisfied with their spouse, having no thought for anyone else, whose unveiled countenance is as the sun and moon, why should they cover their faces" ?

King Çuddhodana, when he heard these verses of Gopā the Çākya-daughter and understood the discernment thereof, was pleased, cheerful, satisfied, delighted, happy and joyful in spirit and gave unto Gopā, the Çākya-daughter two pieces of wearing-apparel sewed with many jewels and worth a hundred thousand koṭi's, with a necklace of pearls and a golden wreath set with genuine red pearls. (157 : 3, 10; 158 : 19; 159 : 10).

It is very strange that neither the wedding nor the bridal procession are portrayed ; subjects elaborated elsewhere by the sculptors ¹⁾, and we are all at once plunged into an episode, that according to the text comes after the marriage. In addition to this the sequence of the Lalita-vistara and the monument do not quite agree, as the text gives the scene following this, *before* the episode of the veil-wearing.

The king sits on his throne, right, under a canopy ; on the left a pēṇḍāpā adjoins it, beneath which Gopā is seated on a cushion on a dais, making a sēmbah towards the king. In the right hand corner of the relief sits a man with a moustache, his hair under a wreath, brushed smoothly back and twisted up, he has a flower in his hand. Two similar persons sit between Gopā and the king. They are rather like brahmans ; if they represent the "people of the palace" (*antarjana*) on this relief, it is not easy to make out why they are so unlike the usual members of the royal household ; probably the version has been followed that the plaintiffs were brahmans. Behind Gopā some handmaidens are sitting, the nearest one has a lotus flower, the next one a garment, another holds a wreath, evidently the gifts Gopā is to receive from her father-in-law. Quite on the left is another remarkable figure, a man whose face has been knocked off, and whose hairdressing is in the brahman style ; he stands dipping

¹⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 172—174, pag. 335—337.

a brush into a bowl held in his left hand. This figure makes us inquire, if our reading of this relief is correct and if this scene may have something to do with the wedding ceremony; then it might be the giving-away of the bride to her father-in-law (or perhaps to the unhaloed bridegroom) and the man with the brush would remind us of the sprinkling with holy water as part of the ceremony. All the same it would be very queer if the sculptor in depicting the marriage, should omit the joining of hands and the walking round the fire and be satisfied with representing a ceremony of secondary importance. For this reason I have kept to the episode of the veil-wearing as title for this relief on account of the elaborate description in the text, while the actual marriage ceremony is treated of in a couple of lines. Finally, it is not impossible that this might have something to do with the passage quoted below i.e. the installation (*abhiṣeka*) as principal spouse.

51. *Gopā as spouse-in-chief*

Then came the Bodhisattva in the midst of eighty-four thousand women, and showed himself occupied, according to the usage of the world, with amusement and play. Among the eighty-four thousand wives, Gopā, the Çākya-daughter, was installed as spouse-in-chief. (157 : 6).

The explanation of this relief too is very uncertain. It consists of two parts, that apparently have to be taken separately. The left half is clear. Gopā we recognise by her lofty headdress as chief spouse, leaning on the shoulder of a attendant; she is going towards a pēṇḍāpā where a number of other women, by their attitude and attire not servants, but fellow-spouses, wait for her. This must be her first appearance as chief spouse of the Bodhisattva. But we are not able to explain clearly what happens on the right. The scene plays out-of-doors, there are trees in the background. The Bodhisattva is there on a throne in the middle, with his halo, the left leg in the sling. On the left some men sitting on the ground, not servants in appearance, some of them making a sēmbah. On the right, three female attendants with the usual trays and a fourth, with a fly-whisk in her hand, next to the Bodhisattva. I can not agree with Pleyte's idea (p. 79) that this last woman should be Gopā being presented by the Bodhisattva to the Çākya's as his chief wife; the idea of the first of all the spouses holding a fly-whisk, the emblem of servants, seems to me absurd; but I have no better explanation to offer.

52. *The gods visit the Bodhisattva in the women's apartments*

Then there came, proclaiming the satisfaction of their hearts with cries of joy, to the Bodhisattva who was in the midst of the women's apartments, Çakra, Brahmā and the Guardians of the world, among other gods, nāga's, yakṣa's, gandharva's, asura's, garuḍa's, kinnara's, mahoraga's and shewed their desire to honor the Bodhisattva.

They greeted the Bodhisattva with respect and devotion, with hands held in sēmbah, gazing intentionally upon him and with this wish: "When shall the time come that we may behold the most perfect Pure Being set forth and afterwards having placed himself at the feet of the king of the great trees and vanquished Māra with his hosts, attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom?" (159:19; 160:10).

This scene closes on the right with a gateway. Immediately adjoining comes the interior of the women's apartments. First under an awning, a wide bench; at the end, left, the Bodhisattva on a throne (without his halo) and in the space between a concert being given by women seated on the bench and some in a row, lower down, who are probably women too, but the relief here is rather damaged. The vīṇā, a cither with tassles, hand-drum, flute and cymbals are clearly to be seen; the music is quite in accordance with the text that alludes expressly to the concert in the women's apartments in reference to something else (163:6). In front of the Bodhisattva, two women are standing, one of whom offers him something, then comes a pēndāpā in which the gods are seated; the front one makes a sēmbah. Outside the pēndāpā, left on the relief, we see a row of standing and a row of sitting attendants with the usual accessories, and guards with swords. Most of them surely belong to the Bodhisattva's suite, but one figure in the front, with a sword and his wild yakṣa-locks and moustache might be one of those semi-divine creatures whose presence is mentioned in the text. This supposition is not quite probable, as we see on No 53 and 55 a kind of yakṣa doing duty as gate-keeper.

This scene of the Bodhisattva in the women's apartments, agrees with representations elsewhere of the same episode; the great difference is that there the aim of the sculptors was a picture of life in the zenāṇa giving not only the Bodhisattva in the midst of his wives but also

Gopā; while at Barabudur, the combination of this scene with the visit of the gods required Gopā to be left out and the other ladies pushed a bit to one side. It is not certain whether a relief at Amarāvati¹⁾ can be accepted as the scene in the women's apartment; we see an eminent personage with a lady on a large throne under a canopy, with women-musicians and other attendants next to them and in front on the ground. But the identification of a couple of Gandhāra-reliefs²⁾ is certain, where this scene forms a pendant to that of the women asleep before the Great Departure; a couch with the Bodhisattva and his spouse, surrounded by slaves, many with musical instruments: a drum and cither are to be seen. On the Chinese relief at Yun-Kang³⁾, on the contrary, the Bodhisattva is first alone in a pavilion, then with his arm round a woman, and finally, lying on the ground beside a woman, maybe intended for Gopā, maybe for one of the others.

The text follows with a long passage about the adjuration to the Bodhisattva by the Buddha's of the ten winds, who remind him of his great deeds in former lives, and about a lecture he holds in the women's apartment.

53. *Hrīdeva rouses the Bodhisattva to fulfil his destiny*

At that time, about when the Bodhisattva should depart, there came a Tuṣitakāyika gods son named Hrīdeva, one who was given to the highest and most perfect Wisdom, in the soundless night, surrounded and followed by thirty two thousand gods sons, to the palace where the Bodhisattva dwelt and spoke out of the air to the Bodhisattva, these verses: "What death is, has been set forth, o radiant one; and what birth is, has been expounded, o lion among men. In giving instruction to the women's apartment, thou hast followed the custom of the world. Many in the world of gods and men have become ripe and have attained the Law. The time is now come; consider well thy resolve to depart." (183 : 16).

The palace of the Bodhisattva on the right of the relief, is surrounded by a palissade, going first round the bottom edge of the relief and then

¹⁾ J.S.W. pl. 65.

²⁾ A.M.I. pl. 127 or J.I.A.I. pl. 12; A.G.B. I fig. 178 p. 350. In the same way the scene is treated at Tun-Huang (Stein p. 857).

³⁾ Chavannes, Mission fig. 205 and p. 306.

turning upwards, where there appears a gateway. The Bodhisattva sits on a throne in a pavilion, the right leg in the sling; next to him on a cushion three women very much damaged, yet evidently asleep. Outside the pavilion left, and still inside the palissade are three peacocks; above that Hṛīdeva hovers on a cloud, making a sēmbah, with the other heavenly ones. Outside the gate sits the armed guard; some of the soldiers are asleep too and help to shew that it is nighttime. The one nearest to the gate wears his hair like a yakṣa. In the background rises a pēṇḍápā with doves perched on its roof and the foliage of some trees shews above.

54. *The Bodhisattva's three palaces*

And while the Bodhisattva was thus roused by the gods son, he caused king Çuddhodana to behold this dream in his sleep. He saw the Bodhisattva going away in the dead of night, accompanied by an escort of gods, and afterwards being a wandering monk in a russet garment.

Whereupon he thought: "Without doubt, never must the prince depart (not even) to the pleasure-garden, he must amuse himself here, cheerful in the company of his wives, then he will not depart." Then king Çuddhodana caused three palaces to be built for the prince's pleasure, according to the seasons, summer, rain season, and winter. The one for the summer was only cool, that for the season of rains had the qualities of both the others and the winter one was naturally warm. (185 : 18; 186 : 7).

The three palaces are here, in a row, a brilliant proof of the sculptor's artistic skill in giving variation to what might have been three uniform buildings¹⁾. The two side ones are open in front and, owing to the inmates taking up most of the space, look rather like a large decorated niche. To the right the Bodhisattva is seated with two wives, his right leg in the sling. On the left we see five women sitting on a bench, one of whom, also with one leg in the sling, is at her toilet assisted by the others. She looks at herself in a mirror held in the left hand while arranging her hair with the right. A large dish with wreaths is under her bench. The middle palace is closed, probably it is the winter-palace. It has a base decorated with rosette ornament, steps up to the door, in front of which stands a vase

¹⁾ At Paḡān three separate scenes are given to the palaces, with the Bodhisattva in each. See Seidenstücker, abb. 25—27 and p. 36 and 92 etc.

with flowers, latticed windows and a roof decorated with niches and little pinnacles at the corners. Take notice of the outlines of cloud behind the roof of this building; they shew that it is a great mistake to take it for granted, when the same appear elsewhere on other reliefs, that the scene takes place in the heavens.

55. *The Bodhisattva is guarded in his palace*

On the steps of each palace five hundred men paced continually up and down. And as they stepped up and down, the sound thereof could be heard half a yojana away. Impossible it was for the prince to leave the palace unnoticed. Soothsayers and diviners had declared : "The prince will depart by the Gate of Salvation". Then the king caused great double-doors to be made at the Gate of Salvation ; each door opened and closed by five hundred men, the sound of which was carried half a yojana away. There the prince enjoyed the five incomparable kinds of love and the young women were always near him with music, song and dance. (186 : 12).

The same as on No. 53, the palace of the Bodhisattva, on the right, is enclosed within a palissade that runs first along the bottom edge of the relief and then bends upwards, where a gateway is inserted. In a hall of the palace, the upper edge of which is indicated, the Bodhisattva is sitting with a woman also wearing a halo, of course Gopā. Behind them, right, sit three women and left, stand three more, the front one with a fly-whisk. Exactly in front of the gateway, outside the palissade, is a porter armed with a sword, shewing a beard and hair-dressing like a yakṣa (see No. 53). Opposite to him a curious group of sitting and kneeling men ; in front, some with rather high headdress, behind, three in very plain clothes ; these three and one other wear swords. We might think they are guards, but they look like people who come from outside and ask for admittance. In the background on the left, is an elephant, its mahout with his angkuṣa on its back, while nearer the centre three men in fine clothes are standing, one with a large red lotus in his hand ; possibly they are gods. It seems to me, something not given in the text is here represented.

56. *First Encounter. The Bodhisattva sees an old man*

And the Bodhisattva said to his charioteer : "Hasten, charioteer, get ready a chariot, for I will go to the pleasure-garden".

Then a fourfold guard was formed to do honor to the ladies of the prince's harem. And when the Bodhisattva set out in great splendor through the Eastern gate of the city to the pleasure-garden, by the might of his own power and the action of the Çudhāvāsakāyika-gods sons there appeared on the road an old man, aged, worn-out, with swollen veins on his body and broken teeth, wrinkled and grey-haired, bent, crooked as a roof, broken, leaning on a stick, feeble, without youth, his throat uttering inarticulate sounds, his body bent and supported by a staff, trembling in all his limbs and parts of limbs. (186 : 21 ; 187 : 17).

The coachman informs the Bodhisattva that this is old age such as awaits all human beings, and afterwards explains the next appearances (relief No. 57—59) in the same way. The Bodhisattva turns round and goes home again.

The old man is quite on the left, in the form of a beggar holding out his hand ; he wears nothing but a loin-cloth, leans on a staff and is led by a child, so he is probably meant to be blind as well. The rest of the relief is occupied by the suite of the Bodhisattva, but the ladies of the party are left out altogether. The military escort is there as a number of soldiers armed with swords and small shield, marching in front. Then comes the carriage and pair, an open fourwheeler, rather small, with the Bodhisattva on a seat. Above the horses we can see the head and shoulders of the coachman, making a *sēmbah* to his master. After the umbrella-bearer follow some persons in princely robes who may be the Çākya escort of the Bodhisattva, but are more likely the gods who are responsible for the apparition. Here on the ground two or three servants are sitting. Along the upper edge of the whole relief clouds are indicated, to shew that the scene takes place in the open air. In the Indian Buddhist art at Ajañṭā¹⁾ and Paḡān, scenes of the Four Encounters are known and the Chinese in the rock-temples of Yun-kang gives this episode as well, and does not refrain from repeating it four times like the sculptors of the Barabudur²⁾. The design differs from that on our monument ; on the left each time is a palace, more like a gateway, out of which the Bodhisattva is coming, on horseback, followed only by an umbrella-bearer,

¹⁾ According to Foucher, *Lettre* p. 224 (coll. Burgess, *Notes* p. 6 and pl. 4, Griffiths, *Paintings* pl. 49). I agree with him (*A.G.B.* I p. 348) that the relief at Sāñchi No. 33 is not to be considered a representation of one of these encounters.

²⁾ Chavannes, *Mission* fig. 207—210 and p. 307.

while the god who is arranging the apparition, hovers above. Away to the right, the apparition itself is found. At Pagān each time nearly the whole relief is taken up by the Bodhisattva in his carriage, and the apparition is given in small size on the right ¹⁾; at Tun-Huang the first three encounters are condensed into one scene, but the monk and the Bodhisattva himself are absent ²⁾).

57. Second Encounter. The Bodhisattva sees a sick man

And when the Bodhisattva another time set out through the South gate of the city, in great splendor to the pleasure-garden, he saw on the road a man sick of a disease, overcome by hot fever, his body exhausted, soiled by his own excrements, without any to help him, without shelter and breathing with difficulty. (189 : 8).

The style of this scene resembles the preceding one. On the left, under a tree, is the sick man, horribly thin, his belly all sunken, ribs sticking out, the muscles of the neck prominent, and with hollow cheeks; arms, legs and face made to look as diseased and thin as possible without much regard to anatomy. The miserable wretch has his hands crossed over his head and the whole figure is well suited to give the Bodhisattva a nasty shock ; a realistic bit of sculpture. The retinue is arranged in the same way as on the preceding relief ; first the armed escort, then the carriage with the Bodhisattva and the coachman saluting, then the umbrella-bearer and finally the group of gods. By way of variety, the horses turn their heads back. Cloud-outlines along the top of the whole relief.

58. Third Encounter. The Bodhisattva sees a dead man

And when the Bodhisattva another time set out through the West gate of the city, in great splendor to the pleasure-garden, he saw a dead man, laid out on a bier under a lincn sheet, surrounded by a troop of his relations all weeping, lamenting and wailing, with streaming hair, with ashes on their heads, beating their breasts and crying as they followed him.

The Bodhisattva spoke and said: "If there were no old age, no

¹⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 30—33 and p. 37 etc., 86 and 93 etc.

²⁾ Stein, Serindia II p. 857 and pl. LXXIV.

disease and no death, neither would there be the great misfortune that has its root in the five skandha's. But wherefore should man always be bound by age, disease and death? Behold, I will return and meditate on the Salvation". (190 : 8; 191 : 1, 6).

From the text we naturally expect to see the corpse being escorted by its funeral train, but on the relief we find it lying in a tent under a tree, nothing better than a few boards with a saddle-shaped covering on sticks. The corpse looks quite as unattractive as the patient in the preceding relief but is not so distinct. Three persons, two of them certainly females, are busy with the dead man, kneeling round him ; one supports his head on her arm, they are all much damaged. The Bodhisattva's soldiers are at the head of his escort again ; the carriage is rather larger and has a handsome shaft ornamented with a lion rampant, upon which the coachman sits, his face turned to his master but now without the sēmbah. Another servant is sitting on the back of the carriage ; the Bodhisattva here and in the next scene wears the halo that is missing on the two preceding reliefs ; he is now making a gesture of aversion. The figures of the gods are quite dilapidated, for not much is left of the right hand side of the relief ; according to Wilsen's drawing there were two of them, one holding a lotus. The clouds are here, as before.

59. *Fourth Encounter. The Bodhisattva sees a monk*

And when the Bodhisattva set ont another time through the North gate of the city to go to the pleasure-garden, the gods sons, through the might of the Bodhisattva, caused a monk to appear by the roadside. The Bodhisattva saw the monk standing on the road, quiet, tranquil, full of discretion and self-control, not allowing his glance to wander, nor looking further than the length of a yoke, having attained the Path that brings peace of mind and honor, shewing that peace of mind in his forward and his backward steps, peace of mind in the looking and the turning away of his eyes, peace of mind in his bending and his stretching, peace of mind in the wearing of his coat, begging-bowl and monk's frock.

And the Bodhisattva spoke and said : "The life of the wandering monk has always been praised by the wise, therein is salvation for himself and salvation for other beings, the happiness of life, the sweet

draught of immortality and the fruit of existence". (191 : 12; 192 : 8, 10).

The monk is here also quite on the right, on a little rise of ground ; his right hand against his chest, the left hanging down. He has no bowl but of course the monk's frock. Some of the soldiers are sitting on the ground ; those standing behind point to the monk. The carriage resembles that on the preceding relief and the shaft here too is ornamented with a lion ; there are now two persons sitting on it besides the coachman, i.e. another servant with a torch or an incense-burner ; both look towards the Bodhisattva, behind whom another servant sits on the carriage. The gods, specially mentioned by the text in this scene, again appear on the right hand side of the relief, whose upper edge has no clouds this time, as were given on the three preceding scenes.

60. *The Bodhisattva in the women's apartments. Gopā comforted after an evil dream (?)*

Now king Çuddhodana gave this command in the women's apartment : "Let music never cease ; let all kinds of play and amusement be provided simultaneously. Let the women use all their powers of attraction and bewitch the prince so that his spirit is dimmed by pleasure and he will not go away to wander as a monk".

Now while Gopā lay on the same couch with the prince, at night, when the night was half spent, she saw this dream : this whole earth trembled, the mountains with their tops, the trees were ravaged by the wind and fell to the ground torn and uprooted ; and the sun and moon with all their star-ornaments fell down from the heavens. She saw her hair cut off by her right hand and her diadem drop to pieces etc.

Then when he heard this, he spoke with the voice of the kalavingka-bird, like that of a kettle drum, the voice of a god, a melodious voice, unto Gopā, saying : "Rejoice ; no evil shall befall thee. Those only dream these dreams whose former existence has been virtuous . . . Be comforted, and have no care ; fear not, but be full of joy. Soon shall joy and happiness be given unto thee. Sleep, Gopā, these tokens are favorable to thee." (192 : 22 ; 194 : 7 ; 195 : 5 ; 196 : 9).

It looks to me rather doubtful if this relief depicts Gopā being comforted by her husband, as the sequence of events in the text requires. The Bodhisattva appears in the middle of a pavilion on a seat with his right leg in the sling ; women are sitting on both sides, the front one of both groups seems to hold a utpala ; possibly on the left it is a fly-whisk. None of the women are in any way distinguished from the others so as to be identified as Gopā, and if the sculptor intended to illustrate the above conversation between husband and wife, he has taken no trouble to make it plain to the looker-on that anything more is intended than just the Bodhisattva among his wives, in the same style as on No. 52 ¹⁾. Next to the pavilion, on both sides, is a partition, made up of boxes, trays and dishes ; then, again on both sides in the background, a small building, in front of which a few men are sitting. Among those on the left some are armed, so they may be the ordinary palace-guard ; on the right, only the last has a sword and the three others have the high headress of eminent people, so they may be Çākya's or gods who come and take an interest in the proceedings.

61. *The Bodhisattva asks his father's permission to depart*

Then this thought came to the Bodhisattva : "It would not become me and would shew ingratitude, were I to depart without informing king Çuddhodana and without my father's consent". Thereupon in the soundless night he came out of the palace where he dwelt and entered the palace of king Çuddhodana. As soon as the Bodhisattva entered it, that whole palace was filled with radiance.

The king was startled and looking round he saw that lotus-eyed Pure Being ; and he would have risen from his couch, but he could not. And he who had a perfect pure spirit, was full of respect towards his father, he came and stood before the king and spake : "Hinder me no more, and be not sorrowful thereat ; for the hour of my departure, o king, is come. Therefore be content, o prince, thou and thy people and thy realm"

And when he heard these words from the best of men, he endeavoured to turn him from his purpose and fought against his son's

¹⁾ We might compare this with abb. 34 at Pagān (Seidenstücker p. 39, 82, and 94 etc.), which is much better explained as the Bodhisattva in his harem after the four encounters than as the scene it is supposed to illustrate according to the text.

desire. (Yet in the end he spake:) "It is thy desire to bring by redemption salvation to the world; let the aim thou hast set before thee, be achieved". Thereupon the Bodhisattva returned to his palace and lay down on his couch. And no man had knowledge either of his going or return. (198 : 1, 18; 200 : 8).

The king and his son sit in a pēṇḍāpā in the middle of the scene talking together, both leaning against large cushions, one on a seat, the other only on a dais. In Wilsen's time it seems, the now worn-away halo was visible round the Bodhisattva's head and indeed it would not do to be without it just in the scene that describes the radiance he diffuses. On the right next to the pēṇḍāpā is a door leading to the adjacent palace of the Bodhisattva ; in the righthand corner is a guard with yakṣa style of hair fast asleep. A few birds on and near the roof. To the left of the large pēṇḍāpā there is a smaller one, under which the king's guard are sitting, partly armed with swords. This group too is asleep. The sculptor shews clearly that it is night and that the Bodhisattva, as the text describes, is not seen by anyone. The design of this episode in the caves of Yun-kang is a little different¹⁾. Father and son are quite alone ; Çuddhodana sits on a raised couch, the Bodhisattva kneels beside him and makes a sēmbah, evidently just uttering his request.

62. *The Bodhisattva is guarded in his harem*

At the end of this night, king Çuddhodana called together the whole company of Çākya's and told them of the matter : "The prince will depart, what must now be done ?" The Çākya's answered : "We will keep guard over him, o king. For why ? We are a great company of Çākya's, and he is but alone. How shall he be able to force a way to depart ?"

Māhāprajāpati Gautamī spake to the many female slaves : "Light up bright lamps, place all sorts of jewels upon the stands, hang necklaces about and illuminate the whole dwelling. Cause music to sound and keep guard this night, unceasingly ; keep watch over the prince so that he cannot depart unseen. Armoured and with quiver in your hand, with swords, bows, arrows, spears and lances, must you all strive your utmost to guard my beloved child". (200 : 15; 201 : 9).

¹⁾ Chavannes, Mission fig. 206 and p. 306 etc.

The last sentence is remarkable when compared with the relief. It seems that, even where the text expressly demands it, the sculptor cannot get himself to depict armed women. In Hindustan such figures of female slaves in armour and with weapons, in the retinue of a king are quite common; they are not found anywhere on the Barabudur, or on any other Javan monument. The omission of these figures even where the text mentions their presence, can only be explained, I think, by the custom of the country, the sculptor hesitating to represent something quite unusual among the Javanese, the public for whom he was working.

The Bodhisattva sits with the right leg in the sling, on a cushion in the midst of kneeling women in a pavilion, that is quite on the right of the relief. It has a porch on the left, under which two guards armed with swords and large shields are sitting, it is enclosed in a palissade, going along the bottom edge of the relief and then turning upwards. Outside this, quite on the left, sit another group of men on the ground, bearers of the royal insignia and soldiers. According to Pleyte (p. 94) the foremost figure is the king himself, but this person is not to be distinguished from the others by the usual royal dress. I consider it much more likely they are either the retinue of the crownprince, or guards sent by the king and if the latter, they would be the Çākya's mentioned in the text, though their garments are not those of the highest circles. At Pagān can be seen on the relief immediately before the scene of the sleeping women, the Bodhisattva lying on his couch, with the female slaves making music ¹⁾).

63. *The sleeping women*

Then at that moment the women's apartment was changed in aspect and put in disorder by the gods son Dharmacārin and by the Çuddhāvāsakāyika-gods. When they had changed it and given it a loathsome appearance, they spoke from out the air to the Bodhisattva in verses. Thus spake the gods sons, the high and mighty ones, to him with his long-shaped eyes like budding lotuses: "How canst thou find pleasure herein? Thou dwellest in the midst of a graveyard!" Urged by the divine rulers he looks for a moment at the company of women; he gazes and the sight moves him to loathing: "I do in truth live in the midst of a graveyard". And the Bodhisattva

¹⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 37 and p. 40 and 95.

looked round upon the whole gathering of women and gazing at them, really *saw* them. Some with their garments torn away, others with disheveled hair, some whose ornaments were all fallen off, others with broken diadems ; some whose shoulders were bruised and others with naked limbs, and mouths awry and squinting eyes and some slobbering, etc. etc.

And meditating on the idea of purity, and penetrating the idea of impurity, he saw that from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, the body originates in impurity, is compounded of impurity and exhales impurity without end. At this time he spoke this verse: "O hell of living beings, with many entrances ; dwelling-place of death and age, what wise man, having looked thereon, would not consider his own body to be his enemy?" (205: 17; 208: 10, 21).

A large pavilion with pëndápá adjoining, represents the women's apartment. The Bodhisattva sits in the middle leaning on a cushion on his couch ; the sleeping women are lying or leaning against it on both sides all in confusion. The sculptor has succeeded in giving a vivid impression of the unattractive appearance of this company of females in the most unbecoming attitudes, without degenerating into a rather indecent exhibition ; on this point Barabuður is as respectable as the Gandhāra-reliefs ¹⁾. This whole portion is enclosed by a palissade in the usual manner. On the left, outside the fence is another small pëndápá in which the guards are seated who, like the women, are all asleep.

Here too it is remarkable how the sculptor, faithful in the main, pays little attention to details. The following is an instance ; the text (p. 206) says that the instruments of music had dropped out of the women's hands. On the Gandhāra-reliefs, these are to be seen lying on the floor as described. The Barabuður sculptor takes no notice of this detail ; he depicts the Bodhisattva awake among the more or less indecorous crowd of sleeping females. This is of course the main thing the text describes ; and he does not mind about the rest.

Besides the musical instruments, dropped or still in the hand, and the presence of one or two female slaves armed with lances, the Gandhāra-reliefs differ again from the Barabuður by not forgetting to put in Gopā ; in one case ²⁾ the sculptor considers it sufficient to represent her

¹⁾ Besides the two quoted on p. 157, A.B.G. I fig. 179 p. 351 ; II fig. 447 p. 297.

²⁾ A.G.B. fig. 180 p. 353.

all by herself and leave out all the other women¹⁾. In the matter of Gopā and the music-instruments, Yun-kang²⁾ agrees with Gandhāra. The artist of Barabaður by leaving out Gōpa, keeps faithfully to the Lalita-vistara that describes the sleeping harem and makes no mention of the prince's chief spouse. At Pagān Gopā is not there either³⁾.

64. *The Bodhisattva's horse is brought to him*

Now the Bodhisattva whose mind was made up, much moved, yet firm of purpose, rose quickly, without hesitating, from his cross-legged position and turning to the East in his music apartment, pushed aside with his right hand the curtains set with jewels and stepped on to the terrace of the palace When he saw that midnight had come, he roused Chandaka and said: "Quick, Chandaka, delay not, bring me my prince of horses decked with all his ornaments. My salvation is about to be fulfilled; this day will it surely be accomplished". When Chandaka heard these words, he was heavy of heart and said: "Where wilt thou go", etc.

Thereupon, the gods sons Çāntamati and Lalitavyūha, aware of the Bodhisattva's intention, caused all the women and men, youths and maidens in the great city of Kapilavastu, to fall into deep sleep, and they silenced all sounds. When the Bodhisattva became aware that all people in the city were asleep and the hour of midnight was come, and that Puṣya had risen to be lord of the constellation and that now the hour of departure had arrived, he spoke to Chandaka: "Discourage me now no more, Chandaka; bring me Kaṇṭhaka caparisoned without further delay". As soon as the Bodhisattva spoke these words, that same moment the four Guardians of the world who heard the words of the Bodhisattva, hastened each to his dwelling and returned with his own preparations to honor the Bodhisattva, as soon as possible to the great city of Kapilavastu.

¹⁾ On the contrary a scene at Tun-Huang (Stein p. 868) gives only four sleeping women, musicians and dancers, in the palace-court below, when in the air the Bodhisattva is already escaping on his horse.

²⁾ Chavannes, Mission fig. 211 and pag. 307.

³⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 38 and p. 41 and 95.

Also Çakra, the king of the gods, came with the three and thirty gods, with heavenly flowers, and perfumes, garlands, ointments powders, garments, umbrellas, banners, streamers, diadems and ornaments.

A thousand koṭi's of gods spoke joyful of heart unto Chandaka : "Come, Chandaka, bring out the splendid Kaṇṭhaka, grieve not the Leader". When Chandaka heard these words of the gods, he said to Kaṇṭhaka : "Here comes the best driver of all beings, neigh thou to him !" And when he had ornamented the rain-colored hoofs with gold, weeping and sad of heart, he led the horse to that Ocean of merit. (209 : 11 ; 210 : 2 ; 217 : 5 ; 218 : 15 ; 221 : 7, 15).

The Bodhisattva is depicted standing on a lotus-cushion, outside the palace railings. This palace is quite to the right ; in front sit the sleeping guard and a couple of large pots with lids stand on the left. The whole is enclosed in a palissade with a gateway inserted in it ; at the side of the palissade is the Bodhisattva, stretching out his hand to Chandaka who kneels before him making a sēmbah. Behind the coachman is the horse, with a tree in the background, its haunches are hidden by the group of gods standing quite on the left of the relief. The whole design is such that in my opinion it does not allow the scene to be titled as the command given to Chandaka to saddle the horse (Pleyte p. 97), as in the Lalitavistara the order was given while the Bodhisattva was still on the terrace of his palace. Here he has already come down and it is evident that the horse could not be brought up on to the terrace so that if the animal was to appear on the relief, that was reason enough to place the scene out-of-doors. The conception of the Barabudūr sculptor is, at any rate, far more rational than that of the Gandhāra-relief just mentioned, on which the horse is brought inside the room where Gopā is asleep. What the Barabudūr relief illustrates is, I think, the moment when Chandaka yields to the persuasion of the gods and brings the horse to his master, the moment that is immediately before the Great Departure in the following relief. It is noticeable that at Pagān two separate reliefs appear, the first shews the orders given to Chandaka (where the horse is already present), the second the moment the animal is going to be mounted; in the first, the scene is in a palace, while the second is given out-of-doors ¹⁾).

¹⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 39 and 41 and p. 41 etc. and 95 etc.

65. *The Great Departure*

And the four Great Kings, after entering the royal palace Aḍakavatī, spoke to the great assemblage of yakṣa's: "To-day, o worthy ones, shall the Bodhisattva make his departure, this he must do while the feet of his excellent horse are held fast by you".

All the earth trembled in six kinds of ways, when risen from his couch, he mounted that excellent king of horses, resembling the circle of the full moon. The Guardians of the world placed their hands, stainless as the pure lily, beneath the excellent horse. Çakra and Brahmā went before, both shewing the way. A pure immaculate radiance shone out from him and the earth was illuminated; all those beings doomed to destruction, gained rest and happiness and were no longer subject to the torments of the kleṣa's. Flowers were strewn and thousands of musical instruments sounded, gods and asura's praised him. After making the circuit of the excellent city, keeping their right side towards it, they proceeded, all filled with joy.

When this Bodhisattva, lord of the world, departed, the apsaras glorified him as he passed through the air: "Behold he must be highly honored, he who is the great field of virtue, the field of those who strive after virtue, the giver of the fruit of immortality". (202 : 13 ; 222 : 1 ; 223 : 7).

In the procession of the Bodhisattva's Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa through the air, two figures of gods are in front, one carrying an umbrella, while flowers fall upon him from above. These are most likely Çakra and Brahmā showing the way. Then comes the Bodhisattva himself squatting on his horse whose hoofs are put two and two on lotus-cushions supported by three floating figures, the first one in any case a yakṣa to judge by his hairdressing. It is yakṣa's who, according to the first passage of the text quoted above — a passage that appears a good bit earlier in the text than the description of the journey — support the hoofs of Kaṇṭhaka. It appears that the Lalitavistara here contradicts itself ; not only in the two passages quoted, but also later on when Chandaka tells the tale of the journey, he mentions twice that it was the four Guardians of the world who did this service (233 : 14 and 236 : 14). Chandaka follows his master with the sword under his arm as on the preceding relief, he has hold of the horse's tail. Then comes the company of gods.

in two rows one above the other, some with fly-whisks and flowers in their hand. Though not very easily distinguished, several persons below on the right, seem to be women, therefore apsaras; the clouds sketched under this last group and quite to the left, indicate that the procession is moving through the air. Take notice of the tree on the right growing on a rise with the rays of light coming from its side towards the Bodhisattva; a means of shewing the radiance, the text speaks of, which he spreads over the earth.

Comparison with other representations of the Great Departure is specially noticeable for what Barabaður does not depict of details to be found elsewhere. The figure armed with a bow, to be seen on the Gandhāra-reliefs, who is most probably Māra, is not here, but then at this moment he is not playing any part in the Lalitavistara. And we can look in vain for the goddess of the city of Kapilavastu who appears elsewhere and who, the text says, brought a farewell greeting to the Bodhisattva (222:9 etc.). I will here mention also that his companion Vajrapāṇi who is of such importance on the Gandhāra-reliefs and makes his first appearance at the departure without leaving the Bodhisattva after that, is quite unknown on the Barabaður.

The representation at Sānchi ¹⁾ which of course may not depict the Bodhisattva himself, shews a riderless horse coming out of a town, that in spite of it being night and the inhabitants asleep, seems to be crowded with interested spectators. Chandaka holds an umbrella over his invisible master; four gods hold the hoofs of the horse and others accompany the procession. On another relief at Amarāvati ²⁾ we see the horse alone with the umbrella coming out of the gate, with two gods in front and two in the air. The umbrella in this kind of scene has more significance than elsewhere as indicating the presence of a person worthy to be honored, but it also asserts itself on the scenes where the Bodhisattva himself is depicted, in spite of there being no practical use for it at that time of night. It is usually yakṣa's, not gods, who support the horse in Gandhāra ³⁾, — we need not notice the instances where they are replaced by one or two women ⁴⁾ — also at Amarāvati ⁵⁾ and Tun-Huang ⁶⁾; the

¹⁾ Foucher, *La porte orientale du stūpa de Sānchi* (1910) pl. 7. See also Bharhut pl. 20.

²⁾ T.S.W. pl. 98, cf. 96.

³⁾ A.M.I. pl. 80, 129, 130; A.G.B. I fig. 180, p. 353; 181 p. 355; 182 p. 357; 183 p. 359; 184 p. 361; 187 p. 366; II fig. 404 p. 201; J.I.A.I. pl. 19 and 22.

⁴⁾ See A.G.B. I p. 358—360.

⁵⁾ T.S.W. pl. 49 or 59, Burgess fig. 22 on p. 80; also Burgess pl. 16, 32, 38, 40, 41; A.G.B. II fig. 506 p. 563.

⁶⁾ Stein p. 858, where other representations are compared. See also p. 168.

escort of gods is always present, but there are nowhere two flying in front that should be Çakra and Brahmā. Chinese art at Yun-Kang¹⁾ gives Çakra holding the umbrella; and the Bodhisattva is alone except for the horse-supporters. At Pagān there are two figures with torches flying in front, as well as the gods in the air and at the feet of the horse, Chandaka too holding on by the tail²⁾.

66. *The Bodhisattva takes leave of his escort of gods*

When the Bodhisattva departed he went through the land of the Çākya's, the Kroḍya's and the Malla's, and was in Anuvaineya in the land of Maineya six yojana's away, at day break. Then the Bodhisattva dismounted off Kaṇṭhaka and standing on the ground he took leave of that great company of gods, nāga's, yakṣa's, gandharva's, asura's, garuḍa's, kinnara's and mahoraga's. (225: 5).

The Bodhisattva is still in royal robes, but already stands on the lotus cushion that appeared for the first time on No. 64, when he had taken his decision and will support the feet of the future Buddha from now on; he is turning to the group of standing gods that fills the whole of the right side of the relief. The three figures furthest to the right are yakṣa's with wild hair and moustache, the other demi-gods mentioned in the text are not given. Next to the Bodhisattva a figure kneels with an umbrella and a second with a sword. Perhaps these are Çakra and Brahmā, one of whom carried the umbrella on the preceding relief, while the other has the same headdress on both reliefs; or to be more careful: they are probably the two advance figures of the procession (maybe Çakra and Brahmā, maybe not). The man with the sword might be Chandaka who would then be depicted twice: on the left as well, separated from this group by a tree, he is sadly leading off the horse while the faithful beast turns its head round to its master³⁾. As Pleyte correctly remarks (p. 99), it gives the impression as if the sculptor here intended to illustrate the parting from horse and groom — so that we are rather surprised to meet them both again on the next relief.

¹⁾ Chavannes, Mission fig. 212 and p. 307 etc.

²⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 42 and p. 42 and 96.

³⁾ On two of the Gandhāra-reliefs (A.G.B. I fig. 184 and 185 p. 361 etc.) Kaṇṭhaka licks his master's feet (compare Buddhacarita VI, 53), and the same is adopted by the Serindian and old-Chinese art. See Stein p. 858 and pl. LXXV (Tun-Huang), and Chavannes fig. 220 p. 304 (Yun-kang) and fig. 1738 with p. 556.

67 *The Bodhisattva takes leave of Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka, and cuts off his hair*

After these were dismissed, he thought to himself: "These ornaments and Kaṇṭhaka I will put into the hands of Chandaka and send them back". Then the Bodhisattva turned towards Chandaka and spoke: "Go, Chandaka, return with these ornaments and with Kaṇṭhaka".

Then again the Bodhisattva thought this thought: "How can the wearing of long hair be combined with the life of a wandering monk?" And after cutting off his hair with his sword, he threw it into the air. It was gathered up by the three and thirty gods to do it honor and until this day the feast of the locks of hair is kept by the three and thirty gods. (225 : 9, 15).

On both sides of the relief the style of the landscape is shewn by the conventional rocky scene with trees and plants. The Bodhisattva stands in the middle wearing only a loincloth and sacred thread, he is cutting off his hair with a sword. On the right is Chandaka, who holds in his right hand the headdress just received from the Bodhisattva and in his left the sheath of the sword. Kaṇṭhaka stands just behind him; here, the animal has no saddle on, as it had on the preceding relief, and neither bit or bridle: another instance of the sculptor's indifference to detail. On the other side of the Bodhisattva are some figures of gods, two kneeling, the first of whom reverently holds up a dish of flowers; the large elephant ears of the figure behind him in sēmbah, make it clear that this must be Çakra's servant Airāvata, and the one with the flowers will be Çakra himself; Airāvata's headdress has been knocked off. Behind these two stand three other gods, two of whom make a sēmbah. Up above, on a cloud, on each side of the Bodhisattva, is a heavenly being; the left one holds a ribbon, probably the hair ribbon, the one on the right has a dish with the coiled-up mass of hair; this seems rather premature for the owner thereof is still busy cutting it off. In the note on p. 172, I mentioned a couple of Gandhāra-reliefs on which the parting from Chandaka is shewn; there too he receives his master's tiara with the other ornaments. This is worth noticing because, in the old-Indian art, the gods are seen carrying away the tiara with the hair coiled up inside it; representations of the adoration of it frequently appear ¹⁾ and the dismissal of Chandaka so as

¹⁾ Bharhut pl. 16; Sānci T.S.W. pl. 30; Amarāvati T.S.W. pl. 59.

depicted at Sānchi ¹⁾ agrees with it ; here we first see the kneeling servant and the horse, opposite the large footprints that take the place of the Master, and Chandaka has nothing in his hand, while below, where he is going home, he takes garments and ornaments with him, but not the tiara. The Gandhāra art is inconsistent, for sometimes it depicts the tiara being honored by the gods ²⁾ and at other times puts the tiara into Chandaka's hands. Barabudūr's idea is better, Chandaka gets the tiara and the gods only carry off the hair. Here the sculptor has broken away from the tradition of the adoration of the tiara. The art of Campā also sends away the horse and tiara together ³⁾. The cutting off of only the hair, has also been found on a relief at Sarnāth ⁴⁾ as well as in Turkestan ⁵⁾. Haircutting and leave-taking are treated in the same way as two separate scenes at Ajañṭā ⁶⁾ and Tun-Huang ⁷⁾. At Pagān no less than eight reliefs are devoted to the events immediately following the Great Departure up to and including the parting from Chandaka ⁸⁾. Even at the offering of the monks dress he is still to be found.

68. *The Bodhisattva receives the russet monks frock*

And again the Bodhisattva thought : "What has the life of a wandering monk to do with kāṣika-clothing? It would be well that I got russet garments suitable to wear in the forest". There-upon the thought came to the Çuddhāvāsakāyika gods: "The Bodhisattva is in need of russet garments." Then one of the gods sons put off his divine form and stood, in the shape of a hunter in russet dress, before the Bodhisattva. Then said the Bodhisattva unto him: "If thou, worthy man, givest me thy russet dress, I will give thee these kāṣika-garments". He answered: "Those garments suit you and these suit me". The Bodhisattva said: "I implore thee." Then the gods son in hunter's dress gave the russet clothes to the

¹⁾ Foucher, *Porte* or. pl. 7.

²⁾ For instance A.G.B. I fig. 186 p. 365.

³⁾ Dong Duong ; see A.G.B. II fig. 522 p. 603.

⁴⁾ A.M.I. pl. 67.

⁵⁾ See A.G.B. I p. 364.

⁶⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 224.

⁷⁾ Stein p. 858 and pl. LXXV. Two divine attendants are about to perform the hair-cutting.

⁸⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 43—50 and p. 42—44 and 96—98. The handing over of the ornaments is on 46, the haircutting on 47, the offering of the monk's dress etc. on 49, the actual parting on 50.

Bodhisattva and received the *kāṣika*-robes. And the gods son respectfully, with both hands, placed the garments upon his head and departed to the world of gods to adore them. Now this was seen by Chandaka. (225 : 20).

The sculptor has taken no notice of the last statement. On one of the Gandhāra-reliefs we can see Chandaka present at the exchange of clothes ¹⁾. He is not given a place on this Barabudūr scene, nor do we find further on, any trace of the lengthy episode, related in the text, of his return to Çuddhodana's court (p. 229—237). It is just possible that the words "Now this was seen by Chandaka", may have been added later to the text ²⁾ and we might suppose that this addition did not appear in the text used for the Barabudūr reliefs. However this conclusion is not necessary, for the sculptor makes free too with another detail in the exchange of clothing ; the text speaks expressly of a gods son in the shape of a hunter and the Gandhāra-relief actually lays some game at his feet, while at Barabudūr the artist has not taken the trouble to disguise him and he hands over the garment in his ordinary divine costume.

The righthand side of the relief is taken up by scenery ; rocks and trees, animated with a pair of birds and a den in which two tigers lie asleep. On the left of them stands the Bodhisattva, rather dilapidated and headless ; he is of course in his undergarments, just receiving the monk's frock from the hands of the god's son who stands opposite to him, separated by a large incense-stand. Behind him kneels another god with some object that is broken off, on Wilsen's drawing a flower ; behind stands a third with a bowl of flowers and then comes a whole group seated, many of them with gifts of honor in the hand, up to the edge of the relief, and a tree or two in the background. As seen above, the text makes no mention of all this godly company.

69. *The gods express their approval*

When the Bodhisattva had cut off his hair and put on the russet garment, at the same moment hundreds of thousands of the gods sons, delighted, satisfied, gay and cheerful, with the greatest happiness, joy and transport, gave utterance to their rapture with all

¹⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 187 p. 366 ; J.I.A.I. pl. 22.

²⁾ Foucher, l.i. p. 367.

kinds of sounds and melody: "Behold friends, prince Siddhārtha has become a wanderer. He will attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom, and set the wheel of the Law in motion". (226 : 14).

A rocky landscape with trees, on both sides of the relief ; on the left, are two hares sitting on the rock, on the right several gazelles, while in a cavelike hollow in the ground are placed two round pots with lids, possibly for the use of the Bodhisattva, who stands next on his lotus-cushion. This is the first time we see him in the appearance he will retain for the rest of the series of reliefs : in the monk's frock and the hair dressed in small curls following at the top of the head the form of the *uṣṇīṣa*. He is rather damaged, as also the incense-stand that is next to him. The remaining space is occupied by the adoring gods, kneeling, sitting and standing, many with their hands in *sambhā*. We may notice that the words of the text give no idea that the expressions of joy by the gods over these events, had the character of an adoration of the Bodhisattva as depicted here by the sculptor.

70. *The Bodhisattva at the hermitage of a brāhmaṇī*

And when the Bodhisattva had thus given his *kāṣika* robes to the gods son in hunter's dress and received from him his russet garment, he made himself a wandering monk, for the sake of the world, in pity for its living beings and to achieve their ripening.

The Bodhisattva then went to the place where was the hermitage of the *brāhmaṇī* *Çāki*, who asked him to stay and partake of food. He then went to the hermitage of the *brāhmaṇī* *Padmā*; and there also he was asked to stay and take food. (238 : 1).

It is not possible to make out which of these visits may be here depicted. The dwellers of the hermitage sit under a group of trees ; on the rocks to the left is a water-jug. They wear their hair done in a plait, held together by a band round the forehead, the same as their masculine colleagues, with necklace, bracelet and a cloth fastened round the waist by a plain belt. They also have a brahman thread and some of them hold a rosary as well. On the right stands the head of the hermitage with a dish of food and an incense burner on the ground in front of her, opposite to the Bodhisattva who approaches, with his right hand raised towards her, holding his garment with the left. There is still room on the right for a tree and a deformed sort of animal sitting on the rocky ground,

it looks like a calf with ears too long, and might be a hind or perhaps after all, a hare.

71. *The Bodhisattva comes to Raivata or Ārāḍa Kālāpa*

After that he came to the hermitage of the brahmarṣi Raivata, and he also gave the same invitation to the Bodhisattva.

Thus the Bodhisattva came gradually to the great kingdom Vaiçālī. Now at that time Ārāḍa Kālāpa had fixed his dwelling in Vaiçālī and lived there with a great company of ṛāvaka's, three hundred scholars. And he taught them a creed that enjoins poverty and the subjugation of the senses. When he saw the Bodhisattva from afar, full of wonder he said to his disciples: "Behold! see the noble appearance of that man"! And they said: "Truly we see it. It is very marvellous". Thereupon I went ¹⁾ to the place where Ārāḍa Kālāpa was and spoke thus to him: "I seek to become a brahman-scholar of Ārāḍa Kālāpa". He answered: "Do so, Gautama, according to that teaching of the law by which a devout son of good family may acquire the knowledge with little trouble". (238 : 9, 14).

It is not possible to make out if this relief is the visit to Raivata or the arrival at Ārāḍa Kālāpa's hermitage, it might do for either. In favor of the former, it may be said that in design this relief very much resembles the one preceding, described in the same manner in the text and besides that the scenery here differs from that in the following which we can certainly be sure takes place at Ārāḍa Kālāpa's. In the second case we can plead that such variations of scenery are not at all uncommon with the Barabudūr sculptors, who are careless about details, while on the contrary the *arrival* at Ārāḍa Kālāpa's is treated with some importance in the text and its representation here seems more appropriate than the casually-mentioned visit to Raivata's establishment. A Gandhāra-relief probably also depicts the arrival ²⁾; the ascetic is sitting before his cell as the Bodhisattva advances with Vajrapāṇi. On Barabudūr the Bodhisattva is coming from the right holding a tip of his garment in the left hand; as on the preceding relief he appears out of a rocky landscape with trees and a den with two wild animals, apparently apes. In front of him, with an incense-burner on the ground

¹⁾ The tale here slips suddenly into the 1st person.

²⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 191 and p. 377 etc.

between them, stands the head of the hermitage, welcoming the visitor with a lotus in his left hand. Behind them under the trees are some scholars. The front one holds out a water jug towards the visitor ; a second jug can be seen on the left on the rocks that are on the same side. The costume worn is the usual one ; hair done up in plaits, necklace and loin-cloth. One of them has a rosary.

72. *The Bodhisattva with Ārāḍa Kālāpa*

Alone and quiet, living in penance and solitude, I pondered over this doctrine with little trouble and acquired insight therein. Then I went to the place where Ārāḍa Kālāpa was and said : "Hast thou till thus far, Ārāḍa, pondered over this doctrine and acquired insight therein?" And he said: "That is so, Gautama." Then said I unto him: "I also have pondered over this doctrine and acquired insight therein". He spoke and said: "Then, o Gautama, thou knowest the doctrine that I know, and I know that which thou knowest. Let us then together instruct this company of scholars". Thus Ārāḍa Kālāpa honored me with the highest honor, placing me in the midst of his scholars for a common purpose. (239 : 4).

In agreement with this last sentence, the Bodhisattva is sitting on a seat of honor, a round bench on feet with his lotus cushion on top, so that he sits higher than the others ; to judge by his right hand held in vitarka-mudrā he is busy lecturing. The Bodhisattva is put quite on the right between two trees ; next to him on the left is Ārāḍa Kālāpa on a stone, turning towards him, he sits higher than the pupils but not as high as the Bodhisattva. The scholars fill up the rest of the relief to the left ; they are not sitting under trees as they do in the preceding scene, but against a background of rocks, with trees, among which each is set in a small niche ¹⁾. They wear the same dress as those on the last relief and have rosaries ; the one furthest to the left is turning away. Also at Pagān the Bodhisattva's stay with Ārāḍa Kālāpa is to be seen ; there it follows after the visit to Rājagṛha ²⁾.

As Ārāḍa's doctrine does not entirely satisfy the Bodhisattva, he moves on, first to Magadha and then to Rājagṛha where he settles on the slopes of the Pāṇḍava mountain.

¹⁾ A similar scene from the paintings of Ming-Oi (Kara Shahr) is to be found in Stein, *Serindia* pl. CXXV.

²⁾ Seldenstücker, abb. 56 and p. 46 and 99. Both are busy talking, while three scholars are present.

73. *The Bodhisattva at Rājagṛha*

Then one morning, having clothed myself, I entered with begging-bowl and monk's frock through the Tapoda-gate into the great city of Rājagṛha, to beg, with peace of mind in my forward steps and in my backward steps, in my looks, in the bending and stretching of my body; with peace of mind in the wearing of my coat, begging-bowl and monk's frock, not allowing my senses to become excited, or my mind to contemplate exterior things, as an automaton, as he who carries a cask of oil, seeing no further than the length of a yoke. When the dwellers in Rājagṛha saw me, they marvelled.

People ceased buying and selling, the drunkards no longer drank strong drink, and people amused themselves nomore in their houses, or in the streets, but gazed only on the person of the most perfect of men. One man came quickly to the palace and spoke joyfully to king Bimbisāra: "O king, behold the greatest of favors hath fallen to thee, Brahmā himself walks here in the town to beg". And others said, etc. While others again said thus: "This is he who lives on Pāṇḍava, the king of mountains". On hearing these words the king standing before a round window in the highest cheerfulness of mind, saw the most perfect of men, the Bodhisattva, shining in his radiance as the purest gold. King Bimbisāra gave alms and said to this man: "Look where he goes". And seeing that he went towards the excellent mountain he spoke thus: "King, he has gone to the mountain-slope". (240 : 1, 19; 241 : 4).

The Bodhisattva is coming again from the right, still holding the tip of his garment with the left hand; he has no begging-bowl, as mentioned in the text, but stretches out his empty right hand towards a woman kneeling before him with hands on the ground. On his other side sit three of the citizens looking on, and above on a cloud are two heavenly ones, who bring their homage. In our text, we hear nothing about them or about the incident with the woman, so that on this relief possibly some other version of the tale has been followed. On the left side of the relief we see a palace and between that and the kneeling woman, a group that is quite clear but does not coincide with the text. Foremost, on the right, is the king in royal

robes and with a globular gift, probably the bowl just filled with food, in his hands, which he evidently comes to offer to the Bodhisattva. Next to him stands the queen, behind them sits the suite, some kneeling; they carry the wellknown royal insignia. Thus while the text describes the king looking through his "oeil de boeuf" at the monk who is in the street, sending him a gift — that the "give" really means "sent" is seen by the context — and then ordering the monk to be followed (which would not be necessary if he had spoken to him himself), the sculptor of Barabaður brings the king in direct contact with the Bodhisattva. Possibly this is the result of a deviating text. At Ajaṇṭā in agreement with the text, the Bodhisattva is begging in the market-place opposite the palace and the king is not present ¹⁾, at Pagān the Bodhisattva is standing between two almsgivers ²⁾.

74. *King Bimbisāra visits the Bodhisattva*

Now when king Bimbisāra saw that the night was past, he went, with a great concourse of people, to the foot of the king of mountains Pāṇḍava and saw that mountain shining with radiance. After dismounting and proceeding on foot over the ground, he gazed with the greatest respect on the Bodhisattva who, after spreading grass on the ground, had seated himself with legs crossed, immovable as the Meru. After saluting the feet of the Bodhisattva with his head, and having discoursed of several matters, the king spake: "I will give thee the half of my whole kingdom; disport thyself here with the various kinds of things desirable and cease from begging". And the Bodhisattva answered him with a gentle voice: "O king, may thou live long and rule thy kingdom! As for me I have departed from a desirable kingdom and putting aside all thought thereof am become a wandering monk in order to find peace". (241 : 9)

The whole left side of the relief is taken up by the rocky landscape with the Bodhisattva. On the left are the rocks with trees growing on them that give shelter to a variety of animals; a cockatoo, a peacock, a pair of doves billing, and some squirrels playing in the branches; then a tiger or jackal in a den and a couple of deer on the ground. On the right of all these, a sort of niche has been made in which the Bodhisattva sits with a waterjug on one side of him and an incense-burner on the

¹⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 224; Griffiths, *Paintings* pl. 50.

²⁾ Seidenstücker, *abb.* 53 and p. 45 and 98.

other ; he is sitting not on grass but on a lotus cushion on a mat, with an ordinary cushion at his back, in conversation with king Bimbisāra on his right, who makes a sēmbah. The king with one servant is on a piece of rock, his other followers are sitting under the trees on the right-hand of the relief, the umbrella-bearer is of course among them. This same episode is also found at Ajaṇṭā ¹⁾ combined with the preceding one, and is probably the subject of a Gandhāra-relief ²⁾ where the Bodhisattva sits under a tree with a king kneeling before him, who also has a group of followers with him. At Pagān we see him first alone, partaking of his food and again in conversation with Bimbisāra ³⁾.

75. *The Bodhisattva with Rudraka*

At that time Rudraka, the son of Rāma, had set himself in the great city of R jagṛha and dwelt there with a large company of scholars, seven hundred in number. He gave them instruction in a doctrine that taught of the not conscious and yet not unconscious by the suppression of the senses. The Bodhisattva saw this Rudraka, son of Rāma, the leader of the community, the teacher of many, well-known, celebrated, honored by many people, valued by learned men

Thus spake the Bodhisattva to Rudraka, son of Rāma : "I too, my friend, have meditated on this doctrine that thou hast attained". And he said : "Come let us instruct this company together". Then with a common purpose he placed the Bodhisattva at the teacher's place. The Bodhisattva said : "This path leadeth not to aversion ⁴⁾, neither to freedom from passion, nor to prevention ⁵⁾, nor to peace, nor to knowledge, or wisdom, neither to the state of *çramaṇa* or *brahman* nor to *nirvāṇa*". (243 : 15 ; 245 : 8).

Mountain scenery in the same style as the last relief decorates the right hand of this picture ; rocks and trees with birds and squirrels, a lizard, a den with two tigers and a hollow with a couple of deer. On the left of the rocky part sits the Bodhisattva, again on his lotus cushion,

¹⁾ See note 1 on p. 180.

²⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 188 p. 373.

³⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 54 and 55 and p. 45 etc. and 98 etc.

⁴⁾ From worldly things.

⁵⁾ Of reincarnation.

with a mat under it, but not otherwise raised above the ground ; he is talking to the front one of four persons dressed as hermits who fill the left part of the scene alternately with trees growing on the rocks. The first man is certainly Rudraka. The one furthest to the left has a water-jug and a covered pot beside him ; in the left hand bottom corner again a hollow with a deer. The visit to Rudraka is also given at Pagān¹⁾, as well as the instruction of the five first scholars corresponding with relief no. 76.²⁾

76. *The Bodhisattva with his first disciples on the Gayā-mountain*

At that time, the five men of the blessed company³⁾ were brahman scholars with Rudraka, son of Rāma. They bethought themselves of this : "That which we give ourselves so much time and trouble to attain, what we strive without end or pause to discover, even that hath the çramaṇa Gautama with small effort pondered over and acquired. Yet this did not satisfy him, therefore he sought higher things ; without doubt he will become the teacher of the world. The knowledge he acquires for himself, he will surely share with us." After consulting together, the five men of the blessed company, went away from Rudraka, the son of Rāma, and attached themselves to the Bodhisattva. Now when he had dwelt in Rājagṛha so long as he thought well, he set out for Magadha with the five of the blessed company.

When the Bodhisattva journeyed through Magadha, he went towards that part of the land where Gayā is and arrived there. There dwelt the Bodhisattva in order to meditate on the Gayāçīrṣa mountain. (245 : 16 ; 246 : 6).

The Bodhisattva sits in a niche among the rocks, on the left, on his lotus cushion in the dhyāna-mudrā attitude ; he is occupied as the next passage of the text tells us, in meditation on three resemblances. There are trees round the niche, with peacocks and other birds. The mountain scenery stretches further to the right ; on the upper part of the relief are rocks with trees and doves perched in them while squirrels

¹⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 57 and p. 46 and 99. The representation is the same as that of the dispute with Āraḍa Kālāpa.

²⁾ Ibid. abb. 58. In design the reliefs at Pagān differ entirely from those at Barabaḍur.

³⁾ In this interpretation of *bhadravargiyāḥ* I follow Foucher, A.G.B. I p. 380.

and armadillo's run about; below, the five are seated, in ordinary ascetic costume. It is plainly to be seen here as well as on the adjacent reliefs that the sling is not omitted in spite of all the scarcity of clothing. On the right, a river runs between the rocks and trees, with some fish swimming in it.

77. *The Bodhisattva by the Nairañjanā*

And when the Bodhisattva had dwelt at Gayā upon the Gayā-*çīrṣa* mountain as long as he thought fit, he went forth walking in the direction of Uruvilvā, a village where a captain of soldiers had his post, and arrived there. There he saw the river of Nairañjanā, with clear water, good landing-places, beautified with fine trees and thickets and set on all sides with meadows and villages. Then the mind of the Bodhisattva was greatly pleased : "Behold, fair is this land, pleasant and suitable to dwell in ; it is most fitting for a man of good family, who desires to meditate; and as I do so, here will I remain"

And when the Bodhisattva had considered this, he undertook for six years a heavy penance most difficult of the difficult and hard to exercise. (248 : 6 ; 250 : 9).

We shall not dilate on the account of the Bodhisattva's penance here and later on, for the sculptor, mindful of the fundamental rule to avoid all painful scenes, sees fit to omit shewing us the Bodhisattva with the emaciation of his superhuman privations upon him. He does look slightly thinner on the next relief but not much, and only by chance, for on No. 79 and 80, also in the years of privation, he has recovered his usual contour. We have therefore no chance of comparison with the remarkable images of the emaciated Gautama during those six years that are found in the Gandhāra art ¹⁾).

This relief somewhat resembles the last one ; the Bodhisattva on the left, a river on the right, the five in the middle. The scene is no longer a rocky landscape, but the peaceful region of the river banks shaded by trees. Rocks come into sight only here and there, especially on the left where the Bodhisattva is sitting, not now on a lotus cushion, only an

¹⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 192, 193, 200; II fig. 439, p. 296 ; fig. 440 p. 273; Journ. As. 8 : 15 (1890) pl. 2; Spooner, Handbook to the sculptures in the Peshawar Museum (1910) pl. opposite pag. 67. The sculptors of Pagān have also no objection to such kind of portrait; see below No. 80. For Serindia (Tun-Huang) see Stein II p. 859 and pl. LXXV and LXXVII.

ordinary mat. He is talking to the front one of the five towards whom he makes a gesture with the right hand. The two front ones of the five wear their hair on this relief done up very high with a flower at the top. Beside the one most to the right, stands a peculiar jug, much more like a Greek lekuthos than a Javan gēndi. The river is well supplied with fish ; on the opposite bank we see trees and birds.

78. *Māyā, as goddess, visits the Bodhisattva.*

And when they saw the condition of the Bodhisattva ¹⁾, some of the gods spake thus: "Alas, prince Siddhārtha is surely dead".

Then these gods sons betook themselves to the three and thirty gods and told Māyādevī thereof: "The prince is dead". Then Māyādevī accompanied by a following of apsaras came at the hour of midnight to the place, on the banks of the Nairañjanā, where the Bodhisattva was and saw him with his body all withered away. And when she saw that he was like dead, she began to weep so that her tears choked her.

Then spake the Bodhisattva to her and comforted her: "Fear not for love of thy son ; thou shalt pluck the fruits of thy labor. Not in vain doth a Buddha renounce the world. I shall fulfil the prophecy of Asita and make plain the prediction of Dipangkara. Though the earth should fall into a hundred fragments, and Meru droop with his radiant brow into the waters, though sun, moon and stars should be smitten to the ground, yet I, the only human being, should not die. Therefore be not sorrowful, for soon wilt thou behold the Wisdom of a Buddha". (252 : 5, 13 ; 253 : 13).

Quite to the left on a mound of rock, within a niche of the rocky wall planted with vegetation as usual, sits the Bodhisattva, again only on a mat. He addresses his comforting words to Māyā seated on the same eminence in the scene, she is in the attitude of sēmbah and has evidently brought the offering of flowers and wreaths that is between them on a large dish. Above the dish, a flame can be seen, as elsewhere indicating the incense smoke ; though here we might take it for a lamp placed behind the dish, it being midnight. The figure of the goddess is very much worn-away. Behind her on the groundfloor kneel the apsa-

¹⁾ I. e. that of complete exhaustion brought on by excessive penance.

ras of her suite ; the front one with incense-burner and fan in her hand ; among the others, some carry a tray with garlands or some loose flowers or a fly-whisk and others a lotus stem. The goddess still wears the halo assigned to her during her mortal life.

79. The gods honor the Bodhisattva

All those gods, nāga's, yakṣa's, gandharva's, asura's, garuḍa's, kinnara's and mahoraga's, who had witnessed the virtues of the Bodhisattva, stayed with him by day and night, shewed him honor, and gave him service. There through the Bodhisattva while he underwent the six years of penance so difficult to endure, full twelve tenthousands of gods and men were brought to maturity by means of the three Vehicles. (257 : 13).

Here too, the Bodhisattva sits on the left in his rocky niche, with foliage round him, and now once more upon his lotus-cushion. With the right hand he makes a gesture to the gods, sitting in a large company before him ; they fill up the rest of the relief to the right. The background is again trees. The attitude of the gods at this moment is not that of paying honor ; they evidently are listening to the Bodhisattva's lecture, that is to bring them to "maturity". The sculptor has not thought worth while to give us anything of the demi-gods the text speaks of.

The text continues with a passage not illustrated on the monument, where Māra, the Evil One, tries to tempt the Bodhisattva to forsake his life of penance. This suggestion is of course dismissed with scorn. Meanwhile the Bodhisattva begins to see the uselessness of his fasting and penance, and to look round for something to eat.

80. The gods request the Bodhisattva to absorb nourishment through his pores

The gods sons who felt compassion for the exhausted one and who with their minds had knowledge of my mind, came to the place where I was and said unto me : "Most noble being, thou needest not partake of such abundance of food ; we will infuse the strength thereof through thy pores." Then I thought in my mind : "I can give myself the air of not taking food, and my neighbors, the people of the villages near by, would believe that the çramaṇa Gautama did not eat. And meanwhile the gods sons who have com-

passion with the exhausted one would infuse the strength of the nourishment through my pores. But it would be a very great lie to do so". Thereupon the Bodhisattva to avoid this lie, refused the offer of the gods sons and turned his thoughts to taking abundant food. (264 : 4).

The fact that there are five equally-important persons all dressed in divine costume conversing with the Bodhisattva, is my reason for not agreeing with Pleyte's opinion who considers this to be the above-mentioned conversation between Māra and the Bodhisattva (pag. 116). I think it can be nothing else but a collective appearance of gods and then only the above-quoted passage can be intended, which as immediately connected with the Bodhisattva's decision to stop his fast, in every case deserves to be represented in the sculptured text. The Bodhisattva still sits on the lotus-cushion in his niche in the rocks with the trees round it, on the left of the relief ; he is in the vitarka-mudrā pose. The five divine visitors are seated more to the right, and come into the middle of the picture with a tree behind them. The right hand side of the relief is taken up by the conventional rocky landscape we have had already several times : rocks and trees with squirrels and birds and other creatures. On the ground a couple of pigs, and some birds in the air. We must not think of reproaching the sculptor for placing us here among a mountain scenery, while the Bodhisattva is still, as in the preceding reliefs, on the banks of the Nairāñjanā or in its neighborhood. Let us rather praise him for the skill with which he did introduce variety into scenes that are so very much alike. The visit of the gods will also be found at Pagān, where the Bodhisattva shews distinct signs of emaciation ¹⁾).

As soon as the Bodhisattva declares his intention of breaking his fast, the five disciples are very much shocked ; they lose faith in their master, take leave of him and retire to the deer-park at Benares.

81. *The Bodhisattva receives food from the maidens of Uruvilvā*

Now from the time that the Bodhisattva began his penance so difficult to endure, there came to him ten young maidens, daughters of the village chief, to look at him, greet him and offer their services. These maidens prepared all kinds of pap and offered all to the

¹⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 59 and p. 46 and 99; on the following relief he is seen recumbent and wholly exhausted.

Bodhisattva. And when he had eaten thereof, gradually while he was going through the village to beg, his color, his beauty and his strength returned to him. Since that time the Bodhisattva was called "the beautiful çramaṇa" or "the great çramaṇa". (265 : 1, 6).

A handsome building, on the left, shews that the scene is changed to the village ; it is built on a high foundation, has a niche with a monster's head, a vaulted roof towards which a pair of doves are flying and a wing on the right, so richly decorated, that it would do for a palace if on another relief ; here it is used for the dwelling of the village chief. One of the maidens stands in the left corner behind the building with a flower in her hand ; the others sit right in front under a palmtree ; the first one of these also has a flower. Their spokeswoman is offering a bowl of food to the Bodhisattva facing her. Between the two on the ground is a large dish of flowers above which is an umbrella, a detail not given by the text ; there is a single lotus next to it also on the ground. The Bodhisattva is reaching out his right hand towards the dish of flowers and holds the tip of his garment with the left ; he has come from the right where the scene closes in with the traditional rocky landscape and trees ; a squirrel is climbing up one and a lion looks out of his round den.

Perhaps this episode is to be found on a Gandhāra-relief¹⁾ that otherwise differs entirely from Barabudur ; the Bodhisattva sits quite alone in the appearance of an ascetic and a female figure with a bowl stands next to him. There are two gods present beside Vajrapāṇi, it may be Çakra and Brahmā, as his usual companions in the Saṃbodhi-cyclis, but there may be a special reason for their presence in connection with the request, recognised on the preceding Barabudur scene.

82. *The Bodhisattva washes the hempen-garment*

Now while I continued these six years, my russet garments had become threadbare and I thought : "It would be a good thing had I something to cover my privy parts". At that time, a slave of Sujātā, the daughter of the village chief, had died, her name was Rādhā ; she had been wrapped in a hempen cloth, carried to the graveyard and left there. Then I saw that rag and drew it towards me with my left foot, stretched out my right hand and bent to pick it up.

¹⁾ A. G. B. I fig. 193, pag. 381.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva thought thus: "I have got a piece of rag; now it would be good if I had water". Then the gods struck on that place with their hands on the earth and a pond appeared. Again the Bodhisattva thought: "Now have I water; if I could obtain also a stone wherewith to wash the cloth, it would be well". Then at that moment on that place Çakra caused a stone to appear and the Bodhisattva began to wash the cloth. Thereupon spake Çakra, king of the gods, unto the Bodhisattva thus: "Give it unto me, noble being, that I may wash it". Yet the Bodhisattva, to show that a wandering monk does his own work, gave not that ragged cloth to Çakra, but washed it with his own hands. Heavy and faint of body after stepping into the pond, he would have stepped out again. But Māra, the Evil one, possessed with the sin of envy, caused the banks of the pond to increase greatly in height. At the side of the pond grew a great kakubha-tree; and the Bodhisattva spoke unto the goddess thereof to please her according to the custom of the world: "Let a branch of thy tree bend towards me, o goddess". And she let down a branch of the tree and holding it fast the Bodhisattva came up out of the water. When he was come out, he made under that kakubha-tree a coat of the ragged cloth and sewed it. (265: 16; 266: 12, 16).

The Bodhisattva stands nearly in the middle of the relief on the large flat stone the text speaks of. He has the cloth in his left hand, evidently about to wash it in the pond shewn on the left, surrounded by trees and adorned with lotus flowers and plants, some of them with waterfowls on them. Behind the Bodhisattva kneels an umbrella-bearer; further to the right stand a group of gods, the front one makes a sēmbah to the Bodhisattva who holds his right hand in vitarka-mudrā: so this is clearly the moment when the Bodhisattva refuses the offer for washing his cloth. The god who makes the request should be Çakra, and here the sculptor has been good enough to confirm the fact, for the first of the four followers of the god wears a headdress arranged in the style of a trunk, has elephant ears and holds the angkuça in his hand; so he can be no other than Airāvata, Çakra's faithful companion. Quite to the right we see a rocky landscape with trees and some animals, and on the extreme left next to the pond is the kakubha-tree that plays its

part at the end of the episode. The goddess of the tree is already kneeling under the tree and makes a respectful *sēmbah* to the Bodhisattva.

83. *The Bodhisattva receives the russet monk's dress*

A *Çuddhavāsakāyika* gods son named Vimalaprabha offered the Bodhisattva divine monks' garments reddish of color, fitting and suitable for a *çramaṇa*. The Bodhisattva took them and having dressed himself betimes in the morning and having put on the coat went his way to the village. (267 : 9).

Both sides of the relief shew a wooded landscape, but of a milder sort than in several preceding reliefs ; the rocks are reduced to mere surface projections in the ground. Some animals are included to enliven the scene, especially to the left, two elephants, two monkeys in the trees and one peacock. The Bodhisattva advances from the wood on the left, holding out his right hand to accept the present. In front of him stand three gods, the first of whom is handing over a garment of small size while the third holds a larger garment, the two pieces needed to complete the three-piece dress of a monk, with the coat that has just been made. On the ground, behind these standing figures, are three gods sitting.

84. *Sujātā entertains the Bodhisattva*

Then the gods, in Uruvilvā, the village where a captain of soldiers was posted, made known to Sujātā, the daughter of the village chief Nandika, at midnight : "He for whose sake thou makest a great sacrifice, is about to make end of his penance and partake of good and abundant food. In former time thou hast prayed : May the Bodhisattva after accepting food from me, attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom. Do then what thou hast to do". On hearing these words from the gods, Sujātā, daughter of the village-chief Nandika, hastened to take the milk of a thousand cows, and after taking off the cream seven times obtained cream of the best and strongest. Then she set that milk with fresh rice in a new pot on a new stove and cooked it.

And when the pap was ready, Sujātā placed it on the ground, strewn it with flowers, sprinkled it with perfume and placing and

preparing a seat, she said to a slave named Uttarā: "Go, Uttarā, fetch hither the brahman, I will care for this sweet pap".

Then came the Bodhisattva to the house of Sujātā, daughter of the village chief, and set himself down on the seat prepared for him. Then Sujātā offered him a golden bowl full of the sweet pap. And this thought came into the mind of the Bodhisattva:

"When such food has been offered to me by Sujātā, I shall surely this day after partaking thereof attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom". And after partaking of this food the Bodhisattva then spake to Sujātā, daughter of the village chief: "Sister, what is to become of this golden bowl?" And she answered: "It is thine". Then said the Bodhisattva: "I can make no use of such a bowl". Sujātā spake: "Do with it what thou wilt; I give no one food without the dish". (267 : 13; 268 : 6, 18).

When we compare this relief with No. 81, we might suppose that the sculptor has made a mistake. At that point in the text, a meal is spoken of prepared by ten maidens collectively, while on the relief only one dish appears offered by one maiden. Here on the contrary the text mentions specially one bowl, offered by Sujātā, while the relief gives us several dishes in the hands of several women, and still more food is being prepared. It is not easy to find out if this is merely the sculptor's carelessness, or if there is more in this than meets the eye; anyway it is noticeable that our text too shews signs of disorder: the communication that the gods make to Sujātā, in the beginning of our quotation, that the Bodhisattva will break his long fast, is here rather misplaced, for the Bodhisattva has already taken food a few pages earlier and besides, Sujātā was one of the young ladies who provided the meal on which he breakfasted. I can offer no elucidation but merely call attention to this coincidence of irregularity in the text known to us, with what, according to that text, is an inaccuracy on the monument.

We find the Bodhisattva, quite in agreement with the text, on a throne, one that consists of a pedestal with a triangular roof resting on columns, on the left of the relief. Next to that is a roomy pēndāpā, and adjoining that again on the right of the scene a building on which is a heavy roof with an upper-storey, but where the ground-floor is left open to show the persons sitting in it. Inside the pēndāpā in the foreground, next to the Bodhisattva, is a large covered dish placed on a slab on the ground, with steam rising out of the flower-bedecked lid.

Next to that stands Sujātā, offering a round dish to the Bodhisattva; it too has a lid but is not decorated with garlands. He reaches out his right hand to take it. This is surely the golden bowl of the story and the vessel on the ground is probably the new cooking-pot. Behind Sujātā kneel some women, of whom the front one holds a fan and probably used to have an incense-burner now knocked off as well; two others are holding dishes. The background of the pēndāpā is adorned with flags. In the building, on the right, we see first, some more women with a fifth dish and finally in the corner a larger pot on a wood-fire with two women busy over it, one with a large spoon in her hand, the other with a short stick, probably, in agreement with other cooking scenes, a blow pipe to rouse the fire, possibly only something to stir with. Perhaps this is the new pot on the new stove, but what are we to think then about the large dish next to the Bodhisattva? Also at Ajaṇṭā the Sujātā episode ¹⁾ will be found as well as at Paḡān ²⁾.

85. *The Bodhisattva goes to the Nairāñjanā*

Then the Bodhisattva went out of Uruvilvā with that bowl and came in the morning to the river of the nāga's, the river Nairāñjanā, laid that bowl and his monk's dress on the bank and stepped into the river Nairāñjanā to refresh his limbs. (269: 9).

The river is well-supplied with fish, it flows to the right between rocky banks planted with trees; on one side we see a couple of deer, on the other two squirrels. To the left of the river is the Bodhisattva with Sujātā's offering in his right hand. The wooded scenery is continued on the other side, to the left a couple of birds are flying. Four gods are kneeling on this side of the relief, in front of the Bodhisattva and do him homage; on Wilsen's drawing, the second is a nāga but at this moment he has lost his headdress and we have little chance of judging the correctness of the drawing. A nāga would not be out of place beside this nāga river, but on the following relief we find no nāga among the kneeling figures.

86. *The Bodhisattva takes a bath*

And while the Bodhisattva bathed himself, many hundred thousands of the gods sons filled the river with divine aloe-and

¹⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 224 etc.

²⁾ Seldenstücker, *abb.* 63 and p. 49 and 100.

sandalwood-powder and ointments and threw divine flowers of various colors into the water to do honor to the Bodhisattva. At that moment the river Nairañjanā was filled with divine perfume and flowers and where the Bodhisattva had bathed in that sweet-smelling water, there hundred thousand millions of koṭi's of the gods sons scooped up the water and carried it each to his dwelling, there to make a caitya for it and adore it. (269 : 13).

A good part of the lower part of the relief is taken up by the river. On the right, the rocky bank rises steeply up with only an occasional tree ; on this side a pair of snakes push up their heads out of the water, adorned with the traditional jewel, and on the edge is the food-bowl of the Bodhisattva. His clothes are not laid beside it, for the sculptor has decorously kept them on and he is not in the water but appears on a very narrow flat lotus cushion in the middle of the river with, as usual, the tip of his garment in his left hand¹⁾. Left, and separated from him by some trees on the bank, some figures of gods are kneeling on the water, scooping it up with small bowls. Still more to the left, the other river-bank is depicted with bushes growing on it, where are a pair of deer grazing, a tree with a peacock in it and in the corner a rock, in front of which glides a snake. In the river can be seen not only fishes but many flowers floating and still more blossoms and garlands are falling from the sky, dropped by the gods who hover on the clouds with bowls of flowers, one on the right and five on the lefthand ; the two last of this group are evidently inhabitants of the Brahmā-heaven in the dress of earthly ascetics and hermits. The relief is very well-executed but unfortunately some of the heavenly ones are rather damaged. The bathing scene is also to be found in the Serindian art²⁾.

87. *The Bodhisattva accepts a seat from a nāga-maiden*

Now when the Bodhisattva had stepped out of the river, he looked about along the bank desirous to be seated. Then appeared the nāga-maiden of the river Nairañjanā from out of the earth and offered the Bodhisattva a stately seat made of precious stones. (270 : 1).

This relief too has suffered a good deal but is still quite distinct.

¹⁾ The artist at Pagan has taken still less trouble and seats the Bodhisattva simply on his lotus cushion in dhyāna-mudrā without any water, in the scene which the inscription describes as a bath ! See Seidenstücker, abb. 64 and p. 49 and 100 etc.

²⁾ Stein p. 859 and pl. LXXVII (Tun-Huang).

The throne is in the centre, wide, the back carved at the sides with makara-heads; it has a large oblong cushion on it, nothing else. On the right next to it under a tree kneels the nāga-maiden with her hands on the ground in front of her, before her stands the Bodhisattva with the food-bowl in his right and the tip of his garment in the left hand, still on the same flat lotus-cushion of the last relief. The water still ripples round it and in front of the nāgī and the seat; the Bodhisattva has evidently not yet stepped out of the water as the text required him to do, although the rocks next to the cushion shew that he is near the bank. On the left of the seat some more nāgī's are kneeling with flowers in their hands, evidently the servants of the one who provides the seat. The whole background here and behind the throne is decorated with banners.

88. *The Bodhisattva partakes of the rest of the milk-food*

Then the Bodhisattva seated himself and partook of the sweet pap, as much as he desired, for the sake of Sujātā, daughter of the village chief. (270 : 3).

Here we have a striking example of the little that can be expected from the Barabaḍur sculptor's accuracy in details. The throne that plays an important part in the tale, and therefore in this episode has more meaning than the thrones and seats elsewhere, is quite a different one on this relief to the one before, where it was presented. It is much lower, the panel-decoration on the front of the base is gone and the back has a different shape. The Bodhisattva now sits on it, not on the round cushion that was put ready, but on a lotus-cushion. Next on the right is a rocky scene with a lion in his den, a peacock, and the usual trees; on the left on a small pedestal the food bowl, to which the Bodhisattva reaches out his right hand and next to that a vase of flowers; still more to the left kneel three nāga-maidens under the trees. Behind these, the left of the relief is occupied by rocks with an armadillo and trees in which a pair of apes are sitting, in the left hand corner some bamboo-plants. Between these rocks flows the river, well-stocked with fish ¹⁾).

89. *The food-bowl is carried away by Sāgara and then by Çakra*

When he had finished eating he threw that golden food-bowl in

¹⁾ The corresponding relief at Paḡān again gives no adornment in the mise-en-scène, see Seidenstücker, abb. 65 (comp. 66) and p. 49 and 101.

the water without looking at it. And when it was thrown away, Sāgara, the nāga king, respectfully carrying out his thought, took it up and turned towards his dwelling thinking "this is worthy to be honored". Thereupon the thousandeyed Puraṇḍara (Çakra), assuming the form of a garuḍa, tried with the lightning in his beak to take the golden foodbowl from Sāgara, the nāga king, but when he was not able to do that, he begged courteously for it in his own person and carried it away to the heaven of the three and thirty gods, in order to make a caitya for it and adore it. (270:5).

Two consecutive episodes from this tale are represented on the relief ; the throwing away of the bowl and its being handed over to Çakra. The first scene is on the right ; the Bodhisattva still sits on his lotus-cushion on the rocky bank, but his throne has been still more reduced and has a back of the plainest style. He has just thrown away the food-bowl with his right hand into the river flowing past the chair, the precious object is already in the hands of the kneeling Sāgara, who has lost his headdress but unmistakably preserves his identity by his attitude and the company of the two nāga's kneeling behind him. Just behind these two the second scene begins. A pēṇḍāpā quite on the left, enclosed in a palissade ; there inside a female nāga is sitting with two servants ; this will be the nāga dwelling. On the right, outside, is another seat with a row of jewel-pots underneath it that also indicate the domain of the nāga's. On this seat is Sāgara with a servant behind him and the bowl in his hand that he is on the point of handing over to the god sitting opposite, who holds out his hands for it. Behind this god sits also a companion ; no other than Airāvata with his elephant-ears, the trunk-headdress and (indistinct) the angkuṣa. So his master, in accordance with the text, is the god Çakra, already in his own person again to receive the bowl.

90. *The Bodhisattva, on the way to Bodhimaṇḍa, receives grass from Svastika*

After the Bodhisattva had bathed in the river Nairāñjanā and had renewed his strength of body with food, he set forth to the land of sixteen forms, to the foot of the great king of trees, the Tree of Wisdom. And from the river Nairāñjanā to Bodhimaṇḍa, there between, was all cleared by the gods sons of wind and clouds and

sprinkled with perfume and strewn with flowers by the gods sons of the rainclouds. . . . From the river Nairāñjanā to Bodhimaṇḍa, there between, the road was decorated after one model for the distance of a kroṣa by the Kāmāvacara gods sons. On the left and on the right side of this road an altar of seven kinds of precious stones was made to appear, seven tāla's high, and adorned above with jeweled gauze and heavenly umbrellas, banners and pennons etc.

Then the Bodhisattva thought: "On what did the former Tathāgata's¹⁾ who attained the highest and most perfect Wisdom seat themselves"? And he remembered: "On grass that was spread".

Then the Bodhisattva saw on the right side of the road the grass-cutter Svastika, who was cutting grass, green, soft, young, pleasant grass, growing in tufts, bent to the right, like the necks of peacocks, agreeable to the touch as kācilindi-stuff, sweet-smelling, bright and making glad the heart. And when he saw that, the Bodhisattva stepped off the road, went to the place where Svastika was and spake to him with a sweet voice: "Quick, Svastika, give me grass, to-day I am greatly in need thereof; when I have overcome the Evil One with his army, I shall attain the perfect rest-giving Wisdom" And when he heard the gentle and sweet words of the Leader, Svastika rejoiced and was cheerful, full of joy and gladness, he took up a handful of grass, pleasant to the touch, soft, fine and bright, he stood before the Bodhisattva and spoke to him glad of heart. (272: 8; 273: 9, 16; 285: 17; 286: 3; 287: 3, 13).

The first part of this quotation accounts for the presence of the great number of gods on this relief: they are the gods who prepare and adorn the route. We can't suppose them to be anything else, though this scene does not shew them hard at work and there is no sign of the altars with umbrellas etc. spoken of in the text; the further description of the road decoration does not in the least correspond either, so that I have not quoted the whole of the elaborate passage. We do not see any result of the divine labor until the following relief. The important episode for

¹⁾ The word Tathāgata, not yet satisfactorily explained, I leave untranslated. Chalmers came to the conclusion that it means „who has come at the real truth." (*Actes du onzième Congrès intern. des orient. Paris 1897*, p. 150); Kern gives: „the infallible one" (*Gesch. v. h. Buddh. I*, 1882, p. 77); Foucher translates it as „Prédestiné" and compares it with the Greek „Erchomenos" (*A.G.B. II* p. 567).

the moment is the conversation between the Bodhisattva and Svastika. This passage occurs in the text after the homage by Brahmā and Kālīka given on the following relief. Arbitrary alteration seems of course improbable; the sculptor has evidently had a text before him with another sequence, the more likely as we know of another text with the same alteration i.e. the Chinese translation of the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra¹⁾. Nor is the inclusion of the gods in this incident anything original; it is found as well on the Gandhāra-reliefs²⁾, where the Bodhisattva, accompanied by Vajrapāṇi, stands opposite the grass-cutter with his bundle. At Pagān we see, first the Bodhisattva on the road between two gods with banners, and then the offering of the grass by the grass-cutter on the left, but no witnesses³⁾. On the Barabudūr scene we have, on the left, the field shaded by trees and Svastika on his knees; with his right hand he plucks a bundle of grass, the left has a sort of stick, to the end of which the Bodhisattva stretches out his right hand (that is broken off), while he stands holding the tip of his garment with the left hand, on the lotus cushion, in the road that is indicated by a bit of rock with a bush on each side of the cushion. The text is thus deviated from by the Bodhisattva here not leaving the road for the conversation; that Svastika kneels instead of standing as on the Gandhāra-reliefs need not be a divergence but may merely be the result of Svastika not having yet risen from his knees to give his answer. The meaning of the object in his left hand is not clear; it does not look like the bamboo that is used by the natives to beat the grass. The round-shaped little object in the lefthand bottom corner is probably a bird's nest in the grass from which the birds hovering above have flown; by looking carefully another little bird can be seen inside it. The scene between the Bodhisattva and Svastika does not occupy more than a third of the relief; the remaining two thirds is all gods with a background of trees, in four groups: one standing, one kneeling, another standing and then one kneeling. Some carry flowers. There are no attributes to distinguish one sort from another.

91. *The Bodhisattva honored by Brahmā and Kālīka*

During the night in which the Bodhisattva became desirous to attain the Wisdom, in that night the Vaçavartin-named lord of

¹⁾ Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Çākya Buddha* (1875) p. 196 etc.

²⁾ Foucher, *Sikri* pl. 7; A.G.B. I fig. 197 and 198, p. 391 etc.

³⁾ Seidenstücker, *abb. 68 and 69 en p. 50 and 101.*

three thousand great thousands (worlds) Brahmā Sahāpati turned to the brahma-congregation and spake thus: "This, o worthy ones, ye must know. This Bodhisattva, the Great Being, will go forth to Bodhimaṇḍa to conquer the armies of Māra, desiring to attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom. Therefore must ye all, o worthy ones, hasten to honor the Bodhisattva respectfully."

By the radiance that shone from the body of the Bodhisattva the dwelling of the nāga-king Kālīka was illuminated. He rose up accompanied by the female nāga's, and looked out towards the direction of the four winds. There he saw him, resembling the Meru, shining in his own radiance, surrounded by a multitude of gods and ḍānava's, by Brahmā, Indra and yakṣa's, who delighted to honor him and shew him the way. And the nāgaking glad and joyful of mind, honored the best one of the world, fell at his feet and stood humbly before the Monk. Also the nāgamaidens enraptured and joyful, came to do honor to the Monk, strewed flowers, perfume and ointments, and did resound instruments of music. (274 : 16 ; 275 : 9, 14 ; 281 : 9 ; 282 : 9).

What caused the sculptor to unite the homage by Brahmā and that by Kālīka on one relief, is unknown to us ; but the result is that the nāga's only get a very small place in the scene, much less important than the popularity of this episode in the Buddhist world leads us to expect and very much less characteristic than the curious scene on the Gandhāra-reliefs¹⁾ with which Barabaḍur has no other similarity than that Kālīka and his spouse appear on the same scene with some figures of gods, among whom in Gandhāra is Brahmā too, not however as the chief figure in a company but only as one of the two more or less passive gods who accompany the Bodhisattva on the whole of his journey from the Nairāṣṭjanā to Bodhimaṇḍa. Possibly this may account for the appearance of a group of unemployed gods on No. 90 and for the fact that on the relief we are now describing, besides the group with Brahmā, several other gods are to be seen who apparently do nothing but form a sort of guard of honor for the Bodhisattva. According to the passage quoted above, the text also makes mention, though incidentally, of this divine escort. On the relief it quite gives the impression of being the

¹⁾ See A.G.B. I fig. 194—196 p. 384—387, II fig. 400, p. 193. Also given A.M.I. pl. 99.

Bodhisattva's company. He stands, with the right hand in vitarka-mudrā and the tip of his garment in the left, on a lotus cushion ; the suite is on the right, all standing, except a kneeling umbrella-bearer. On the stick of this is attached only the usual pennon, while the umbrella itself for want of space is pushed a bit to the right and in that way gets a curious tend in the handle. On the left, separated from the Bodhisattva by a vase of flowers, kneels Brahmā, to be recognised by his tied-up hair ; he makes a sēmbah and his followers carry flowers. In the background we have here, besides an umbrella, three flagstaves with cakra's and more to the left, many more banners and pennons, possibly brought by the company that comes to do homage, but maybe intended for the road-decoration, mentioned on page 195 ; of this decoration there are more traces in the garlands with pendant lotus-flowers all along the top edge of the relief. On the left, behind the group of Brahmā, the nāga's are sitting ; Kālīka with a company of three, two of them maidens with flowers. The nāga-king himself holds a stick fixed in a knot-shaped pedestal, with a large jewel at the top and the usual pennon fluttering round the staff ¹⁾ ; this is certainly meant for a mark of honor to the Bodhisattva. On the before-mentioned reliefs at Gandhāra the design is quite different ; there the nāga and one spouse rise up from behind the balustrade that is supposed to surround their lake.

92. *Decoration of the Bodhi-trees*

And as the Bodhisattva came near to the Bodhi-tree, eighty thousand Bodhi-trees were decorated by the gods sons and the Bodhisattva's : "While here seated, shall the Bodhisattva attain the Wisdom and become Buddha". At the foot of all these Bodhitrees suitable lion-thrones were placed covered with all kinds of heavenly stuffs ; beneath some a lotus-throne was prepared, under others a perfume-throne and again under others a throne made of various precious stones. The Bodhisattva fell into the meditation called Laṭṭavyūha and as soon as he had attained this Bodhisattva-meditation, he became visible under all the Bodhi-trees, sitting on the lion-throne, his body shewing all the signs and tokens. And every Bodhisattva and gods son thought : "On my lion-throne sits the Bodhisattva and not on another's". (288 : 11, 20).

¹⁾ Entirely wrong in Wilson's drawing, see Pleyte p. 129.

Although this relief very plainly indicates the adornment and honoring of different trees, there is very little else that agrees with the passage in the text. Not because there is nothing to be seen of the various appearances of the Bodhisattva, for that is a later phase of the story to the actual decoration; but because there are no thrones at all depicted to give the spectator any notion of what the decoration is for. In the foreground we see three trees and in the background some more; they are richly decorated with an umbrella, bells and jewels and of course in a stylised design. The three first ones have an incense-burner on each side, and in front of the left and righthand one is a shell filled with flowers, on a pedestal; the middle one has a pot with a lid. On both sides of each tree sits or kneels a god in various attitudes, either making a sēmbah, or with a water jug or bowl in the hand, or looking after the incense-burner. It is noticeable that these figures are alternately male and female, while the text speaks only of gods sons and Bodhisattva's.

93. *The Bodhisattva seated under the Bodhi-tree*

Now the Bodhisattva betook himself with the bundle of grass to the place where the Bodhi-tree stood and walked round it seventimes keeping it on the right, spread out himself an excellent layer of grass with the points inwards and the roots outwards, and set himself thereon with legs crossed, turned to the East, the body upright, holding his memory active and made a firm resolve thus: "May my body wither on this seat, my skin, bones and flesh decay; until I have attained the Wisdom so hard to achieve in many aeons, my body shall not be moved from this chair!"

And while the Bodhisattva was seated at Bodhimaṇḍa, at that time he spread a radiance called the Bodhisattva-stimulation. From out the East, that part of the universe called Vimalā, from the Buddha-field of the Tathāgata Vimalaprabhāsa, came a Bodhisattva, a Great Being called Lalitavyūha, roused by that light, surrounded and followed by Bodhisattva's without number, to Bodhimaṇḍa where the Bodhisattva was, etc. (289: 11, 16; 290: 5, 9).

In a most diffuse description we are told how similar companies of Bodhisattva's gather together from the nine other points of the com-

pass and how they render homage in various superhuman ways. We will not follow the text any further, any more than the sculptor has done, who has lightened his task by just representing Bodhisattva's coming to do honor to the Bodhisattva seated under the Bodhi-tree. We shall merely notice that the Bodhisattva is already sitting and therefore the well-known scene of the spreading of the grass¹⁾ in the Gandhāra art is not here given. In the middle of the relief the Bodhisattva now sits in dhyāna-mudrā on a plain seat, the back ornamented with makara-heads, above which a triangular space is left out for background to the head and halo. On both sides of that space leaves and branches of the tree appear. On the right of the throne is a vessel with high lid on a pedestal, left, a dish of flowers with smoke rising from it. Further, right and left, we see the Bodhisattva's; one standing in front on the right makes a sēmbah, the left one has probably had an incense-stand and fan (now knocked off) and behind, the rest of them is seated, some holding flowers. In the background as well on both sides a staff with pennon and a tree. The woman who puzzled Pleyte (p. 131) is only a mistake in Wilsen's drawing of one of the two standing Bodhisattva's.

94. *Māra's unsuccessful attack*

Then while the Bodhisattva was seated at Bodhimaṇḍa, he thought as follows : "Here in the kingdom of desire, Māra, the Evil One, is lord and ruler; it would not become me to attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom without his knowledge. Let me then provoke Māra, the Evil One".

And Māra, the Evil One, made ready a great army of four weapons, by great strength strong in the battle, fearful of aspect, causing the hair to rise, such as never before were seen or heard of by gods or men, who could alter their faces in many ways and change into other forms a hundred thousand ten thousand koṭi's of ways, their persons surrounded with a hundred thousand serpents twisting round

¹⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 199 p. 393 and 200 p. 397. At Pagan, not less than four reliefs are given to the ascending of the throne on each of which the Bodhisattva holds the grass in his hand; see Seidenstücker, abb. 70—73 and p. 50 and 101 etc. On the following reliefs he is then seated to take the vows.

their arms and legs, and armed with sword, bow and arrows, spear, lance, axe, pike, blowpipe, bat, stick, noose, club, quoit, lightning etc. etc.

All kinds of missiles they hurled at the Bodhisattva, and rocks as big as the Meru, yet when they were thrown on to him, they were changed into pavilions with a roof of flowers. And the masses of fire that they blew out of their eyes, of their snakes and from their breath, these became a circle of fire like an aureole round the Bodhisattva. Swords, bows, arrows, spears etc. as soon as they were hurled, became various garlands of flowers, as it were a tent of flowers ; like fresh flowers strewn upon the ground and like wreaths that were hung up they adorned the Bodhi-tree.

The Bodhisattva spoke in a firm, deep, serious, gentle and sweet voice to Māra, the Evil One: "By thee, o Evil One, the kingdom of desire was acquired by one voluntary sacrifice, but I have offered many million koṭi's of willing sacrifices, arms, legs, eyes, the best limbs cut off and given to those who desired them, houses, riches, grain, couches, garments, pleasure gardens, many times given to those who asked for them, because I strove for the Salvation of all beings". Then said Māra, the Evil One, to the Bodhisattva: "That I have made a sacrifice, willing and unimpeachable in a former life, thou art here my witness; but for thee, here is none as witness even with a single word ; thou art conquered" ! Then said the Bodhisattva : "I appeal to this mother of creatures, O Evil One". And as soon as she was touched by the Bodhisattva, this mighty earth trembled in six manners. Then the goddess of the great earth named Sthāvarā appeared, surrounded by hundred koṭi's of earth-goddesses, and while the whole earth shook, having split the surface near to the Bodhisattva, half of her person rose up, adorned with all her ornaments and bowing to the place where the Bodhisattva was, making a sēmbah, she spoke to him thus : "It is so, great being, it is so as thou hast declared, we all are witnesses thereof". (299 : 19 ; 305 : 4 ; 317 : 6, 15 ; 318 : 1, 20 ; 319 : 3).

Both the two consecutive chief incidents of this episode, the attack

of Māra's army and the appeal to the Earth for witness, are put into one scene on this relief. The Bodhisattva, on whose throne the grass is plainly visible, sits in the middle of the relief in *bhūmisparça-mudrā* and immediately on the left the upper part of a female figure appears out of the ground with a vase in her hand; though not strikingly divine to look at, this can be no other than the earth-goddess. The pose of the hand above-mentioned being assumed beforehand, during the attack, is not unusual; but the appearance of the earth-goddess is a logical conclusion that has very seldom been depicted; for instance on a relief at Cambodia ¹⁾. Behind the Bodhisattva, a round piece is left open; the upper half of which is surrounded by the foliage of the Bodhi-tree, the lower half is outlined by flames as the text describes. The enemies' arrows come on both sides, their points already changed into flowers — just like the Cambodia relief — and above hover more loose flowers, the metamorphosed projectiles. The sides of the relief are filled in with the armies of the Evil One. Above we see, on both sides, a many-armed figure, carried on the shoulder of another figure and holding many and various weapons; the many-armed figure is most unusual at Barabudur. The other warriors have a fearful and warlike aspect, although there is hardly any actually monstrous figure (above, right); they mostly wear swords and shields, but also bits of rock and other weapons and even a blowpipe can be seen. Two are seated on mis-shapen horses; and a hog's head is there too. On the left below is Māra, seated on an elephant — this occurs too on the representations elsewhere as we shall see — in the dress of a god, just shooting off an arrow. Probably the Evil One is put in a second time, he may be the figure in god's dress below on the right, sitting with head on his hand in dejection and surrounded by male and female followers, one of whom stands with both hands on his master's headdress, to put it on or take it off. According to Pleyte (p. 135) this is Māra defeated and though a little previous while the battle still rages, this is not improbable, as there is a corresponding scene at Ajaṇṭā. Also I may call attention to a remarkable detail that proves how the sculptor in famous scenes like this, follows not only the text but some actual tradition as well. I refer to the three small figures that support the throne as atlantes. The text does not mention them and their presence is only to be accounted for by the imitation of a motif known on the continent. The famous vajrāsana of Mahābodhi is supported

¹⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 205 p. 407. According to Foucher (I.I. p. 402) it is one of Māra's daughters. Comp. II p. 628.

by these little figures as well as lions ¹⁾, and the later Buddhist iconography, as appears from a *sādhana*, requires their presence. There is no reason here to trace the history of these supports, we can refer to Foucher's explanation ²⁾; its interest for us is in the proof it gives of the dependance of the Barabudūr sculptors on the traditions of the art of Hindustan, in conjunction with what the text gave them.

We find elsewhere fewer representations of Māra's onslaught than might be expected, that is to say of the attack by itself. The reason is that the artists who were depicting the defeat of the powers of evil, preferred to combine the military attack with the defeat of the allurements of Māra's daughters. These combined scenes will be discussed with the following relief, The attack alone, is found in the Gandhāra-art ³⁾ and in connection therewith in some of the reliefs at Amarāvati ⁴⁾ as well as in the Serindian art ⁵⁾ and in the Chinese caves of Yun-Kang ⁶⁾.

95. *The daughters of Māra attempt to seduce the Bodhisattva*

Then Māra, the Evil One, spake unto his daughters: "Go now, ye maidens, to Bodhimaṇḍa and tempt the Bodhisattva, if he be subject to passion or free therefrom, if he be wise or foolish, blind or quick sighted, faithful to his resolve, weak or strong". Hearing these words these apsaras betook themselves to Bodhimaṇḍa, where the Bodhisattva was, and they came before him and displayed the two and thirty kinds of female allurement. And what are those two and thirty? These following: some veiled the half of their face, others uncovered their firm round breasts, others etc. etc.

But not with all their ten thousand arts of rousing desire could they tempt the Sugata with the mien of a young elephant, Then spake the daughters of Māra these verses unto their father: "The female allurements, father, that have been spread before him, that

¹⁾ Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pl. 13.

²⁾ *Iconographie bouddhique* II (1905) p. 19 etc.

³⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 201 p. 401, fig. 202—204 p. 405; II fig. 306—307 p. 15, fig. 402 p. 197, fig. 403 p. 201, fig. 498 p. 539, fig. 500 p. 545.

⁴⁾ See Burgess pl. 32 (monsters in front of the throne; Māra on the elephant on both sides, the righthand one turns away); same pl. 36 and 38.

⁵⁾ Grünwedel, *Alt buddh. Kultst.* Turk. fig. 383 (A.G.B. II fig. 523 p. 605).

⁶⁾ Chavannes, *Mission*, fig. 228 and p. 311. Single warriors of Māra's army are found at Pagān; compare Huber, *Bull. Ec. franç. d'Extr. Or.* 11 (1911) p. 4. The female figure is depicted on an earlier relief, of the taking seat on the throne, see Seidenstücker *abb.* 74 and p. 82 and 102.

should have bent his heart to passion, not one moment on seeing these was his mind moved; as the king of the mountains he remained firm. (320 : 1 ; 329 : 11 ; 330 : 9, 18).

The Bodhisattva is still sitting in bhūmisparça on a plain seat with makara-back and the tree spread above him ; the grass is not there, he has a lotus cushion again. On both sides, Māra's daughters are displaying their enticements. On the right two are dancing, while as is often the case, an old gentleman dressed like a brahman beats time with a pair of bells; several other women are here standing and kneeling, some of them with similar bells, and one in the corner has some drums to make up the music. On the left, in front, one of the daughters seated, makes a respectful sēmbah ; still more stand behind with flowers in their hands. The Bodhisattva, as behoves him, takes no notice of it all. Quite on the left the defeat of their efforts is being announced ; Māra in ordinary godlike costume sits quite dejected under a tree, his sitting-mat laid on the knees of some of his daughters who kneel there, evidently telling him their tale of disappointment ¹⁾.

As I mentioned by the last relief, the temptation scene is often combined with the attack of Māra's army. Probably representations like that at Amarāvati belong to this same sort, where according to what the Old-Indian art dictated, the throne under the tree is empty and only the footprints of the Master indicate his presence ; what is going on seems quite clear from the female figures next to the throne and the misshapen monsters coming and going in front of it ²⁾. At other places the Bodhisattva himself is depicted but the design remains the same ³⁾. Sarnāth gives the same combination in a rather different form. The example at Ajanṭā is remarkable ⁴⁾ ; while the future Buddha sits in the middle, the upper part of the scene is given up to the attack ; the monsters advance from the left (most of them with heads of animals and faces on the belly) with Māra on his elephant, and they disappear with their master on the right. Below this stands left the Evil One with bow and

¹⁾ My explanation therefore differs from Pleyte's (p. 136); the lefthand group according to him is the giving directions for the temptation. Misled by the drawing he considers the dance to be the retreat of the maidens after their attempts fail. On the photo the dance is quite distinct, and my explanation of the left group is grounded on the very dejected aspect of all the persons, see further p. 209 here below.

²⁾ T.S.W. pl. 98, 67.

³⁾ Burgess, pl. 16, 41, prob. also 31 ; A.G.B. II fig. 508, p. 565. Maidens only on fig. 506 p. 563 ?

⁴⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 209, p. 413, II fig. 507 p. 563 ; A.M. I. pl. 67, 68.

⁵⁾ C.T.I. pl. 51 ; Burgess, Notes pl. 20 ; Griffiths pl. 8 and fig. 64 ; Foucher, Lettre p. 225 ; A.G.B. II fig. 503 p. 555.

arrows, giving instructions to his daughters, and more to the right, they are standing and dancing, but in the righthand corner Māra sits vanquished and dejected on the ground just as at Barabuður, with some of his daughters round him after their defeat. On a South-Indian relief at Ghaṇṭaṭālā ¹⁾ the same scene can be recognised ²⁾; the throne has only a cushion on it and the old tradition is so far followed; but for the rest we see just as at Ajaṇṭā in the upper half, Māra and his troops attacking and retreating, while below on the left, Māra is encouraging his daughters and the dancing is going on on the right. The disheartened figure of Māra is not there, so it is important to notice that Ajaṇṭā and Barabuður in contrast to others, agree in this point. At Pagān only the dance is given ³⁾; in Gandhāra the scene is represented too with Māra and his daughters already present when the Bodhisattva arrives ⁴⁾.

The Bodhisattva's reflections that follow in the text are of course passed over by the sculptor, who at once comes to their conclusion.

96. *The Bodhisattva attains the highest Wisdom*

In the late watch of the night when the day began to break, the Bodhisattva with such lofty comprehension, according to an insight that absorbed in unity of thought and time all that could be known, thought, achieved, seen and contemplated, attained the highest and most perfect Wisdom, and acquired the threefold knowledge.

Thereupon the gods spake : "Strew flowers, o friends, Bhagavān hath attained the Wisdom". Then the gods sons strewed divine flowers over the Tathāgata till a knee-deep layer of the blossoms was formed. (350 : 8, 12; 351 : 3).

The Bodhisattva, now become Buddha, is still seated on a throne with lotus cushion in bhūmisparça-mudrā; the back of it is here lower but still has the makara-ornament, and above like a round niche the tree bends over him. On the ground on both sides is a flowering plant on a pedestal hung with garlands and covered by an umbrella, placed between two shells with flowers, also on pedestals. Right and left sit the gods, some with bowls of flowers in the hand and above in the clouds

¹⁾ Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, Arch. Surv. New Ser. 15 (1894) pl. 28.

²⁾ Hultzsch in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1912 p. 409 etc.

³⁾ Seidenstücker, abb. 78 and p. 55—57, 83 and 102 etc.

⁴⁾ A.G.B. II fig. 401 p. 193.

hover more of them, also with flowers and vases to honor the Buddha with a rain of blossoms.

No special importance need be given to the plants and shells, not mentioned by our text¹⁾; they will be intended merely as ornament to the relief on which the attainment of the Buddha-ship is depicted, the zenith of the Buddha's life. It is in fact very difficult to bring any special distinction into this fact, so unfitted for plastic representation, and to distinguish it from the other scenes of meditation and predication. The Barabudur sculptor had his task made easier by the long chain of previous scenes that enlighten the spectator and prepare him for the climax of the supreme moment; to give an idea of it on one separate and complete relief would be almost impossible. We know in other places of the great difficulty there was in giving any distinctive character to the Abhisambodhana so that as equivalent, Māra's attack, the temptation-scene or the offering of the four bowls was given (here below No. 104). The representation in older Indian art with the empty throne under the Bodhi-tree, cannot of course be compared with that of Barabudur²⁾.

97. *The Buddha honored by the apsaras*

For the first seven days the Tathāgata remained seated in that same Bodhimaṇḍa.

All the Buddha's testified their approval to the Tathāgata who had attained the Wisdom and sent the dharmācāryas, who shaded this whole complex of three thousand great thousands of worlds with many umbrellas made of precious stones.

Then when the Kāmāvacara-apsaras became aware that the Tathāgata, who was seated at Bodhimaṇḍa, had attained the Wisdom, they turned to Bodhimaṇḍa and praised the Tathāgata with these verses: "At the foot of the king of trees, after vanquishing the army of Māra, he sits, unshaken as the Meru, knowing no fear and in silence etc.". (351 : 15 ; 352 : 4 ; 353 : 9, 17).

The text does not say positively that the apsaras went to Bodhi-

¹⁾ In other sources the flowering of plants at the moment of the Sambodhana is specially mentioned (Kern l.i. p. 72).

²⁾ Mahābodhi pl. 8 (A.G.B. I fig. 206) ; Bharhut pl. 30 ; also Sanchi (Foucher P. or. p. 65) and Amarāvati (Burgess pl. 18, 38, 45 etc. ; A.G.B. II fig. 475 p. 391). At Pagan we see the Buddha in bhūmisparśa-mudrā under the Bodhi-tree; Seldenstücker, abb. 80 and p. 55 and 103.

maṇḍa, but that they turned in that direction; the sculptor however has brought them there and they are kneeling on both sides of the scene, the front one on the right with incense-burner and fan, others with flowers and dishes in their hands. Between two vases with a spout and lotuses, sits the Buddha still in the same bhūmisparça-attitude, on his lotus cushion; the throne is again altered, has no back but small pillars on which the makara-heads rest that form the beginning of a sort of garland-like niche over the Buddha's head; the tree projecting over the niche has very little resemblance to the ficus religiosa. The objects floating in the air are very peculiar. First, on each side, five umbrellas; the gifts of the other Buddha's whose number has been reduced to ten in accordance with the ten directions of the wind. Below these on both sides, four large lotus flowers or lotus cushions, according to Pleyte (p. 140) an indication of the other Buddha's; but that seems to suggest more than the spectator can be expected to understand. Better leave the meaning in abeyance as also that of the flower-figures that appear on each side of the tree, consisting of one flower in the centre and four others crosswise round it. It may possibly have some symbolical meaning, but then one unknown to us, as the text says nothing about it. The whole does not look as if it had accidentally got into this shape (no less than the viçvavajra) without signifying anything more than ornament; so I cannot consider it merely a fancy of the Barabudur artist, but think that in the text he used, the umbrella-incident was put more in the foreground than in ours and that the more elaborate edition made mention of other such apparitions.

98. *The gods bathe the Buddha with perfumed water*

Then when the week was past, the Kāmāvacara gods sons took ten thousand vases of perfumed water and came to where the Tathāgata was, also the Rūpāvacara gods sons came with ten thousand vases of perfumed water. When they had come there, they bathed the Bodhi-tree and the Tathāgata with perfumed water.

With thousands of jewel-pots and all kinds of perfumed water did the company of gods bathe the Friend of the world who had attained with tenfold powers the perfection of the virtues; and from all sides ten thousand koṭi's of gods in company of ten thousand apsaras honored him with thousands of instruments of music, in an incomparable way. (369 : 12 ; 376 : 17).

The Buddha in bhūmisparça-mudrā still sits on his throne that again has the makara-ornement ; the tree is now reduced to very small dimensions. The gods stand right and left ; the front one on each side holds up with both hands a vase with a spout to water the Buddha and the tree. A few of the other gods also hold vases, without spouts, and of the ordinary gēndi-shape. Behind the gods, on the extreme right and left, stand some apsaras with flowers and gifts of honor but without any music instruments. In the prose portion from which the first quotation is made, the apsaras are not mentioned at all, the verses of the second passage speak of them, as is seen, but very casually. The two quotations are separated by what follows on the next relief.

99. *The Buddha replies to Samantakusuma*

Then a gods son named Samantakusuma descended among the company and falling at the feet of the Buddha said thus to him, holding his hands in sēmbah : "O Bhagavān, what is the name of the meditation, absorbed in which the Tathāgata remains for seven days without changing the crossed position of his legs?" Then answered the Tathāgata this gods son and said : "Prītyā-hārvyūha, o son of the gods, is called the meditation in which absorbed the Tathāgata remained seven days without changing the crossed position of his legs". Thereupon the gods son Samantakusuma praised the Tathāgata with verses. (370:3).

As it appears above, text and relief in some details are not quite in accord ; so we might expect to see in this scene the homage of various sorts of gods as it is given in the 23rd chapter of the Lalitavistara, though it preceeds in the text the bath of perfumes. We should be all the more inclined to think this because otherwise this whole chapter would be passed over by the sculptor. Still I think we must reject such an explanation because the Buddha on this relief not only is receiving homage, but according to his attitude is occupied in making some declaration to one of the company who evidently shews that he is asking or declaring something. For this reason I believe that the sculptor again follows the usual sequence of the text and gives the question of Samantakusuma after the episode of the perfumes.

The Buddha for the first time has relinquished his bhūmisparça-attitude ; he sits in abhaya-mudrā on his lotus cushion, still on the vajrāsana under the Bodhi-tree ; by way of variety a triangular space

is left out behind his head. On both sides is placed a flowering plant or bouquet on a pedestal, next in the background is an umbrella and after that under some trees sit the gods in various attitudes. The front one on the right is the one with whom by his gesture the Buddha is talking, therefore Samantakusuma.

100. *The Buddha takes a walk and then returns to Bodhimaṇḍa*

In the second week the Tathāgata took a long walk that included the complex of three thousand great thousands of worlds.

In the fourth week he took a short walk for the distance that is between the East and the West sea. (377 : 3, 7).

So as to make clear that the Buddha is taking a walk, but not leaving Bodhimaṇḍa for good, the sculptor has chosen the moment of his return to depict the events of the second or fourth week. The empty throne stands under the tree in the middle of the relief ; a lotus cushion put ready on it, above which is a kind of niche. The throne has here become a real *simhāsana* ; two small lions on four legs support the seat on which are two lions rampant, their heads touching the back of the seat. The Buddha advances from the right, he stands on a lotus cushion, holding the tip of his garment in the left hand and making a gesture of dismissal with the right. The sculptor has considered it beneath his dignity to be alone on his walk, so there is an umbrella-bearer (whose umbrella has a crooked stick for want of space) and a company of gods. Left of the throne is another umbrella and some one sitting on the ground, probably another gods son, who is fanning an incense-burner. The rest of the space on the left is fitted up with woodland scenery ; trees with birds perched therein, and underneath deer couching.

Now in the text follows a repetition of the temptation scene ; three of Māra's daughters, not discouraged by the warning of their father, who considers it a hopeless case, make another attempt to captivate the Buddha. He transforms them into old women, but later on relents at their request and pardons them. This scene is not given on the monument, maybe it was not in the text the sculptor followed, or he did not feel inclined to repeat the incident of No. 95. According to Pleyte (p. 136 and 143) the sculptor did give a combination and No. 95 would be typical for the second temptation scene. His argument is founded mainly on his taking the weatherworn dancers for the maidens changed into old women (relying on Wilsen's drawing), and this comes of course in the second, not in the first temptation scene. The drawing has also led him

astray in another detail : Māra sitting in the left corner seems to be tracing patterns in the sand and this too is only spoken of in the second temptation scene, but in reality there is nothing to be seen of it on the relief. I have already given in No. 95 my explanation of this scene and how it corresponds to the first temptation scene, there quoted.

101. *The nāga-king Mucilinda pays homage to the Buddha*

Now in the fifth week the Tathāgata stayed in the dwelling of the nāga-king Mucilinda. In that week as it was very bad weather, the nāga-king Mucilinda came out of his habitation and wound round the Tathāgata's body seven coils and protected him with his hood: "let no cold winds reach the body of Bhagavān". And from the East came nāga-kings in great number and wound round the body of the Tathāgata seven coils etc. etc. Then when at the end of the week the nāga-kings saw that the bad weather was passed, they unwound their coils from the body of the Tathāgata and after honoring his feet with their heads and walking round him three times with their right side turned towards him, they returned each one to his dwelling. Also the nāga-king Mucilinda honored the feet of the Tathāgata with his head, walked round him three times with his right side turned towards him and entered his dwelling. (379 : 15 ; 380 : 5).

There is no sign on the relief of the principal incident of this episode, that is only possible if the nāga's are represented in serpent form, but on the Barabaḍur they appear only in human shape, merely distinguished from ordinary people by their hood with cobra-heads. The sculptor has made no attempt to do anything more, he omits the protecting of the Buddha and gives only the homage of the serpent-king⁽¹⁾. The Buddha sits in a pēṇḍāpā left on the relief, in vitarka-mudrā on a weather-worn lotus cushion. On the right, still inside the pēṇḍāpā, behind the cushion, appears the head and front legs of an elephant, with a little fellow mounted on it and bending over to

⁽¹⁾ At Amarāvati (T.S.W. pl. 76 ; Burgess pl. 31) the Buddha sits on the coils of the nāga and is shielded by its hood. See also Sarnāth (Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. 1904—5 pl. 30). In the modern Buddhist art Mucilinda is also in serpent-shape, for inst. the Siamese fig. in Frankfurter's „The attitudes of the Buddha", Journ. of the Siam Society 10 (1913) pl. 9 and the Tibetan in Hackin, l.l. pl. 9.

his left, holding his right hand above his head, with a flower in his left. Why this small person and the elephant are put there next to the throne, I can't imagine. Outside the pēndāpā is an incense-burner, behind which Mucilinda is kneeling with his hands on the ground in front of him. Next to him an umbrella is set up, on the right stand his male and female nāga-suite, most of them carrying gifts of honor ; flowers and a vase are distinctly to be seen, but the large object held by the front one is damaged beyond identification.

102. *The Buddha meets with other ascetics*

In the sixth week the Tathāgata went away from the dwelling of Mucilinda to the banyan-tree of the goatherds. Between these two places along the banks of the Nairāñjanā the Tathāgata was seen by caraka's, parivrājaka's, old ṛāvaka's, gautama's, nirgrantha's, ājīvaka's and others who said unto him : "Has the Bhagavān Gautama passed this week of bad weather according to his desire?" Then spoke the Tathāgata these cheerful words: "According to his desire is solitude for the contented one who hath heard the Law and obtained insight ; according to his desire is compassion in the world and devotion to living beings, according to his desire is freedom from passion in the world and victory over sin ; this is according to his greatest desire in this human world". (380 : 10).

There is here nothing to shew that we have returned to the banks of the Nairāñjanā. On a path hewn out of the rock the Buddha stands on his lotus-cushion ; the left hand holds the tip of his garment, the right is raised towards the persons he addresses. Behind him on the right, against a background of foliage, follow the gods who form his escort, the front one holding an umbrella. On the left hand of the relief on a space with trees and low rocks stand four representatives of the ascetics the text mentions, hermits and monks of other sects. Two of them have smooth hair and plain clothing somewhat in the style of brahmans, the front one salutes with flowers in his folded hands ; the second, holding a parasol, wears a beard. On the extreme left are another pair of the hermits who appear on so many reliefs, with hair twisted up in a knot, necklace and loincloth. The front one of these also seems to be giving the flower salute ; the relief is here very much worn-away. Above the Buddha some flowers are falling from the sky.

103. *The merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika approach the Buddha*

In the seventh week the Tathāgata tarried at the foot of the tārāyaṇa-tree. Now at that time there were two brothers from the North named Trapuṣa and Bhallika, wise and skillful merchants, who journeyed with much stuff and many sorts of merchandise from South to North, with a great caravan of five hundred laden wagons. They had two excellent bulls named Sujāta and Kīrti who had no fear of obstacles; and when the other bulls would draw no longer, these two were put in front. Near to the tārāyaṇa, by reason of the enchantments of a goddess who lived in a kṣīrika-wood, all their wagons came to a stand and could go no further. They were seized with fear and wonder: "What can be the reason and what is the hindrance that causes the wagons to stand still upon this level ground?" Then they put in the two bulls Sujāta and Kīrti, but these too could go no further. Then they thought: "Surely there is something ahead of us that causes the bulls to fear, so that even these fail." And the goddess after making herself visible, comforted them saying: "Have no fear," then both bulls drew the wagons to the place where the Tathāgata was. When they saw him there, radiant as the god of fire, they marvelled saying: "Is Brahmā descended to this place, or Ṣakra the king of the gods, Vaiṣravaṇa, Sūrya, Candra or some mountain- or river-god?" The Tathāgata then showed them his russet garments and they said: "It is a wandering monk in russet clothing, we have no cause to fear." Then taking courage they said one to another: "It will be time for the monk to eat. Is there anything?" And others replied: "There is honey cake and peeled sugarcane". And taking the honey cake and peeled sugarcane, they came to the place of the Tathāgata and did homage to his feet with their heads, walked three times round him keeping the right side turned to him, stood aside and spoke: „Bhagavān, receive these alms from us in friendliness to us." (381 : 3, 11, 15, 18, 21; 382 : 4).

It was of course impossible to depict all the various consecutive phases of this whole tale, and the sculptor has chosen the moment when

the merchants, reassured by the goddess, are approaching the Buddha. He sits in dhyāna-mudrā on a throne with makara-ornament and triangular back, from the sides of which as from the tārāyaṇa-tree that projects above it, rays stream out to indicate the shining of the Buddha that made such an impression on the spectators. On the ground on both sides are sitting gods, a group of three and four; the front one on the right has an incense-burner, others have flowers. On the right we see three of the merchants coming, very much damaged, we can only say they are plainly-dressed, without headdress, and have beards; they carry an umbrella. The goddess is under a tree opposite to them, her hand raised; between her and the front merchant, above the ground, is some half-obliterated rock-scenery in which only two birds above, and another below in a nest in the rock, can be distinguished. In the left corner of the relief there is another landscape with rocks and trees and a pair of dilapidated gazelles adorn it ¹).

104. *The four Guardians of the world offer a bowl*

Then thought the Tathāgata: "It would not be right for me to take this with my hands. In what way did former Tathāgata's, who had achieved perfect Wisdom, accept it?". "In a bowl" he remembered. Then, having noticed that it was time for the Tathāgata to partake of food, the four Great Kings came from the four points of the compass with four golden bowls and offered them to the Tathāgata: "Bhagavān, accept these golden bowls out of friendliness to us." But the Tathāgata, considering that these were not suitable for a ṣramaṇa, would not accept them. The same with four silver bowls etc. Then thought the Tathāgata: "In what kind of bowl was it received by the former Tathāgata's, the arhat's who had attained perfect Wisdom?" "In stone bowls" he remembered.

The four Great Kings, each with his followers round him, offered these bowls filled with divine flowers to the Tathāgata. Then he thought: "These four Great Kings, devout and pure, offer me four stone bowls, yet I can not make use of four. If I take one from one of them, the other three would be displeased. Therefore I shall take the four and make them into one." Then the Tathāgata

¹) They are certainly not the two bulls so as Pleyte suggests (p. 146), nor should we expect to see them on the opposite side of the relief to where their masters are standing.

accepted the bowls from the Great Kings Vaiçravaṇa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūdhaka and Virūpākṣa out of friendliness and made them into one, by the power of his friendly disposition. (382 : 15 ; 383 : 5, 18, 21 ; 384 : 10, 15, 20 ; 385 : 3).

On each side of the Buddha who sits in varada-mudrā on a plain throne under the tree, stand two Guardians of the world, each with his stone bowl in the hand ; this is the usual arrangement for this scene also in Gandhāra ¹⁾, where as was mentioned, the offering of the bowls is often substituted for the attainment of the Buddha-ship. There is still more public present, sitting right and left, with some trees in the background. Among the much-damaged group on the left, probably the gods here also present, one strangely enough is holding a fifth bowl. The persons on the right with plain headdress will be the merchants, two of them ready with a dish of food.

105. *The Buddha receives milk food from the merchants*

At that time the herd of cows that belonged to the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika was at a neighboring market-place. At that moment the cows were giving instead of milk, cream of melted butter. The cowherds came to the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika with that cream of melted butter and told them thereof. At that time there was a brahman Çikhaṇḍin, in his former life a kinsman of the merchants, reborn into the brahmā-heaven. He took the form of a brahman and spoke to the merchants these verses : "Formerly ye made the vow : "May the Tathāgata when he has attained the Wisdom, after eating of food offered by us, cause the wheel of the Law to revolve". Now is the vow fulfilled ; the Tathāgata hath attained the Wisdom. Offer him food ; after eating thereof he will cause the wheel of the Law to revolve." After putting together the milk of a thousand cows without leaving anything over and taking from it the finest cream, full of respect they prepared a dish of food. The bowl made of precious stones that bore the name of the moon and held a hundred thousand pala's, was

¹⁾ Foucher, Sikri fig. 13 and A.G.B. I fig. 208 p. 412 and 210 p. 417 ; J.I.A.I.I.I. pl. 14 ; B.A.I. pl. 98. In the cave of Yun-Kang on the contrary they are shewn kneeling, see Chavannes, Mission fig. 227 and p. 311.

filled up to the brim with the food, after being cleaned, purified and made spotless. With honey and this bowl, they came to the foot of the *tārāyaṇa*, to the Master : "Accept and receive this food which we bring thee in devotion, and partake of it." (386 : 3, 11, 22).

Although the Buddha is supposed to be sitting in the same place, his throne has undergone important alterations and now has a very fine and richly-ornemented lowerpart. The tree as well for no apparent reason has been altered ; instead of the ordinary foliage, there appears in the air a large lotus flower turned forwards and surrounded on both sides by flowers and flower branches. Small trees are placed on both sides of the throne, next to which on the right is a very dilapidated ornamental plant on a pedestal ; left, the bowl decorated with flowers and garlands and also on a pedestal, now knocked off. The gods sit on the right, one standing in front with a lotus in his hand ; one of those seated holds a bowl of flowers, another an oblong covered dish. On the other side of the Buddha, who is in *abhaya-mudrā*, are the merchants. The front one is standing, lifting up the dish of milk food with both hands ; two others sit behind him. On both sides the relief is finished off with rocky scenery and trees with some animals, especially birds on the left. The same episode is found at Ajaṇṭā¹⁾ and perhaps too in the Gandhāra art²⁾ where the two merchants stand one on each side of the Buddha, but the identification is not certain.

106. *The gods request the Buddha to reveal the Law*

The great Brahmā with hair high-twisted, lord of ten times three thousand great thousands (worlds) was by the power of the Buddha in his mind aware of what passed in the Tathāgata's mind : that the spirit of Bhagavān, being not cheerful, was inclined towards not revealing the Law. Then he thought : "Let me go myself to the Tathāgata and request him to reveal the Law." Surrounded and followed by sixty eight hundred thousand brāhmaṇa's he betook himself to the place where the Tathāgata was, did homage to his feet and spoke to him with hands held in *sēmbah* : "This world goes completely to ruin, Bhagavān, if the Tathāgata after attaining

¹⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 225, cf. Griffiths, *Paintings* pl. 50.

²⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 192 p. 379 ; A.M.I. pl. 139. See Foucher, A.G.B. I p. 415.

the highest Wisdom, being not cheerful inclines his mind towards not revealing the Law."

Therefore the great Brahmā with hair high-twisted, betook himself to the place where Çakra, king of the gods, was and said unto him: "This well thou shouldst know, Kauçika, the mind of the Tathāgata is inclined (etc. as above). Why should we not go together to the Tathāgata, the arhat who has attained the perfect Wisdom, to request him to reveal the Law?" "It is good, o worthy one." Then Çakra and Brahmā, the earth-gods, the heaven-gods etc. etc. came to the place where the Tathāgata was and placed themselves aside. Çakra, king of the gods, went up to the Tathāgata, bowed before him with hands held in sēmbah and praised him in verses etc.

When the great Brahmā with hair high-twisted and Çakra, king of the gods, became aware that the Tathāgata kept silence, they went away sorrowful and dejected with those gods sons(393 : 20; 394 : 8 ; 396 : 4, 5, 11, 13, 18, 21 ; 397 : 20).

Between two incense-burners is placed the once more plain throne of the Buddha, who sits in dhyāna-mudra. The tree is in the same style of hovering flower-arrangement, and now covered by an umbrella. The gods sit on both sides with trees in the background ; some are making a sēmbah, others hold gifts of honor. None of them has his hair dressed high so as to be Brahmā, nor is Çakra to be identified by the presence of Airāvata in the usual way. It seems to be more a deputation of the gods in a body, not Brahmā or Çakra in particular.

107. *The Buddha agrees to reveal the Law*

Towards the end of the night the great Brahmā with hair high-twisted, caused on all sides of the foot of the tārāyaṇa a divine radiance to shine with matchless colors and going to the place where the Tathāgata was, did homage at his feet with his head, and after throwing his upper-garment over one shoulder and placing his right knee on the ground he bowed to the Tathāgata with hands in sēmbah and spoke these verses unto him : "In former lives didst thou resolve: "When I myself have passed to the other

side, then will I be a helper to others." Now without doubt thou hast passed to the other side, therefore fulfil thy promise, o hero of the truth."

Being then conscious of his own complete knowledge and yielding to the request of the great Brahmā with high-twisted hair, the Tathāgata spoke these verses : "The doors of immortality are open for those who strive ever earnestly after the highest, they enter who are faithful, with no evil in their minds, they hear the Law, the beings of Magadha". And when the great Brahmā with high-twisted hair was aware that the Tathāgata agreed, he did homage to his feet and went away satisfied, cheerful, gay, delighted, full of joy and gladness (398 : 9, 11 ; 399 : 17 ; 400 : 15).

As this relief also depicts a conversation of the Buddha with the gods, among whom no one can be selected as Brahmā, nor is anyone in a kneeling posture such as the text describes for him, we could easily believe that this scene does not represent the above-quoted conversation with Brahmā at all, but for instance the visit of Çakra and Brahmā together, quoted at No. 106, while No. 106 itself would be the first unsuccessful effort of Brahmā alone. In support of this argument we might add, that the text does not mention the fact that Brahmā on his last visit to the tārāyaṇa was accompanied by other gods. There is really something to be said for this and I shall not ignore the possibility of its being correct. But I consider it more reasonable, in spite of the disagreement in various details, to think that when two scenes are allowed for the visit of the gods, we are more likely to find first the unsuccessful attempt and then the successful one, rather than only the two attempts that failed, whereas the most important, where the repeated request is at last successful, should be considered not worth depicting.

The tree has now quite disappeared and is replaced by an umbrella with waving ribbons above the head of the Buddha, who sits on a throne with makara-ornament in vitarka-mudrā. On the right is a large stand, with wreaths or what looks like them, the relief being rather damaged. Left, a vase with lotus-flowers. Then on both sides, again with a background of trees, the figures of the gods; the front one right making a sēmbah, in the left group one or two with flower bowls. On each side of the Buddha two heavenly ones ¹⁾ come flying and flowers are falling down.

¹⁾ At least one of them is a female; so they are not the four Guardians of the world (Pleyte p. 151).

It may be useful to compare the representations of the request of the gods found elsewhere, for it appears that it is not always thought necessary to distinguish Brahmā and Çakra; see for instance the relief of old Indian art at Mahābodhi¹⁾, nor does one of the Gandhāra representations known to us²⁾ indicate the two gods; though another one shews them plainly. The two Gandhāra reliefs are also remarkable in another way: on one, the Buddha sits with the same gesture of the hand as on our No. 107 and the tree is omitted as well; on the other, he has the attitude of dhyāna-mudrā and the tree is there, just as on No. 106. Whether this is mere chance, or if a certain tradition required both phases of this episode to be distinguished in this way, or that perhaps, as Foucher suggests, the Javan sculptors have taken two traditional forms of the same episode, with the idea of making two separate incidents, this I should not venture to decide. It is quite likely that an accepted tradition will have existed in sculpture as well, concerning such an important moment that was depicted already in the oldest Indian art.

108. *The Buddha deliberates to whom he shall reveal the Law (?)*

Then thought the Tathāgata: "To whom first of all shall I reveal the Law?" And he considered: "Rudraka, son of Rāma, is pure and good by nature. . . . Where doth he dwell at the present day?" Then he became conscious that Rudraka had died seven days ago. Also the gods falling at the Tathāgata's feet said: "So it is, Bhagavān, so it is, Sugata; to-day Rudraka, son of Rāma, is dead seven days."

Then thought the Tathāgata: "Ārāḍa Kālāpa too is pure and such a one as would put no hindrance in my way of teaching the Law". And he mused: "Where is he at the present moment?" And while he mused he knew that Ārāḍa had died three days before. Also the Çuddhāvāsakāyika gods told him: "So it is, Bhagavān, so it is, Sugata; to-day Ārāḍa Kālāpa is dead three days."

Then thought the Tathāgata: "The five of the blessed company are pure and good by nature. . . . to them will I first reveal the Law." And he mused: "Where do they live at present, the five of the blessed company?" He looked round the whole world with

¹⁾ Cunningham, pl. 8 (= A.G.B. I fig. 214).

²⁾ Foucher, Sikri fig. 4; A.G.B. I fig. 212, 213, and p. 420—427. That here the gods are standing, does not matter.

clearseeing eyes and saw the five of the blessed company dwelling at Benares, at R̥ṣipatana in the deer park. (402 : 19; 403 : 3, 8, 11, 20 ; 404 : 7, 12, 14).

It seems to me very doubtful if this relief represents the episode of the above-quoted text. Quite to the right, the Buddha is seated on a throne with makara-ornement; an umbrella is there too above his head. He makes a gesture of argument with his right hand. Next to him is a vase with legs, there are lotuses in it and the smoke of perfume rising from it. The uncertainty is about the persons who occupy nearly all the right of the relief, with a background of trees. In the front, nearest to the Buddha, sits a figure in royal or divine costume making a sēmbah, a little further are three men in much the same dress, two of them holding a bowl of flowers. Then come some kneeling figures in plainer clothes with the umbrella and other royal insignia and finally, away on the left, some more persons are sitting very plainly-dressed, some armed with sword and shield. The four front ones might be gods, but the rest of the company look much more like the ordinary royal suite than part of a heavenly crowd. Although we have quoted above a passage that according to the text ought to follow, and which is possibly the one represented, I am much more inclined to think that the sculptor has here followed a deviating text and depicts the visit paid by a king with a distinguished escort and ordinary suite, to the Buddha. This view seems the more probable because we have no explanation for the following relief.

109. *The Buddha on the way to Benares* (?)

Having thus mused, the Tathāgata rose up from Bodhimaṇḍa, and made tremble a complex of three thousand great thousands of worlds; he went forth gradually further through Magadha and came on his journey to the land of Kāṣī. (405 : 1).

As mentioned before, the text says nothing about what this relief represents; at any rate the Buddha has begun his journey to Benares and has not yet encountered the ājīvaka-monk, whom we shall see on the next relief. I have therefore only quoted the few lines of the text that describe the beginning of his journey. The Buddha is coming from the right where some trees cut off the scene; he has the tip of his garment in the left hand and holds out the right. Next to him an umbrella is fixed up, there is a stand fitted with flowers or suchlike,

and on the ground a heap of something that looks too like flowers; on top is a large lotus from which a flame rises. Then we see three persons, not very well-dressed, who are paying homage to the Buddha, the two front ones stand, one with a dish of food and the second (a woman ?) ¹⁾ with a lotus in her hand, the third is kneeling and holds a rather indistinct bowl. Still more to the left, between two trees, is a building on a high foundation, it has a niche with kāmākara-ornament, and a little tower on the middle of the roof looking just like the usual style of small temples. Quite on the left we can see under some trees another group of worshippers sitting with a tray of garlands from which a line of perfume rises, a dish of food and a bowl of flowers. Though the meaning of this scene is hidden from us, I must mention that according to Pleyte (p. 153), this might be the homage of king Bimbisāra, a suggestion I am not able to contradict, but that rests only on the supposition that this prince would not let the Buddha pass by unnoticed.

110. *The meeting with a ājīvaka-monk*

Between Gayā and Bodhimaṇḍa another ājīvaka-monk saw the Tathāgata approaching from afar, and he came to the place where the Tathāgata was and stood aside. Standing there the ājīvaka held pleasant converse with the Tathāgata over various matters and spoke thus: "Thy senses have been wholly subdued to calmness, o worthy Gautama.... By whom hast thou been brahman-scholar?" And when he had spoken, the Tathāgata answered this ājīvaka in a verse: "No teacher have I had, nor does any man exist equal to me; I am the one perfect wise being, calm by nature and free from all corruption", etc.

He said: "Whither goest thou, o worthy Gautama?" The Tathāgata answered: "To Benares shall I go and when I am come to the city of the Kāśi's, I shall set going the wheel of the Law, that never yet has revolved in the world." "That shalt thou do, Gautama." And having so spoken the ājīvaka set forth to the South and the Tathāgata to the North. (405 : 3, 17 ; 406 : 8, 14).

The meeting takes place on a space planted with trees; by putting

¹⁾ This is according to the drawing; it is not distinct on the photograph.

several trees behind and above one another, the sculptor has given some idea of perspective. On the right a hind is couching under a tree with a pair of squirrels climbing in it, on the left we see a bird and two hares. The ājīvaka¹⁾ is coming from the same side accompanied by two colleagues; the first and the third make a sēmbah, the middle one holds up a flower on his open hand. They are not naked, as might have been expected²⁾, but wear a monk's frock reaching to the ankles, a girdle with a clasp in front, an upper-garment, rolled-up like a bandolier over the left shoulder and under the right arm, bangles on the upper arm and the hair brushed up smooth from the forehead and twisted up on top of the head with one lock hanging down. The Buddha, approaching from the right and walking on a lotus cushion, lifts his right hand towards them; he is followed by a god as umbrella-bearer. Notice the ūṛṇā, distinctly worn by two of the ājīvaka's, probably meant as token of their sect.

111. *The Buddha is entertained by the nāga-king Sudarçana*

The Tathāgata was invited at Gayā by the nāga-king Sudarçana to remain and partake of food (406:18).

As we shall see by this and the three following reliefs, the sculptor has not restricted himself to what in the text and the life of the Buddha is most important, but takes the opportunity that occurs to give us some scenes very unimportant in themselves, but suitable for a fine relief. It would make no difference to our knowledge of the life of the Master or the contents of the Lalitavistara, if No. 115 followed direct on No. 110; but we should miss some scenes that are well worth attention on their own account.

The throne offered to the Buddha is very curious; the lotus cushion is laid on an octagonal seat ornamented with lions, the back is plain and above it is a canopy on four columns. The Buddha is seated, the right hand stretched out on the right of the relief, so that there is only room for one nāga umbrella-bearer to stand there. On the other side of the throne are two umbrellas, a pair of pedestals, a vase with lotuses, a pair of large gems and a very indistinct object, that seems to be a sort of dish or flowerstand with incense rising from it. The rest of the relief is all nāga's in two rows, one standing and one

¹⁾ For this sect see Hoernle in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics I p. 259—268.

²⁾ Compare Laufer, *Dokumente der Indischen Kunst* I (1913) p. 6—8.

sitting in the foreground, males to the right, females to the left. Most of them hold a gift, among which besides the usual dishes and flowers we see a conch shell and several gems. One of the nāga's is sitting with his back to the spectator and we can see how the sculptor imagined the snake's hood fastened to the body at the back.

112—114. *The Buddha is received in various cities*

Then the Tathāgata went to Rohitavastu, then to Uruvilvākalpa, then to Aṇāla and then to the city of Sārathi. In all these places the Tathāgata was invited by the heads of families to partake of food and to stay. Thus he came gradually to the banks of the river Ganges (406 : 19).

The Buddha, according to the text, is entertained in four cities and we are given a picture of no less than three receptions. Unrestricted by the text, the sculptor is free to use his own taste in the manner and design of his scene. He gives us three quite distinct reliefs, finely conceived and varying in detail.

112. On this relief the Buddha sits on a plain throne quite to the right under a canopy supported by columns. Near to the left is a pēṇḍāpā decorated with flowers and garlands, in which on a bench a copious meal is set forth, the large ball of rice in the centre with numerous small dishes round it of sambalans and other delicacies. An umbrella is fixed up in the middle of the pēṇḍāpā ; on the other side of it three men are seated, two of them with a dish of food or gifts, maybe money bags and fruit for dessert. Then outside the pēṇḍāpā three women approach, a fourth is kneeling, the front one has a dish with a cake or a wreath, the second an object broken off a stick, perhaps a fly-whisk, the third has a small dish from which something has been knocked off, perhaps a jug. Quite on the left, just to shew it is a city, we see a small building in the simplest style of temple with fly-whisk-ornement on the top.

113. The banquet has not yet begun but the invitation is being given to the Buddha approaching from the right ; he stands on the lotus cushion, while a nāga kneeling further on the right holds an umbrella over him. The hosts are on the other side of the Buddha, separated from him by an incense-burner ; they are two men in handsome clothes accompanied by an umbrella-bearer, the front one kneels with his hands on the ground, the second sits, making a sēmbah. Behind stand two women, one with what looks like a mirror, the other with a fly-whisk. Next we see the throne ready for the Buddha, large and wide, the legs

with small standing lions, and the back with little rampant lions on an elephants head at the sides, on the seat a large cushion with smaller lotus cushion on it, the back of the throne ornamented with arabesques terminating in a makara-head; the canopy spreads above it all, waving with pennons. On the other side of the throne some male and female followers stand and sit; one of the latter holds an incense-burner and fan.

114. This last scene is very simply designed. The Buddha in the centre on an ordinary kind of chair with back, his right hand in vitarka-mudrā; on the left a standard with a perfume homage piled up in a pyramid shape, then the citizens who receive him, men to the right, women to the left, in a standing and a sitting row. Among the men is an umbrella-bearer; the front one sitting holds an incense burner with a handle, the front standing one, a bowl and brush. Several others, especially women¹⁾, have the usual dishes with food, flowers and other gifts.

115. *The Buddha crosses the Ganges*

At that time the mighty river, the Ganges, flowed full to its banks. The Tathāgata went to a boatman to be put across, who said to him: "Give me the fare, Gautama." And with the words: "I have no fare, my good man", the Tathāgata flew through the air from one bank to the other. When the boatman saw this, he was dismayed: "I have not set across a man so worthy to be honored. What a misfortune!" and with these words he fell senseless to the ground. Thereupon the boatman told the same to king Bimbisāra: "The monk Gautama, o lord, said when I asked him for the fare: "I have no fare" and flew from this bank to the other through the air." And hearing that, king Bimbisāra from that moment freed all wandering monks from paying for the ferry boat (407 : 1))

In the middle of the relief we see the river with many fishes and some tortoises in it. On the right bank is a landing-place of stone, where the boatman is sitting holding his right hand to his face, either as a gesture of despair or else for looking across the river better. The boat-hook is next to him pushed into the rocky bank; a second person sits behind him, a third and fourth are coming from the right. The two last have

¹⁾ Pleyte (p. 156) is mistaken in thinking there is a yakṣī present.

beards and one leans on a stick ; they all wear the clothes and hair-dressing of the poorest class. The Buddha has already flown across the river and now stands on the left on his lotus cushion, ready to continue his journey. The edge of the river on that side is planted with trees, it stretches further into the background and gives shelter to a pair of gazelles and pigs, many birds, especially haṃsa's and a couple of fowls. In the river is the boat, made fast with a rope to the forked boat-hook already mentioned, it is a flat boat with simple rudder on both sides of the stern and an awning on four poles for the shade, with another similar boathook laid ready on the top of it.

116. *The Buddha at Benares*

Thus went the Buddha gradually through various lands towards the great city of Benares and when he had dressed himself at break of day he entered the great city of Benares with his bowl and monk's frock to ask for alms. And after passing through the city begging, and having done what he had to do to get food and at last having eaten what he had collected in his bowl, he betook himself to R̥ṣipātana, to the deer park where the five of the blessed company were. (407 : 12).

This is one of the few reliefs that might cause us to suspect that the sculptors worked perhaps more with fixed models than the variety everywhere introduced seems to imply. This relief is remarkably like No. 73 ; both shew us "a mendicant Buddha in a great city", first Rājagṛha, now Benares, and in both cases the composition is exactly the same ; the Buddha or Bodhisattva, coming from the right, stands on a lotus cushion holding the tip of his garment in the left hand and stretching his right towards a woman kneeling before him touching the ground with her hands ; behind her stand a man and woman well-dressed, the first offering a food bowl, further we see several men sitting and then a small building on the left. Only the details vary ; instead of the three spectators in the right hand corner of No. 73, here there is a sitting umbrella-bearer of the Buddha, and the hovering heavenly-ones have disappeared. The woman standing, who holds nothing on No. 73, now has a bowl of food ; the seated figures on No. 73, the king's suite with his insignia, are now a group of citizens seated under the trees. Finally the building differs in style and here looks like a large rice-shed quite in keeping with the well-known stone models, but with a penthouse built on columns at the right, beneath which sits a guard with a beard and a

club. In spite of these certainly not unimportant differences of detail, the composition of the whole is remarkably similar.

117. *The Buddha approaches his five former pupils*

Then the five of the blessed company saw the Tathāgata coming afar off and agreed when they saw him as follows : "Here comes the worthy monk Gautama, the lazy one, the glutton, spoiled by his indolence. Let no one go to meet him or rise when he comes or relieve him of his bowl and monk's frock, or give him food or drink or a footstool, but let us only put ready the remaining seats and all together say : "These seats are left, worthy Gautama, seat thyself if thou wilt". (407 : 17 ; 408 : 1).

We see here again how casually the sculptor treats the details, though the main point is clear ; the Buddha is not holding a bowl, of which he could be relieved and there are no seats, where the five of the blessed company are. But the main thing is all right ; the Buddha is coming from the right on a lotus cushion into the deerpark indicated by a gazelle couched at his foot, his left hand holds the tip of his garment, the right is in vitarka-mudrā. A thick bed of rushes with birds flying above it separates him from that part of the wood where the five are seated on the rocky ground, all dressed in the costume of ascetics or hermits, as we saw them last (on No.77), hair brushed up high and twisted into a loop, beard, necklace and loincloth. They are talking together ; the one nearest to the right is turning to look at the approaching Buddha, but according to their agreement none of them give any sign of salutation.

118. *The five do homage to the Buddha as bhikṣu's*

And the nearer the Tathāgata came to the place where the five of the blessed company were, the more they felt uneasy in their seats and were compelled to stand up. And the nearer the Tathāgata came, the less could the five of the blessed company endure his majesty and radiance, but becoming uneasy in their seats, one rose to meet him, another advanced and relieved him of his bowl and monk's frock, a third offered him a seat, another a footstool and another brought water to wash his feet, saying : "Welcome, worthy Gautama, welcome and seat thyself on the seat

prepared for thee." Thereupon the Tathāgata placed himself upon the seat prepared and the five after discoursing with him on several agreeable and joyful subjects seated themselves apart. There seated, the five of the blessed company spoke to the Tathāgata: "O worthy Gautama, thy senses are wholly subdued to calmness" etc. After these words spake the Tathāgata to the five: "Ye bhikṣu's, address the Tathāgata no more as "worthy one" I am a Buddha, ye bhikṣu's, omniscient and all-seeing" etc.

And when he had spoken, all signs and tokens of false doctrine fell away from them and the threepiece monk's dress and the alms-bowl appeared and their heads were shorn. . . . At the same time the five of the blessed company fell at the feet of the Tathāgata as bhikṣu's, confessed their fault and recognised him as their Master, to love, honor and respect him. (408 : 6, 14 ; 409 : 5, 8, 17, 21).

The Buddha has seated himself on the chair provided for him, with his lotus-cushion in the middle of the relief, his right hand held in vitarka-mudrā, probably discoursing ; streaks of flame all round him indicate the radiance spoken of in the text. Next to him is, left, an incense-burner, right, a stand but what it held is worn-off ; further, on the right, three, and left, two of the five scholars who have already assumed the appearance of Buddhist monks. The front one, right, holds a lotus. Trees in the background indicate the situation ; in the right hand corner sits a hare and two monkeys are sporting in the tree farthest to the left. Under the same tree sit four spectators, some with flowers in their hand ; their headdress has partly disappeared but as far as we can see it was simple in style. Gods or suchlike beings, for instance the Bodhisattva's ¹⁾ present at the first preaching, they are not likely to be, more likely citizens of Benares who have come to look on ; at any rate the text does not mention them. It is worth noting besides that on this relief as well, the almsbowl positively mentioned in the text is omitted ; we might almost think that the Javan bhikṣu's made no use of this article in their outfit.

119. *The pupils bathe the Buddha*

Full of respect they performed in a beautiful pool the ceremony of bathing the Tathāgata. (410 : 1.)

¹⁾ Pleyte (p. 160) considers them to be so.

There is no doubt about this being a lotus-pond, we see lotus plants growing under and near to the lotus-cushion, on which the Buddha is seated in dhyana-mudrā in the middle of the relief, they are to be found too in the background and sprouting up between the various figures. The five bhikṣu's stand on a small eminence, two on the right, three, left. Those next to the Buddha hold up with both hands a waterpot pouring out a stream on to him; one of the others holds the Master's clothes on a tray and the last two, bowls of flowers. In spite of the clothes held ready, the Buddha is of course not naked in the bath but wears his ordinary monk's garment. Some four other persons are present, recognisable as nāga's who belong to the pond, here quite appropriate, though not spoken of in the text. Two stand on the right, a male with an umbrella, a female with lotusflowers; on the left a pair is seated, the nāga holding a perfumestand and the nāgī making a sēmbah.

120. *The first preaching*

After coming out of the bath the Tathāgata bethought himself: "Where did the former Tathāgata's, the arhat's who attained perfect Wisdom, cause the wheel of the Law to revolve?" At the place where the former Tathāgata's had set the wheel of the Law in motion there appeared a thousand thrones made of seven gems. And when the Tathāgata out of respect for the former Tathāgata's had paced round three thrones turning the right side, he seated himself on the fourth like a lion without fear, his legs crossed. And the five bhikṣu's after paying homage to the Buddha's feet with their heads, sat down in front of him.

At that same moment came from the East, South, West and North, from the zenith and the nadir, everywhere from the ten points of the winds many koṭi's of Bodhisattva's who had attained the fulfilment of a former vote, they fell at the feet of the Tathāgata and besought him to set the wheel of the Law in motion. And whatever other gods there were in this complex of three thousand great thousands of worlds, Çakra or Brahmā or the Guardians of the world, or whatever other gods sons, mighty of the mighty, they all fell at the Tathāgata's feet bending their heads and besought him to set the wheel of the Law in motion.

In the first watch of the night, the Tathāgata kept silence, in the second he held an exalting discourse. In the last watch of the night he addressed the five of the blessed company in these words.... (410:3; 413:8; 416:13).

It is of course useless to quote the first preaching that now follows, any more than what in the second part is addressed specially to Maitreya. Besides among the audience on this relief there is none to be distinguished as Maitreya, so the sculptor evidently intends to depict the preaching to the disciples, the first revelation of the new doctrine of salvation for mankind in this world. The Buddha here sits on his lotus-cushion on a richly-ornemented throne, the high back of which terminates in makara-heads resting on small columns. Above his head hovers an umbrella, the only remnant of the decorations put up in the air by the gods, flags, banners etc. mentioned in a passage of the text we have not quoted as it was for the rest unnoticed by the sculptor. (413:4). The right hand has been knocked off, but we can see by the left one which rests on his lap, that the pose of the Buddha has *not* been dharma-cakra-mudrā, and this is strange when the text specially mentions the offering of a "dharmacakra" (415:9 etc.), but in agreement with the Gandhāra tradition.¹⁾ The attitude was probably vitarka-mudrā. Next to the Buddha's throne, on each side, is a stand, on the left with wreaths and a lotus flower, the right one being quite indistinct.

The audience sits on both sides. On the left in the front are the five bhikṣu's, the first one holding a lontar-leaf, and furthest to the left one of the Bodhisattva's and gods, the rest of whom all sit on the right. Some make a sēmbah, a few carry a flower. On clouds in the air heavenly ones come flying from both sides, partly very much damaged, but the front ones are going to pay their homage with a dish of wreaths. Naturally this relief omits the pair of gazelles or the small wheel that on separate representations in the Indian art as well as at Mēndut¹⁾ are thought necessary to indicate that the first preaching at Benares, not any ordinary one, is meant; a distinction not here needed, where this relief is the last of a whole series and cannot be taken for anything but the first sermon.

We may pass over the numerous representations of the first preaching in further Buddhist art, in which the conception is symbolic and the

¹⁾ See Foucher A.G.B. I p. 432. The whole argument (p. 427—435) is very important, also where it has no direct connection with the Barabaḍur representation.

¹⁾ The author's *Inleiding Hindoe-Javaansche kunst* (1923) I p. 318.

Master replaced by cakra, triṣūla or vardhamāna, a peculiarity that made its way even into Gandhāra.¹⁾ But the Buddha himself also appears in Gandhāra²⁾, Amarāvati³⁾, Sarnāth⁴⁾, Magadha⁵⁾, and Serindia⁶⁾; his audience consists sometimes of gods only, other times, the same as at Barabaḍur, there are monks and gods together, very occasionally we find only a couple of bhikṣu's. Naturally in all cases we find the Master in the middle with the seekers after salvation grouped around him.

"Here endeth cī-Lalitavistara, the sūtra of the Mahāyāna, king of jewels"⁷⁾. And with this, as regards Barabaḍur, the life-story of the Master, for it is a remarkable fact, which I shall refer to later on, that nothing more⁸⁾ of the Buddha's further life nor the parinirvāṇa appears on the monument.

¹⁾ Mahābodhi pl. 8 (A.G.B. I fig. 221); Sānchi T.S.W. pl. 29, A.G.B. II fig. 475 p. 391; Gandhāra A.G.B. I fig. 218 p. 431; Amarāvati T.S.W. pl. 71, Burgess pl. 12, 38, 46, 48, A.G.B. II *ibid*.

²⁾ A.M.I. pl. 80, 96, 147; A.G.B. I fig. 220 p. 433; J.I.A.I. pl. 10; B.A.I. fig. 96.

³⁾ Burgess pl. 16. For Ajantā see Foucher, *Lettre* p. 225.

⁴⁾ A.G.B. I fig. 209 p. 413, II fig. 498 p. 539, fig. 507 p. 563; A.M.I. pl. 67 and 68; Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1907 l.i. pl. 4.

⁵⁾ A.G.B. II fig. 500 p. 545.

⁶⁾ Grünwedel, *Altbuddh. Kultst. Turk.* fig. 383 (A.G.B. II fig. 523 p. 605).

⁷⁾ Last words of the text (444 : 18).

⁸⁾ The Avidurenidāna at Pagan ends already with the Saṃbodhi; see Seidenstücker p. 18.

CHAPTER IV

THE AVADĀNA'S AND JĀTAKA'S

PART I

(First gallery, chief wall, lowest series)

Immediately below the life-history of Çākyaṃuni a series of edifying tales begins, avadāna's and jāataka's, stories of great deeds, especially deeds of faith in general, and of the Buddha's former lives in particular; the same kind are also found on the balustrades of the first and second gallery. Here again the spectator is taught to see and consider, how every deed bears its own fruit and how even the Great Being himself was subject to this law; yet at the same time he can observe how through the course of various forms of existence he, who was at last to bring salvation from the eternal circle of life, knew how to prepare himself for this task, by his numberless acts of self-sacrifice as god and king, as laborer and slave, even as animal.

It is obvious that the arrangement of all these tales was not left to the fancy of the sculptors, but followed some actual text, and this was confirmed when the Russian savant S. d'Oldenburg discovered the Jātaka-mālā ¹⁾ in the first third part of the balustrade of the first gallery, top series. We might have expected this to be quickly followed by similar discoveries, but that did not happen, though several of the tales have been identified by various experts (as I shall explain later in treating the different series) and though among them were some for whose identification the same collection of tales could be used, but even in the case of the Avadānaçataka in which eight, or the Divyāvadāna in which three (or perhaps four) were found, the sequence of these tales is quite different to that on the monument. My first work was to examine if we should be

¹⁾ See below, description of this balustrade foll. chapt.

able to find on the Barabuður in one consecutive series the whole or part of a jātaka- or avadāna-collection from the literature known to us.

The result was not successful. There would be no reason to give any relation of this attempt if it were not that by giving account of my researches others may be spared some useless pains. I first examined the two Sanskrit texts which had already been successfully searched for the identifications of some tales, the Divyāvadāna¹⁾ and the Hīnayānistic Avadānaçataka²⁾, both famous and authoritative holy scriptures. The next two I examined are also celebrated documents, Sūtrālaṅkāra³⁾ and Karmaçataka⁴⁾, known to us respectively only from the Chinese and Tibetan translation, thus second hand, a fact that might have brought complications if we had come to compare the text with the actual reliefs, but having only to consider the general contents and specially the sequence of the tales, I am able to state that there was no trace of agreement to be found between the series of the tales in the writings and those on the monument. Nor does anything in the series of reliefs correspond with the sequence in those documents partly reaching back to the Avadānaçataka but remodeled to the Mahāyānistic idea, the Kalpadrumāvadānamālā, Ratnāvadānamālā and Aṣokāvadānamālā, nor either in the also later Dvāviṃṣatyavadānamālā or Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna⁵⁾. The sequence given by Kṣemendra in his Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā was of no use, as it is known that this poem is of later date than Barabuður; in so far it proved useful that it had preserved in a certain tale a point that had been lost elsewhere. The Bhadrakalpāvadānamālā⁶⁾ is of still later date. Two other collections known to us from Tibet threw no light on my researches, neither the so-called Damamuka⁷⁾, nor the collection of 101 jātaka's made known by Ivanovski, of which I shall speak later on (Chapt. VI). It was not likely that we should find the sequence of the jātaka's from the Mahāvastu⁸⁾ on the Barabuður and that too proved useless. This same text

¹⁾ Edition Cowell and Neil (1886).

²⁾ Edition Speyer in *Bibl. Buddhica* III (1906, 1909); trans. Feer in *Annales Musée Guimet* 18 (1891).

³⁾ Trans. by Huber (1908).

⁴⁾ Table of contents by Feer in *Journ. asiat.* 9 : 17 (1901) p. 53—100, 257—384 and 410—486.

⁵⁾ As regards the mutual relations of these avadāna-collections, here of no importance, consult Feer in *Ann. Mus. Guim.* 18 (1891) and the preface of Speyer's Avadānaçataka-edition; literature will be found in last-mentioned ed. on p. XIII seq.

⁶⁾ Oldenburg, *Buddhiska Legendy I*, Bhadrakalpāvadāna, Jātakamālā (1894) p. 10.

⁷⁾ Trans. by Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor* (1843). The name Damamuka is not original.

⁸⁾ Edition Senart (1882—1897); about the jātaka's, compare Barth, *Journ. d. Sav.* 1899 p. 625.

besides the jāataka's spoken of, also gives a list of the former existences of the Buddha ¹⁾. To this the sequence on Barabudur does not correspond in any single detail, and it is the same with similar lists in the Lalitavistara ²⁾, Rāṣṭrapālapariṇchā ³⁾ and in Fa Hien ⁴⁾.

As regards the further tradition of the Southern church there is not much to be said. It was already known that the arrangement of a part of the noted collection of 547 Pāli-jātaka's ⁵⁾ is not followed anywhere; and the smaller collections give us no clue, neither the Nidānakathā nor the Cariyāpiṭaka or the Buddhavaṃsa ⁶⁾. This was proved directly in the case of the two first mentioned collections, from the existing lists of parallels with the (smaller) Jātakamālā, which lists give various tales from the last-mentioned text which has been followed on the Barabudur, in a totally different arrangement in the two Pāli-writings ⁷⁾. Nor do the tales in Buddhaghosa's works correspond to what is found on the Javan monument ⁸⁾. The other jāataka's, distributed in the commentaries on the various books of the canon and elsewhere, could be set aside on account of their being quite separate from each other without forming any connected body and were useless for questions of sequence ⁹⁾.

With the exception of any possible finds among the Tibetan or Chinese writings, our only hope is in the great Jātakamālā of 565 tales that Hodgson met with in Nepal ¹⁰⁾ and that may perhaps appear again. But we must not expect too much from this, for the large number of 565 could not possibly be worked into the space available, seeing that most of the tales of these series of reliefs that have already been identified take up

¹⁾ 191—95 of above edition.

²⁾ Chapt. XIII; p. 164—172 Lefmann's edition.

³⁾ Ed. Finot, Bibl. Buddh. II (1901) p. 21—27.

⁴⁾ On page 105 seq. of Legge's translation (1886).

⁵⁾ Ed. Fausbøll (1877—1897); trans. Cowell (1895—1907 with index 1913).

⁶⁾ Ed. Morris (1882). In a collection of fifty jāataka's (Paññāsa-jātaka) treated of by Feer in Journ. as. 7 : 5 (1875) p. 417—422 nothing appears about the sequence.

⁷⁾ For instance Oldenburg p. 117—119 (trans. Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1893 p. 328—330).

⁸⁾ At least as far as I could consult the tables of contents. That of the Visuddhi-magga by Warren is published in Journ. Pāli Text Soc. 1891—93 p. 76—164, that of a part of the Dhammapada-commentary by Burlingame in Proc. Americ. Acad. of Arts and Science 45 no. 20 (1910).

⁹⁾ The same was the case, as was easy to be seen, with the series of tales describing a special sort of persons, such as Petavatthu, Theragāthā etc., also not followed on the monument. (Compare p. X of Speyer's Preface over the therā- and therī-avadāna's from the Khuddaka Nikāya).

¹⁰⁾ Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet (1874) p. 17 sq.

several panels. Nevertheless it is possible that part of this Jātakamālā has been represented.

Although I was not able to find a text or portion of a text in which the sequence of the tales coincided with that on the monument, the reading of these various jātaka- and avadāna-collections made it possible to identify a tale here and there on the Barabaḍur. With this small result I had to be satisfied for the present; the information gained will be noted in my explanations of the separate series of reliefs. I will here just call attention to the peculiar difficulties that arise at the identification of such tales, when the text followed by the sculptor is not available and in consequence the agreement of the reliefs with the version of the tale known to us can be incomplete.

Take the first tale on the chief wall of the first gallery as an example, the Sudhanakumārāvadāna, which as will appear later on, has been identified, small details excepted, with the help of the Divyāvadāna. Foucher ¹⁾ has very rightly noted at the end of his examination concerning it, that while it has been possible to establish how the famous tale of prince Sudhana has been followed from the text mentioned, the result would have been entirely different if we had been obliged to make use of the version of this same legend that has been preserved in the not less ancient and authentic Mahāvastu ²⁾. In that case we should only have found the explanation for two or three of the reliefs, yet we should have been fully justified — as is now proved by the Divyāvadāna — in identifying the whole story of prince Sudhana from those two or three scenes.

Both the importance and the danger of Foucher's argument is evident. The importance is that it teaches us not to despair of finding the key to the solution of some particular tale depicted on the monument, even when only some of the reliefs coincide with the description in our text, for there is always a good chance that we have really got hold of the right tale, only another version of it. But the great danger is in making us inclined to put faith in very slight resemblances between text and reliefs and to ascribe the deviations to a difference between two versions, while it is quite possible that the tales judged as a whole, differ entirely from one another and only shew resemblance in some slight detail. In such cases it is impossible to gain any certainty of knowing whether we may rejoice over the slight resemblances in expectation of the discovery of another version, or on the contrary, judging by the

¹⁾ Notes d'archéologie bouddhique, Bull. Ec. fr. d'Extr. Or. 9 (1909) p. 18.

²⁾ II 94—115.

much greater difference between the written and the sculptured story, are obliged to ascribe the resemblance to a chance common detail in both tales and look for the main point and real substance elsewhere. For instance we examine the tale following the Sudhanakumāravadāna on this monument, a tale that begins with the exchange of large portraits between the hero and heroine. There is a tale told us by Chavannes from the Chinese Tripiṭaka ¹⁾, in which the two chief persons find each other by means of portraits (here actually images). But with this fact all the resemblance ends; the Chinese story continues to relate that the man later on discovers how the spouse he had obtained in this romantic way was not inclined to be faithful, but he was willing to overlook this when he noticed that even the queen carried on a love-affair with a groom. The monument gives no sign of this story; not the least trace appears to connect it with the reliefs, where, among others, one scene shews the Bodhisattva in the wilderness in the company of a lion and an elephant; nor do the other details coincide. Are we in such a case to say, because of the two reliefs with portraits, that this is the same tale but another version than the one known to us? Or is the incident of the portraits an accidental detail, common to a tale of the Chinese Tripiṭaka and a wholly different one of Barabudūr?

Another very great difficulty for the explanation of the reliefs in such cases, where we have no access to the original text, consists in the often very superficial manner in which the second-hand material we have to work with relates the contents of the stories. If, keeping to the same Sudhanakumāravadāna, the Divyāvadāna was missing, we could still recover the tale to the smallest details by means of the version in the Tibetan Kañjur, that follows the text of the Divyāvadāna. This can be traced because this avadāna happens to be among those translated by Schiefner from the Kañjur ²⁾. Now suppose this tale had not attracted Schiefner's attention and we turned to the table of contents of the Kañjur, then we would find in Csoma's Analyse, under Dulva II p. 390 only ³⁾: „Histoire de Nor-Bzangs, prince royal et de Yid-Hphrog-Ma (ravissant le coeur, en Sanskrit: Manohara), sa maîtresse. Épisode où se trouvent plusieurs descriptions poétiques et des vers ingénieux exprimant la passion: c'est une sorte de roman ou conte de fées." It is self-evident that such a description of contents is of no use and yet it is actually the

¹⁾ Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois I (1910) no. 107 p. 374.

²⁾ Tibetan Tales (1882) p. 44—74.

³⁾ According to the adaptation by Feer, Analyse du Kandjour, Annales Musée Guimet 2 (1881) p. 168.

story we are looking for, on which the twenty scenes following each other on the Barabudur are founded. Who knows what treasures may be hidden under the „plusiers anecdotes” and the „apologues et contes moraux” that are given as contents of the rest of the same portion of the Dulva!

The possibility that the texts used by the sculptors may turn up in due time for our enlightenment as soon as the Tibetan and Chinese writings have been carefully examined, is not much consolation to us because for the moment these tales are not available, even if the version we are in search of is not lost. In such cases we might be inclined to start on our own responsibility and try to explain these very graphic reliefs from their own lifelike action. The way in which one can be deceived by setting to work in this manner is so clearly set forth by Foucher, that I cannot do better than quote the arguments of this expert with which I entirely agree.

He begins by calling attention to the enormous spaces that the sculptors had to fill and continues¹⁾:

„Il leur était matériellement impossible de s'en tenir uniquement aux épisodes pittoresques ou pathétiques, c'est-à-dire aux seuls qui eussent chance d'être aussitôt compris du spectateur et qui fussent capables de réveiller immédiatement chez le fidèle de jadis le souvenir de quelque tradition, chez l'archéologue d'aujourd'hui le rappel de quelque lecture. Tout incident leur est bon, pourvu qu'il se laisse docilement représenter. On peut même se demander si les motifs les plus incolores ne sont pas les meilleurs à leur gré. Ils affectionnent vraiment trop les scènes où tout se passe en visites et en conversations entre des personnages dont les gestes discrets, et tels qu'ils conviennent à des gens de bonne compagnie, ne nous apprennent absolument rien sur la suite des événements. Et si cet abus est à la rigueur excusable, ils n'échappent pas de notre part au reproche d'avoir plus d'une fois esquivé la difficulté en omettant de parti-pris, pour les remplacer par d'insipides réceptions à la cour, des sujets plus dramatiques et par conséquent plus propres à nous faire ressaisir le fil du récit ²⁾).

¹⁾ Same p. 40—42.

²⁾ Il est bien entendu que nous parlons ici au point de vue spécial de l'identification de ces bas-reliefs. Il faut d'autant moins oublier que nous avons affaire à des images de piété que les sculpteurs eux-mêmes s'en sont mieux souvenus. Leur évident parti-pris d'écarter toutes les scènes de violence (sacrifices sanglants, supplices, meurtres, parricide, etc.) que leur offraient leurs sujets se justifie de soi, tout comme leur irréprochable chasteté, par le désir de n'éveiller dans l'âme des fidèles que des impressions calmes et recueillies, en un mot vraiment bouddhiques. C'est à quoi ils avaient parfaitement réussi, et nous sommes assez mal venus à leur en faire un reproche. Ce n'est pas entièrement de leur faute si notre goût occidental, corrompu par une recherche excessive de l'expression et du mouvement, sent davantage la monotonie de ces suites, dont le caractère édifiant reste lettre morte pour nous.

„Non seulement les épisodes caractéristiques sont ainsi noyés sous un flot monotone et terne de tableaux sans mouvement, mais dans chaque tableau même le motif principal est souvent submergé sous une véritable débauche d'accessoires et de détails. La seule excuse des artistes réside ici dans la forme du cadre, trois fois au moins plus large qu'il n'est haut¹⁾. Par suite il n'est pas de grand personnage dont le cortège ne s'aligne pour faire tapisserie, parfois sur plusieurs rangs. Si la présence de ces nombreux comparses est bien conforme aux mœurs javanaises autant qu'indiennes, il va de soi qu'il ne jouent le plus souvent aucun rôle dans l'action : ils se bornent à l'alourdir de leur répétition stéréotypée que rachète tant bien que mal la variété des gestes, toujours traités à main levée. Ce n'est pas tout : les sculpteurs se sont fait une sorte de point d'honneur de ne laisser vide aucune partie de la surface disponible. Pour achever de meubler leur panneau, ils vont jusqu'à remplir le dessous des sièges avec des coffres ou des vases ; dans le haut, ils entassent selon les cas des édifices ou des arbres, naturellement figurés à une échelle réduite ; ou encore des rochers, traités selon la vieille convention indienne ; ou enfin des animaux de toutes sortes, d'ailleurs spirituellement croqués sur le vif, à la seule exception des chevaux, qui sont médiocres²⁾. On se doute que la clarté de l'histoire ne gagne pas grand-chose à cet encombrement, d'autant que rien n'avertit, par exemple, si les animaux y jouent, ou non, un rôle : car le pis est que parfois ils en ont un. Ainsi les oiseaux représentés dans le Çibi-jātaka [Ib 56] ou sur telle scène du Māndhātavadāna [Ib 40] font partie intégrante du récit, tandis que ceux qui s'envolent avec Manoharā [Ib 11] sont de décoration pure. Enfin il ne faut pas oublier que les artistes de Boro-Budur ne se sont nullement interdit les vieux moyens de l'école indienne, juxtaposition de deux ou trois épisodes distincts et répétition d'un personnage dans le même cadre. Aussi peut-il arriver — et la lecture des descriptions de Leemans est particulièrement édifiante sur ce point — qu'au milieu d'un tel fouillis on prenne le change sur les seuls acteurs ou objets dont la présence importe réellement à l'enchaînement des faits.

„Mais le capital et plus sensible défaut de ces bas-reliefs est l'incapacité où sont restés leurs auteurs, malgré leur habileté de main, de créer des figures ayant une individualité caractéristique. Assurément il serait excessif de faire un crime aux artistes de ces îles lointaines de ne pas s'être élevés à un comble d'art qui fut toujours inconnu de l'école

¹⁾ This refers of course only to the reliefs of the chief walls, not or only partially to those of the balustrades.

²⁾ This applies also to the lions.

indienne, et auquel l'art grec lui-même n'a atteint qu'aux meilleures époques: mais le fait est patent. Ils sont capables de représenter des types, non des individus. Ils possèdent un modèle de roi, qui leur sert aussi indistinctement pour les dieux, comme celui de reine pour les déesses, un modèle de moine, qui, à la coiffure près, vaut également pour les Buddha; un modèle d'homme de cour, d'anachorète, de brahmane, de guerrier, etc. Cette maquette unique, ils l'emploient en toute occasion. Elle est susceptible, selon les circonstances, par le jeu des gestes et même des traits du visage, d'exprimer des états d'âme différents: elle ne l'est pas de revêtir une physionomie qui la distingue de ses congénères. C'est ainsi par exemple que, dans une même légende, nous avons vu le même personnage princier s'appeler tour à tour ici Dhana, Sudhana ou Druma, là Rudrāyaṇa, Bimbisāra ou Çikhaṇḍin. A cinq panneaux de distance [Ib 72 et 77], un roi et un moine s'entretiennent pareillement ensemble: rien n'avertit que, dans l'intervalle, ils aient chacun changé de personnalité. Il n'y a pas d'apparence que jadis le pèlerin, qui faisait la pradakṣiṇā de ces galeries, ait pu mettre des noms divers sur des figures aussi semblables sans l'aide du commentaire local de quelque moine cicérone: nous pouvons encore moins, à présent que la tradition locale est complètement éteinte, nous passer d'un commentaire écrit. Il est permis d'affirmer que nous n'identifierons sur les murailles de Boro-Budur que les bas-reliefs dont nous aurons d'abord lu quelque part la légende: et encore l'exemple du Sudhanakumāravadāna nous prouve qu'il faudra que nous l'ayons lue dans le même ouvrage que le sculpteur".

To this consummate argument I can add nothing, being absolutely convinced that every attempt to explain the reliefs which is not founded on a text, is doomed to failure. As therefore no consecutive texts have been found to coincide with these relief series, and as it is useless to try to read them without the help of a text, all we can do for the present is to try as far as possible to account for such separate tales as can be identified among the extensive jātaka- and avadāna-literature that is known to us. There must still remain a good deal of uncertainty especially where differences of more or less importance appear between text and reliefs. This was a part of my work, where it was evident beforehand that the result would prove unsatisfactory. It means so little to solve these small puzzles, while the whole still remains a great mystery. Besides, it becomes such a thankless task to examine the hundreds of tales one by one for the sake of identifying a few but never mastering the whole, when at any time the text followed by the sculptor may be discovered to make the way clear at one stroke

and everything comprehensible. But we can never be sure if this text or texts will ever be recovered and so we are bound, each one for himself, to assist the explanation of the separate tales. Meantime let us not forget that the great importance of these relief series of jātaka's and avadāna's is not so much the fact whether one or another particular tale is represented or if some more or less remain unidentified, but especially the manner in which they are arranged and connected and what their connection and sequence can teach us of the tradition followed by the Barabudur sculptors.

Let us now examine the various series of reliefs separately, beginning with the lowest row of the chief wall in the first gallery.

A connected text of consecutive tales has not been found for the whole or for a part of this series of reliefs. But more than twothirds of the reliefs have been explained by means of the texts of separate tales; tales some four of which are found in the larger collection of the Divyāvadāna, but in such a way that it is certain the Divyāvadāna we know can in no case be the one followed here by the sculptors, not only because no more than four of the 38 tales (not reckoning the smaller tales introduced into these 38) have been discovered, but also because these four do not even follow each other in the text, have a different order of arrangement on the monument and are separated by other tales of which no trace is to be found in the Divyāvadāna. I must here call attention to this fact because the agreement of these four tales in text and reliefs has been used in answering the question to which Mahāyānist sect the Barabudur must be ascribed. When the time comes (in Chapt. XIII) to examine this question I shall explain this more fully, for the present let us notice that it would be of the very greatest importance if a close connection could be established between the monument and the source of the Divyāvadāna, but till now the matter is that only four of the avadāna's have been identified, in a different sequence, other surroundings and above all — as will appear later — partly with rather important divergences.

A review of the literature that is connected with the identification of this series of reliefs will be short and not include more than five names. The first to fix his attention on one of these tales was IJzerman who already in 1886 shewed us that on two of the reliefs (no. 89 and 90) a kinnara-jātaka is depicted¹⁾ and at the same time called attention

¹⁾ Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 5 : 1 (1886) p. 577—579; see also Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Studien*, *Veröffentl. Kön. Mus. f. Völk.* V (1897) p. 92—94.

to a similar kinnara-relief among the fragments of the railing of the stūpa at Bharhut. It proved later that another tale was meant than the one IJzerman thought, but the honor of being the first to notice the presence of a tale about kinnara's, remains with him. It was 1895 before a couple of the longer stories were recognised and that was by S. d'Oldenburg in his *Zamětki o Buddijskom iskusstvė*, translated into Dutch by Kern¹⁾ and into English by Wiener²⁾. With only the help of Wilsen's drawings Oldenburg recognised nos. 3—20 as depicting the 30th tale of the Divyāvadāna, the Sudhanakinnarāvadāna, as he calls it and ascribed no. 108—112 to the story of Maitrakanyaka. This last-mentioned avadāna was subjected to a comprehensive examination by Speyer in 1906³⁾ in which he compared the several versions of this tale, collected resemblances from elsewhere and concluded with some remarks on the meaning and sources of the legend. The text of the Divyāvadāna proved to be only a rhetorical paraphrase of that preserved in the Avadānaçataka no. 36; in neither case do we find exactly the text illustrated by the sculptor. In addition to those already identified by Oldenburg, Speyer could assign no. 107 as also belonging to this tale. In the same year, 1906, there was another attempt made by Huber⁴⁾, by means of the trained cats on no. 80, to trace this and the adjacent reliefs to the tale of Rudrāyaṇa; this attempt, though later proved to be in the right direction, was frustrated at the time by inaccuracies in the drawings, that were the only means at his service.

At last in 1909 great impetus was given to the identification of these reliefs by Foucher who published the results of his travels and investigations in Java⁵⁾. What Foucher achieved is owing greatly to the fact that in contrast to his predecessors (except IJzerman) he was able to examine the reliefs themselves, but there is no doubt that this advantage would have been of little value without his remarkable sagacity. Foucher began by examining the Sudhanakumārāvadāna on no. 1—20 in all particulars (Div. No. 30), recognised in No. 31—50 the Māndhātṛavadāna from Divyāvadāna No. 17 by the help of the version of the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā No. 4, further in No. 56 the Çibi-jātaka

¹⁾ *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 6 : 3 (1907) p. 49—56, now reprinted in *Verspreide Geschriften IV* (1916) p. 226—231.

²⁾ *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 18 (1897) p. 196—201.

³⁾ *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 7 : 5 (1906) p. 181—206.

⁴⁾ Given by Foucher on p. 23 in the article quoted here below note 6.

⁵⁾ *Notes d'archéologie bouddhique*, *Bull. Ec. fr. d'Extr. Or.* 9 (1909) p. 9—43. The same article from which the quotation is taken here above on p. 235.

and in No. 64—88 the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna, as it is found in Divyāvadāna No. 37. He proved that the kinnara-tale of No. 89 and 90 did not coincide, as it was thought, with the Candakinnarajātaka (No. 485) but much more resembled the Bhallāṭiya-jātaka (No. 504) and finally he reexamined No. 106—112 in connection with the Maitrakanyakāvadāna. The work of Foucher in my opinion has laid the foundations on which further research can be built though in a few details I may differ from him.

Let me now give a short review of what is represented on this series. Reliefs 1 to 20 illustrate the Sudhanakumārāvadāna and, with the exception of a few details, quite agree with the version known to us from the Divyāvadāna. The beginning as well as the end are just as in the text mentioned and the sculptor has evidently not used a more elaborate or a shorter one but a version with just the same contents as the Divyāvadāna tale. With reference to the slight variations of text and sculptures I refer to the description of the separate reliefs here below. The story of Sudhana takes a special place as first of the whole series, that agrees with the popularity this tale enjoyed elsewhere ¹⁾.

It is evident that No. 21 begins a new tale, not yet identified, an episode of which has been described on p. 234, being the story of a hero and heroine who find one another by means of their portraits (No. 22 and 23) ²⁾. It looks as if the same tale continues up to No. 30, but of course we can not be certain of this. I call special attention to the more striking reliefs we can pick out from among the usual receptions and court-scenes because these must supply the key for eventual identification. On No. 25 the hero is sitting with a rosary in his hand next to an incense-altar, quite alone in a building enclosed by a palissade, while the rest of the people present on the scene, chiefly a princely retinue, are outside. On the next relief the chief person, to judge by his halo the Bodhisattva, is sitting in a wilderness indicated by rocks and trees, on the banks of a river, opposite a lion and an elephant. A lady of high rank is approaching from the left with her suite; she too wears a halo and is probably a goddess. May be it is the same woman, now with a great retinue, who brings an offering of flowers and incense in a temple on No. 27. The other reliefs are of the ordinary commonplace kind, only to be explained if we know the text, and not always then.

¹⁾ In Tibet it has been the subject of a mysteryplay that is still given; see Waddell, *Lamaism* (1895), p. 551—553.

²⁾ According to Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balinesech-Nederlandsch Woordenboek III* (1901) p. 725, there is also a portrait episode in the *Sipat iman akung*, of which the further contents is unknown to me.

It is rather doubtful if this tale ends on No. 30, that is separated from the reliefs following by a gateway, and a new one begins on No. 31. Foucher, though rather cautiously, ascribes the whole row from 31 to 50 to the *Māndhātṛavadāna* that he identified for certain in the middle scenes of this portion; to account for this he follows for the first scenes the prologue of *Māndhātṛa*'s story that is preserved only in *Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* No. 4¹⁾ and for the other scenes the *Divyāvadāna*. It seems quite natural that after the doorway a new tale should begin with No. 31 and we can easily allow for *Kṣemendra* altering or putting variations into an old tradition, so that we need not be surprised if the reliefs do not exactly correspond with the poem; but all the same we must not close our eyes to the fact that very evident divergence exists. The two first reliefs shew us the exercise of charity, that is not mentioned in the text; this is quite excusable, the same as the visit to a hermitage unknown to the text, on No. 33. But the two scenes given on No. 34, that should represent what happens to king *Upoṣadha* in the hermitage, disagree entirely with the text as will be seen in my explanation that follows. Again, the following scenes shew so little reliable correspondance that I can hardly feel much confidence in the interpretation offered. On No. 35 a child appears and this might of course be the new-born *Māndhātṛa*; so we might be willing to accept No. 36 and 37 as the usual prophecy about the fate of the youthful prince and the no less usual reward for the astrologers, even if all this is not given in the text. But I am at a loss to know how to fit in No. 38; it is quite unmistakeably a visit of *Çakra*, yet there is nothing given of this important event in the *Divyāvadāna*. Finally I am not convinced either that the identification of No. 39 is correct, Foucher here sees the consecration of *Māndhātṛa* as king, and is able to find the "seven jewels" that I cannot discover; so for the present I dare not venture to call it anything but the homage and presenting of gifts to *Māndhātṛa* or some other royal personage. For further details I refer again to my description of the separate reliefs. To conclude, though I am not willing or able to deny that Nos. 31—39 belong to the *Māndhātṛavadāna*, I do not think they are in the least proved to be so, and must in any case declare that if this is really the story of *Māndhātṛa*, the sculptor must have followed a version entirely different to the one known to us²⁾. Not until No. 40 do we come to a part that agrees altogether with the *Divyāvadāna* text, and this continues

¹⁾ *Bibliotheca Indica*, New Series No. 730, p. 123 etc.

²⁾ The versions of the *Kaṇḍj* (*Schiefner, Tibetan Tales* p. 1—20) or *Jātaka* no. 258 throw no light on this. See also *Journ. Buddh. Text Soc.* 2 (1894) 3, p. 15.

up to No. 47, the battle of the asura's. The closing scenes too, in my opinion, are very doubtful. On No. 48 we find a conversation between a king and a brahman and on No. 49 between the (same?) king and an eminent personage, while a third person with a halo, quite on the left, has turned away from them and goes off. The first would depict the moment when Māndhātara inquires, who is actually the conqueror; the second when Çakra turns away from him. Possibly; but who then is the woman seated beside Māndhātara in both scenes? Who is the brahman? Who is the person to whom the king is speaking on No. 49? Must we ascribe all this to a different version? Besides, in the text nothing at all is said about the king of the gods turning away; the catastrophe follows instantaneously when the human king forms the intention of dethroning Çakra. The conclusion I come to is that I cannot positively deny that this is the end of Māndhātara's story, but neither can I accept it to be so without further proof. If the battle on No. 47 was not too strange an ending, I should be inclined to consider No. 48 as the beginning of a new tale.

Whatever we may think of No. 48 and 49, I am not able to agree with Foucher about No. 50. In a space surrounded by a palissade and closed by a gateway, sit a man and woman with some rather damaged object between them, it looks round or shaped like a gem, ornamented at the top and laid on a dish with a foot. According to Foucher, this would be a stūpa containing Māndhātara's remains; I cannot imagine how this can be taken for a stūpa, that is represented everywhere on Barabudur resting on a lotus cushion with a pedestal and covered by a pinnacle, sometimes with an umbrella. Whatever this thing may be¹⁾, it is in my opinion not a stūpa, so cannot be the stūpa of Māndhātara. The tale that now follows is not known to us and we can only guess at the meaning; it is therefore of no use in explaining the curious object on No. 50. On No. 51 we see a king and queen sitting with a small prince; the king holds a small kinnara in his hand and several persons in his suite do the same. Unfortunately we can't tell if they represent living kinnara's or may be intended as playthings for the young prince, which looks rather likely judging by a man sitting among the retinue, holding one of the kinnara figures on the palm of his left hand and touching it with a pointed thing he has in the right hand as if he were working on it. However it may be, these little kinnara figures are remarkable enough to attract our attention, even if they seem to play no further part in the tale. Besides it is impossible to tell if the following scenes belong to the same tale or that

¹⁾ In shape it somewhat resembles that placed in the middle of a temple(?) - building on III 22.

one separate story is told on a single relief, as will prove to be the case on No. 56.

The next-following reliefs too are striking enough for separate notice, on the chance of being recognised. On No. 52 we find first, quite on the right, a man in full-dress, with a sword in his hand, and a woman holding a flower, flying above a rocky landscape with a large water; more to the left we see the same, or another couple, he lying on his side, she sitting next to him, in a cave in the wilderness; quite on the left is a yakṣa on guard with a drawn sword. The next scene is of quite another sort: some men have landed from a ship we see on the left of the relief and are respectfully approaching a woman who stands on the right, they appear to be asking for something, probably help or hospitality. On No. 54 we must be looking at the fulfilment of their wishes: a two-storied house now shelters the sailors who are being feasted, while their hostess is sitting quite on the left surrounded by her women in a separate building. On a panel in the guest-house we see the same flying pair of No. 52; perhaps it is the picture of a former adventure, exposted by the heroine to the view of foreign visitors in order to find her lost partner, an episode well-known to Indian and Javan literature.¹⁾

No. 55 is again of the usual meaningless kind, but No. 56 brings us to something we know of, the Çibi-jātaka identified by Foucher; though we have no Indian Buddhist version to compare with, and can only depend on translations from Chinese or Tibetan versions²⁾, it is quite evident that no other story is depicted than the well-known jātaka of the king of the Çibi's, who to free a dove from the falcon that pursues her, gives an equal quantity of his own flesh, weighed out for the ravenous bird of prey. Nothing appears of the rest of the tale, the appearance of Çakra, king of the gods, who has only assumed the form of a falcon to put the virtuous king to the proof; though the following relief No. 57 probably represents homage being paid to the Çibi monarch.

No. 58, on which a king with a halo, curiously-dressed strangers, a locked box and a jug appear, will probably belong to what follows immediately. On No. 59 we see a king, here also wearing a halo and standing with a lotus flower in his hand next to a altar with a high flame, on the other side of which crouches a wild yakṣa. This is possibly a tale like No. 38 of the Avadānaçataka³⁾, in which a virtuous

¹⁾ See for instance Vreede, *Catalogus Jav. Handschr. Leiden* (1892) p. 203.

²⁾ *Sūtrālaṅkāra* no. 64; *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 120; in the publications mentioned on p. 231.

³⁾ Pag. 213—222 of Speyer's edition. Compare *Avadānakalpalatā* No. 2.

king is put to the proof by Çakra: the king of the gods in the form of a yakṣa causes the monarch to jump into a burning altar. If the sculptor had intended to depict this story, we should certainly expect to see a scene like this on No. 59, on which the king, a flaming altar and the yakṣa appear; the actual spring into the fire is naturally omitted. According to the version of the Avadānaçataka the burning altar changes into a lotus pond and I think it not improbable that this is signified by the lotus flower in the king's hand. There is a similar case in a Jātakamālā-story (No. 4) where a hell appears before the feet of the hero, but when he shews no fear at the sight of it, a lotus rises to carry him away; now we see in the same way on the relief (IBa 17—18) only the hell depicted but in the hand of the chief person is a lotus suggesting what is to follow. No. 60 may then easily agree with my explanation of No. 59, as the usual closing scene to this kind of tale, where Çakra resumes his own form and does honor to the victim. Çakra's identity as we know, is generally indicated by the presence of his follower Airāvata with the elephant tusk in his headdress, elephant ears and with or without the angkuṣa. The follower sitting front in the retinue of the person alluded to in this relief, has lost his headdress altogether and he carries no angkuṣa, but it does not look unlikely that the large elephant ears are there, though I can not be certain about this identification.

A doorway divides this relief from the next one, so that it is probable we shall find there begins a new tale; possibly, as Foucher remarks ¹⁾, a prelude, till now unknown, to the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna that begins with No. 64. Two of the unknown prelude-reliefs are rather insignificant; the middle one No. 62 has quite a romantic character. On the right, a man and woman are sitting on the bank of a river in a wilderness indicated by rocks and trees; on the left a man (the same?) is kneeling before Çakra who is not only plainly to be recognised by Airāvata with elephant ears and headdress, but holds in his right hand his emblem, the double vajra. I refer to the Sambulā-jātaka, No. 519 of the Pāli collection, where a prince and princess appear in the wilderness and Çakra also plays a part, though there is not much resemblance to be found in the details. Only for want of any better explanation and with the greatest caution do I suggest any connection between these reliefs and jātaka 519.

Beginning with No. 64 we can follow the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna from the Divyāvadāna, with the exception of a few deviations of slight importance that are shewn here below and prove in any case that the sculptor

¹⁾ I.I. p. 24.

did not have before him the version that we know of the story. According to Foucher this avadāna goes on till No. 88 and at any rate I can entirely agree with him up to 83. The latter reliefs, if they prove to belong to the story of Rudrāyaṇa, shew that here too the sculptor must have followed a version differing in many ways. What these differences are I shall explain later; though not unimportant, they shew nevertheless enough agreement with the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna to make it appear that we have to do with the same story.

Both reliefs No. 89 and 90 give us the tale of the kinnara's. Foucher has quite rightly observed ¹⁾, that among the various kinnara-tales the Takkāriya-jātaka (No. 481) is not to be taken into consideration, because it plays in a royal garden, where the kinnara's are shut up in a cage, while both reliefs place the scene in a wilderness. The attitude of the persons concerned also excludes the Candakinnara-tale (No. 485) — which IJzerman had thought of — because in that story a king kills the man-kinnara in order to get possession of the woman, while on the monument nothing of that kind appears to be going on between the kinnara people and the king there depicted. The story illustrated can then be no other than the Bhallāṭiya-jātaka (No. 504); therefore by means of that I shall explain them ²⁾.

In the last quarter of this series of reliefs only seven are identified; I shall briefly review the most striking among the rest. The first, No. 91, could easily belong to the story of the kinnara's if the intervening doorway did not make it seem unlikely. On No. 93 we see a king on horseback with a large retinue riding through a forest. No. 95 is very curious; quite on the right are several servants or guards, some with weapons, more to the left is a large party of small figures, probably children, evidently amusing themselves in the water. Three grown-up women stand in the background, two of them with a child in her arms; a fourth person is holding one of the children in the water by the arms as if helping it to come out. Then quite on the left is a child standing alone in the foreground; the water flows past and behind him but not just under his feet and it is difficult to decide if he stands in the water or on the bank. In the first case it would be remarkable, that nobody in the company seems to take any notice of this miracle. Then No. 96 is divided into two by a palissade; on the right, a conversation in a palace with a woman in

¹⁾ p. 35.

²⁾ By way of curiosity I mention the opinion of Axon in *Ind. Antiquary* 10 (1881) p. 291 etc., that the kinnara's (celestial gandharvas) depicted in „the paintings at Börö Boedoe" may be connected with the Sirens!

a halo, on the left eleven similarly-dressed men sitting under a penthouse on which some birds are perched. No. 97 gives a conversation between a king with an armed guard and a nāga on the banks of a lotus pond, that is of course the nāga's dwelling place. Then comes No. 98 with two scenes, first a couple of workmen busy with their craft and then the visit of the same men, still in their working-clothes, to a person of importance. No. 99 too has a romantic style; a monarch with a large company of armed men is on the right, while on the left we see two men in wordly garments, so no ṛṣi's but possibly heavenly beings, flying off through the air. Finally we must notice on the righthand part of No. 102, a woman adorned with a halo, sitting all alone in a wilderness thickset with trees and rocks.

In No. 106—112, the only part that has been identified, we are able to follow the Maitrakanyakāvadāna in the footsteps of Speyer with the oldest known version, that of the Avadānaçataka No. 36, even though the sculptor has not had this same version before him; for the last scene, as Speyer has indicated, we can turn to the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇasūtra and the gāthā's of the Pāli tradition, the latter being also useful in the prose-commentary, to shew how Maitrakanyaka gets away from his travelling-companions. To avoid repetition I refer the reader to the detailed description of these reliefs.

Among the remaining reliefs we may notice No. 114, where a king on horseback with a large retinue rides into a forest; as the monarch has an arrow in his hand and a bow is carried behind him and most of the company carry the same weapons, we may take this for a hunting expedition. With 116 begins a story or an episode in which a number of similarly-dressed men in robes of ceremony, first six, later seven and eight appear; we find them in a group on four consecutive scenes. Otherwise these reliefs are not striking, except No. 119, where a bow is being shot by only one figure; probably this is not a contest but more likely an archery-practice, in which some one is to shew his skill. Finally on No. 120 the whole series closes with the honoring of a stūpa.

The story of prince Sudhana (Divyāvadāna No. 30, p. 435—461)

In the land of Pāñcāla there reigned two kings, one over North-, the other over South-Pāñcāla. The first-named kingdom enjoyed great prosperity, owing to the justice with which the king ruled his subjects, combined with the presence of the nāga Janmacitraka who lived in a lake

near the capital and supplied a regular rain-fall. The condition of South-Pāñcāla was very different indeed, the monarch ruled his people with cruelty and injustice, for which reason no god troubled himself about the water-supply; the inhabitants were forced to leave their dwellings and go to settle in the North. Once when the king of South-Pāñcāla went on a hunting-expedition through the land, he noticed the deserted villages and neglected temples and inquired the cause thereof. After begging to be excused from punishment, his ministers told him the reason; the king promised to rule justly and sought for a means of bringing Janmacitraka to the South. To achieve this the best means was enchantment, so the king made a proclamation that whoever should bring Janmacitraka to South-Pāñcāla would receive a basket of gold. At this a snake-charmer appeared who undertook the task and after taking a look round the lake, declared he would be able by his enchantments to capture the nāga in seven days. Meanwhile Janmacitraka became aware of what was going on and believing that he would not be able to withstand the enchantments, sought the help of a hunter named Halaka, who found a living along the banks of the lake. They agreed that the hunter should hide himself and let fly an arrow at the enchanter when he began with his magic, but should not kill him until he had forced him to destroy the enchantment. Thus it happened. The nāga after the death of his decoyer rose up out of the lake, embraced his rescuer and invited him to visit his parents. Of course the nāga-parents received him with delight and the hunter returned loaded with gifts. Not far from the lake was the hermitage of a ṛṣi, to whom the hunter told what had happened, and who advised him, instead of the jewels, to ask for the never-failing lasso that was in the possession of the nāga's. This was done at once, the hunter returned to the nāga-dwelling, received the lasso from his friend, and returned home joyfully.

After relating with some fulness of detail the birth and youth of Sudhana, the crown-prince of North-Pāñcāla, the text returns to the hunter Halaka and tells how in pursuit of his calling he came to the foot of a mountain, where a ṛṣi lived beside a great lake; the ṛṣi told him that Manoharā, the daughter of the kinnara-king, often came with her women to bathe in the lake. The hunter determined to try and capture her, and with the help of the magic lasso he succeeded without much trouble, while her attendants flew away terrified. So as to save her life, she submitted to her fate and offered him the jewel from her forehead that would give him power over her person. At that same moment appeared prince Sudhana with his hunting-party and the hunter, fearing that his lovely

prisoner would be taken from him, thought it better to offer her to the prince. As soon as the prince set eyes on the young beauty his heart was consumed with love and he returned to the court enraptured, where the young couple were married and spent their days happily.

Meantime two brahmans had appeared in the city, one of whom applied to the king who made him purohita, while the other attached himself to the crown prince. This brahman persuaded the prince to promise to make him his purohita when he should ascend the throne; this came to the ears of the other brahman who, in order to keep his position, sought means to get the prince put out of the way. He therefore advised the king to send the prince to quell a dangerous rebellion, against which seven expeditions had already failed. Sudhana then set out, but he went first to his mother, gave her the precious gem from Manoharā's forehead and begged her to take care of his wife. While he was seated under a tree, not far from the rebellious country, he unexpectedly received help from an army of yakṣa's, sent to him by the yakṣa-king under the command of his general Pāñcika. In this way he managed easily to crush the rebellion and hastened to prepare for the return journey. That same night the king dreamed a dream that filled him with anxiety, which he asked the brahman to interpret. Although the purohita knew well that the meaning was only that the prince had been successful, he told the king that the dream predicted evil, which could only be averted by a solemn ceremonial sacrifice, and that the victim must be a kinnarī. At first the king would not hear of Manoharā being offered up, but at last he yielded. The intended victim came to hear of her fate; she fled to her mother-in-law and begged her to save her. The queen found no other way of rescue than to give back the magic jewel so that Manoharā could take flight through the air. In order to make that her husband would find her, Manoharā first went to the ṛṣi near whose dwelling she had been captured; there she handed him a signet-ring to give to Sudhana when he should try to trace her, and told him the way to the land of the kinnara's.

After paying his respects to his father and presenting the treasures of the conquered enemy, Sudhana hastened to his palace to see his beloved Manoharā. Here, to his horror, he heard what had happened; he then went to his mother who told him the truth of the matter. Now life was nothing to him without his beloved, so he began to search for her everywhere, until it occurred to him to inquire of Halaka in what way he had met with her. Halaka directed him to the ṛṣi by the lake, and although the king tried to prevent the prince from getting away by setting guards on the walls of the city, he managed to escape and reach the ṛṣi's dwell-

ing. With the help of the ring, and following the directions given by Manoharā, he reached the kingdom of the kinnara's after long travelling. At some distance from the capital he saw a number of kinnarī's fetching water and was told it was for the bath of the king's daughter Manoharā who could not get rid of the human smell. To announce his presence, he threw the ring into one of the waterjugs; so it was recognised by Manoharā in her bath and she at once questioned her servant whether any man had been seen outside the city. Sudhana was then secretly brought into the palace and Manoharā went to her father, king Druma, to find out what he would do with Sudhana. At first the king threatened to have him chopped into pieces, but soon changed his mind and became friendly; he received the prince graciously but all the same required him to give some proofs of his ability. The prince brilliantly proved his skill in the use of the bow and then he was required to pick out his beloved from a number of kinnarī's who exactly resembled her. Needless to say he selected the right one. There was now nothing in the way of the young couple's happiness, and they passed their days pleasantly at the court of king Druma. After a while the prince began to long for his own country, and gaining the consent of Druma to depart, they returned to Pāñcāla where they were received with rejoicing. Sudhana was enthroned king by his father and lived in great happiness with his beloved Manoharā, not forgetting to shew by charity and virtue, that he understood how human happiness depends only on the virtuous conduct of former lives.

1. *King and court of prosperous North-Pāñcāla*

Although Foucher ¹⁾ rightly observes that what is represented does not itself indicate if we have before us the king of the North in all his glory, or the king of the South consulting his ministers about the unhappy state of his country, I think there is reason to fix on the first being the case. As the text begins with the account of the Northern kingdom, it is probable that the sculptor does the same, besides the consultation of the Southern king must come after his journey through the land that we find on the next relief, and not before it. Any special striking event is certainly not depicted. In the middle of the scene sits the king with his right leg in the sling and the queen holding a lotus-bud, on a large couch with a back, in a pēndāpā. Under the couch are two boxes and a dish filled with flowers; on the right two handmaidens are sitting on the ground, a third stands. The right-hand side of the relief is a palace-building; it has a vase-shaped top and is ornamented with a banner and

¹⁾ p. 12.

a shell filled with flowers in the niche facing the spectator. A wing, where the entrance may be, is on the left, turned towards the pēndāpā. On the left of the pēndāpā is grouped the royal retinue, among whom are the military guard armed with swords. In the background are the usual royal emblems, umbrella, feather-fan, leaf-fan, and right in the corner is a tree with a couple of squirrels at play.

2. *The king of South-Pāñcāla journeying through his kingdom*

Quite to the right is the traditional woody wilderness represented, rocks, trees with birds and a pair of deer. The king's procession is coming from the right and here also trees indicate the forest. No sign is to be seen of it being a hunting-party. The king is mounted on a horse with his legs drawn up till the soles of his feet rest on the saddle. The umbrella-bearer walks just behind him; the rest of his company, some with weapons, are on foot, in front as well as behind the king. The foremost and the very last person do not belong to the royal retinue, but can be recognised by their plain dress and the absence of headdress as villagers probably commandeered to shew the way. The one behind has some indistinct object under his arm with two long points or teeth to it, the front one looks rather like a brahman with his carefully trimmed beard and hair brushed back and twisted up; he leans with the left hand on a stick and holds up a square knife in the right. To cut a path through the forest even now is quite an ordinary thing, but perhaps the sculptor intended in this to call attention to the poor and neglected state of the country. However it may be, the meaning of the whole scene is quite clear and cannot be anything else than the journey of the king of the South through his deserted land.

3. *The enchantment and rescue of Janmacitraka*

Three consecutive incidents are put together on this one relief, the middle one occupying the most space with the other two treated as subordinate episodes. The scene on the right, the first one, shews two persons against a background of trees; one plainly-dressed, sitting on a slope, has an arrow in his hand and a bow next to him, the other, a nāga evidently by the cobra's in his headdress, is kneeling before him in supplication, his hands raised in a sēmbah. This will be the moment that Janmacitraka asks help of Halaka.

The middle scene is the enchantment. In a lake profusely decorated with lotuses and surrounded by trees, the upper part of a nāga appears, the right hand pressed to his forehead, evidently forced by the enchant-

ments against his will. On the left an altar is erected, where on a stone pedestal great flames are rising up from the piled-up blocks of wood; behind that, quite to the left, the magician sits against the rocks, in a loin-cloth, moustache and beard and his hair brushed back smooth and twisted up at the back of his head. His arts are to be annihilated, for Halaka stands behind a tree, ready with his bow in one hand and the arrow in the other.

The small scene on the extreme left presents difficulties. On a couch with a back, and a couple of boxes under it, is seated a man in the dress of the upperclass under a canopy supported by columns; to the right on the ground, conversing with him, is a person, the very image of the snake-charmer; he can hardly be taken for anyone else. The most likely explanation would be that the magician after the attempt comes to inform his employer that it has failed. This is however contrary to the text, where it is expressly stated that the enchanter gets killed by Halaka. Another explanation is suggested ¹⁾, namely that this may be the moment when the snake-charmer receives his instructions. The strange thing is that a scene which must happen before the middle one should be represented after it. This might be necessary for the composition of the scene, that required the large centre picture to be flanked with the two less-important episodes even at the cost of their proper sequence. We might also think that the sculptor was only concerned about the middle scene and added the accessory episode as explanation of the events happening to the chief persons; on the right to Halaka and Janmacitraka who are on the right, on the left, to the snake-charmer seated left. Such explanations are not quite satisfactory, considering the precision shewn elsewhere on the monument with regard to the sequence of events. We had better leave a loophole for the possibility that the adventure did not end fatally in the version of the tale here used by the sculptor, and that in contrast to the Divyāvadāna text the magician lived to tell his tale.

4. *Halaka entertained by the nāga's*

The sculptor here too seems to have allowed himself a little freedom. Two groups are depicted on the relief; these are not consecutive, but in my opinion intended to represent events happening at the same time. On the righthand a nāga couple are seated on a couch under a canopy, undoubtedly Janmacitraka's parents; the father holds up his right hand, evidently talking to the nearest of the two nāga's sitting in front of him,

¹⁾ Foucher p. 13.

the first one making a *sēmbah*, the one behind holding an indistinct bowl. It is very possible that the front one is the rescued Janmacitraka himself, telling his father what has happened, rather than only a servant receiving orders for the entertainment of Halaka. The group on the left gives us the actual banquet; two *nāga*'s kneel in front of a small, richly-decorated *pēndāpā* in which the guest sits leaning at ease; one holds with both hands a large dish of wreaths (or cakes), the other has a bowl probably containing the jewels spoken of in the text. The guest of honor reaches out his hand to receive the gifts. So far it is all right. The queer part, to begin with, is the fine clothing of the guest, more suitable for a prince than a hunter. We might overcome this difficulty by thinking that among other presents the grateful parents had given a splendid costume which the hunter had put on immediately. But this will not do away with the second inexplicable mystery; the presence, to the extreme left behind the *pēndāpā*, of a second handsomely-dressed man (no *nāga*) who sits there with a blue lotus in his hand.

Considering the progress of the story, it is really quite certain that here the entertainment of Halaka and nothing else is depicted, and the second man is impossible to account for from the text. In my opinion this peculiarity gives us an insight into the Barabudur sculptor's manner of working and we again have an instance, such as I have already noticed, as regards the composition of the scenes. I mean this: it is not that the sculptor, knowing the whole story, has depicted from it this actual scene of the reception of the hunter Halaka by the parents of Janmacitraka, but the man whose work it was to carve this relief, received instructions to make a picture on that relief of a man being received by a *nāga* king and queen. This he did, the receiving *nāga*'s, the attendants, the guest, all came into suitable places on the scene; the guest of course was dressed for the occasion and naturally had his own attendant with him. Whether the scene in this way quite coincided with the story, was not much considered. I believe that in this case we have an indication of the manner in which the reliefs were executed by artists, who received instructions to design a certain kind of scene, but who did not think much about the story as a whole, perhaps even did not know all the details. Notice that there is no sign of the lasso.

5. *The hunter captures Manoharā*

In the midst of some fruit-trees, right of the scene, sits the *ṛṣi* with his waterjug near him; he is extremely thin (one can count his ribs), wears nothing but a loin-apron, an indistinct necklace and his hair in *ṛṣi*-fashion

twisted up in a large knot on top of his head, not plaited in the well-known loops as we continually see the ordinary ascetics wear it. On the left against the trees sits the hunter, here again in the ordinary clothes belonging to his despised caste; in the left hand he probably held the lasso now disappeared (the coils of it are just visible) with which he has captured Manoharā. She stands on the edge of the lake more to the left, and above her attendants are flying away through the air. The princess as well as her retinue are shewn in ordinary human form, quite becomingly, for it would be very unsuitable to unite Sudhana to a spouse in the traditional shape of the kinnara's with a bird's body and make his love for her seem abnormal — besides the text, as far as we can judge, means to represent them in the shape of human beings. The last of the flying kinnari's turns to look at her captured mistress; the right hand is raised, perhaps a gesture of despair, but not very effective. Quite on the left of the relief some rocks with trees, birds and wild beasts shew the mountainous scenery of the drama.

6. *Manoharā is given to prince Sudhana*

The real action of the scene takes place on the left, while most of the remaining space is taken up by the prince's retinue. The left hand group, the actors, consists of four persons; Manoharā is quite in the corner, the prince more to the right, his right hand outstretched towards two men plainly-dressed, sitting on the ground under a tree between him and the kinnari; one of them makes a sēmbah and the other seems to be holding a large round object with a wide edge. They are rather indistinct, but there are certainly two of them and that is one more than we should have expected. The hunter is in the right place, his presence is a matter of course, but who the other person is, we can only guess at. Foucher's suggestion ¹⁾ seems rather unsatisfactory; he thinks it might be the same hunter twice represented, first when he makes the offer and then when he receives his reward. Judging by what the Barabudur sculptors have done everywhere else in designing their scenes, I feel sure that such kind of combination is quite contrary to their usual custom. If they had intended to depict the offer as well as the reward, they would surely have made two groups, each with a prince and a hunter, and never so stupidly confronted one prince with a two-fold hunter. In my opinion, nothing else can possibly be meant than *one* scene, in which another man

¹⁾ l.l. p. 14.

as well as the hunter appears. The one making the *sēmbah* is of course Halaka; might not the other be a servant of the prince with the reward in his hand, whatever it may be, perhaps a basket of valuables? It does not seem unlikely that it was intended to *shew* an actual reward given to the hunter, because it was not possible to depict the gift spoken of by the text, a present of five villages. Behind the prince to the right sit part of his retinue, among whom the umbrella-bearer, while the rest are shewn standing, more to the right. Most of them are armed with sword and shield, a suitable royal guard, but not what is usually taken on a hunting party, where the attendants are always seen with bow and arrows. Trees in the background indicate that the scene is still in a forest.

7. *The purohita advises the king to send the prince out on a fighting-expedition*

In a small *pēndāpā*, on a throne with a back to it, the king sits in the middle of the relief; his retinue, with all the insignia of royalty, are placed on the left. The king turns towards the purohita who is seated, slightly raised, and makes a *sēmbah* to the king. The purohita has of course the ordinary appearance of a brahman, but a very distinguished one, with a rosette on his forehead, an ornamented band round his hair, earrings and bracelets, such as we might expect the court-chaplain to be. Behind him, against a background of a few trees, are several armed guards, part of the king's attendants. This is again one of the pictures impossible to explain without knowledge of the text that was followed, and that nevertheless in spite of the quite ordinary situation it gives, is of great importance to the course of the tale.

8. *Sudhana takes leave of his mother*

The two chief persons are sitting in a pavilion, the queen on a large cushion placed on a dais, the prince on the floor opposite her. He makes a *sēmbah* while he asks her to take care of his beloved wife. The pavilion is left on the relief so that there is only room for a couple of the queen's women, one standing with a fly-whisk and one crouching with a tray. Most of the relief is taken up by the retinue seated behind the prince; four standing, two of them holding a flower, and a whole row sitting, soldiers armed with sword and shield and the bearers of the royal insignia. The same as on No. 6 we can remark how large a space is given to these puppets, compared to the actors of the scene pushed away to the left of the stage.

9. *Sudhana receives help from the yaksa's*

In the forest and, as the text requires, at the foot of a tree, sits the prince on a slight eminence with a cushion on it; behind him on the left of the relief are some attendants of the ordinary kind, no sign of any soldiers: no-one would ever imagine this to be a military expedition if it were not stated in the text. On the right, opposite to him, are first five yakṣa's with the usual wild eyes, rough curly hair and large round earrings; only one wears a beard; they therefore belong to the so-called rākṣasa type. The front one, as spokesman making a sēmbah to the prince, is of course Pāñcika. Behind these yakṣa's some persons sit with bundles and trays and in the background there is a row of them standing, the front one of whom is carrying on a tray a tiara and other adornments, the others a quiver and other weapons and the last holding with both hands a box on his shoulder. Only this last one is undoubtedly a yakṣa by the hairdressing, the others have, as far as we can see, the ordinary human coiffure. Their position makes it unlikely that they belong to Sudhana's company, but either they are servants of the yakṣa's, bringing suitable gifts — quite in keeping when one of them is represented as a yakṣa — or the sculptor has thought fitting to indicate the successful end of the expedition so that these might be the rebels bringing in the tribute. If the latter is the case then the whole scene would not positively be the offering of assistance by the yakṣa's, but might be their departure after the completion of their task. In any case this relief shews the help given by the yakṣa's in Sudhana's campaign.

10. *The king is advised to sacrifice the kinnarī*

To bring a little variety into a scene that would otherwise be too much like No. 7, the sculptor has unfortunately replaced the single purohita mentioned in the text by a group of six brahmans. The pavilion, in which the king and queen and two attendants are seated, is placed quite on the left. Under their seat is a waterjug and a servant. The king is making a gesture with the left hand that looks more like one of hesitation than protest against what he hears ¹⁾. The queen on the contrary is quite upset and being supported by her women. To the right of the pavilion is the group of six brahmans, the advisers, three sitting and three standing. The first one sitting is evidently by the gesture of his hand the spokesman, so he must be the chaplain; the others, one making a sēmbah

¹⁾ Foucher p. 15.

and two more holding flowers, respectfully await the king's decision. Separated from this group by a tree, the guard is sitting on the right, armed with swords and shields, while the royal insignia are fixed up in the background.

11. *Manoharā's flight*

The palace, from which the flight takes place, is on the right. It is in the usual style and has a vestibule on the left with steps to the ground. In front on the entrance Manoharā is already on the wing, against a background of clouds; two other clouds can be seen higher up. Some birds fly after her and flowers are dropping to the earth. On the left we see the spectators, some shew astonishment but most of them take no notice of the princess's flight; they are in a row both sitting and standing; the front one has a dish filled with wreaths next to him, some are armed with swords, one holds a flower, most of them have nothing. They are probably courtiers and guards; at any rate neither the king nor the purohita are present, which is rather strange for the text tells how the king saw his daughter-in-law flying through the air and turned to his chaplain to ask what should be done now the victim had escaped.

12. *Sudhana brings the tribute of the rebels to his father*

The king is sitting on a cushion on a seat with back under a canopy supported by columns, with the necessary dishes and bowls under his seat. The throne is on the left of the relief and leaves just enough space on that side for a couple of female attendants standing and servants seated. The king is here accepting the tribute brought by his son, who sits on a dais just on the right of his father's throne, holding up with both hands a bowl of valuables. Just behind him stand three persons with the rest of the booty. Further on the right sits the prince's retinue under the trees, first some courtiers, then the armed guard, represented by one figure with sword and shield and two with bow and arrows, then behind, are the bearers of the princely insignia. In the midst of these sits one bearded man, without a headdress; has the sculptor meant something particular with this or is it only to bring a little variation into the group? It might represent the well-known brahman of the tale whose desire for the chaplaincy was the cause of the whole expedition and whose presence would be appropriate among the prince's party. But we might be completely mistaken in this to judge by the following relief, where the same kind of person is seen in the humble position of umbrella-bearer.

13. *Sudhana hears from his mother what has happened*

Although the design of this scene is the same as that of No. 8 and the prince with his mother is placed in a pavilion on the left, and Sudhana's retinue on the right, the sculptor has managed all the same to bring in variation by the arrangement of the details. Here too the queen sits in the highest place, as is her due, on a throne with a back and legs and with a box under it; her son sits opposite leaning in a seat with back, but very slightly raised. Between the two is a dish filled with something, behind the queen kneels an attendant. It is quite plain that the queen is speaking, the prince sits with arms crossed on his breast listening, respectfully bending forward. Outside the pavilion, behind the prince, sit his followers, those in the centre of the group being damaged. In the front some people with bowls, behind, a couple of soldiers with sword and shield, with the bearers of the prince's insignia, the above-mentioned umbrella-bearer being one of them. There is an elephant in the background with only a cloth on its back, therefore it cannot have been ridden by prince Sudhana. Its presence is probably by way of decoration to the scene.

14. *Manoharā relates her adventures to her father*

While the other reliefs by means of the text can be identified with the tale except in trifling details, this is not the case with No. 14. Owing to Foucher's penetration ¹⁾ however this scene has been correctly placed. The text gives no mention of Manoharā's adventures from the moment when she leaves directions for her husband with the ṛṣi, to the time when she recognises his ring in her bath. Foucher has discovered that in this case the sculptor has not followed the text, but thought it better not to leave the spectator in doubt about what becomes of the heroine of the tale. The king who is the centre of the relief, wears a halo and by comparing him with No. 17 and 18 we see that he is Manoharā's father, Druma, king of the kinnara's. He sits in a pavilion in the middle of the relief on a cushion, listening to what his daughter, seated on his left hand, is telling him of her stay among human beings. At his other side another woman is sitting. The courtiers sit right and left, outside the pavilion; of course when the kinnari's were given human shape the men kinnara's had to do the same; and though we may note a peculiar curl at the side of the headdress on some of them, it does not appear later on the other kinnara-reliefs. On the left sits the umbrella-bearer; fur-

¹⁾ I.I. p. 15.

ther on both sides courtiers and armed guards, who in no way differ from those of earthly rulers. Behind both these groups is an elephant, the left with only a cloth on, the right one bearing a now empty howdah with a cushion in it. This use of elephants is of course only possible for kinnara's in human form.

15. *Sudhana receives information from the ṛṣi*

Trees are planted all over the relief to indicate the change of scene, as well as the rocks and deer quite on the right shew the wild character of the landscape; away on the left appears the lotus-pond, former bathing-place of the kinnari's, as on No. 5. In the middle of all this the prince is sitting on the right on a elevated cushion, questioning the ṛṣi who is seated on a skin in the middle of the relief. The ṛṣi is just as thin as he was on No. 5, but he has now grown a beard and his costume — if we can call it such — is improved with a forehead-band and bracelets on wrist and arm. The sculptor has taken the liberty of giving him some company not mentioned in the text; though it is not expressly stated he was alone, the whole tone of the scenes in which he takes part makes it clear that only one hermit living by himself is meant, not one of several dwellers in a hermitage. However the sculptor has chosen to insert, between the ṛṣi seated alone and the lotus-pond, three more ascetics together, all with beards and their hair twisted on top of their heads into a knot. They are not quite so thin as their colleague or rather their superior, for the artist has evidently intended the first ṛṣi as head of the hermitage where the others are pupils.

16. *Sudhana and the water-drawing kinnari's*

In the middle of the scene against rocky background and surrounded by trees, is the lotus-pond that provides water for the princess's bath. Quite on the left, its door and steps turned towards the spectator, is a building, perhaps the palace of the kinnara-king, or it may be only an indication that the kinnara-city is near to. In the opposite corner of the relief the prince sits under a tree. The water-carrying attendants approach from the right with empty vessels, round and oblong ones with a handle; to the left of the pond we see the filled water-pot's held in the hand or carried on the head towards the city; one maiden on the same side is just lowering her vessel into the pond. In front of the prince a kinnari kneels, giving him the required information. She has set down

the pot in front of her, and Sudhana has evidently just dropped the ring into it with his right hand. As Foucher has observed ¹⁾, the sculptor has not kept to the text which tells us that this was done without its being seen; the kinnarī here must know all about it.

This relief is a fine work of art; the sculptor must have worked at it with great pleasure. We can see with what care the pond has been carved, the lotus flowers and leaves, the birds disporting themselves in the water and especially the little delicate plants on the edge of it in front. Above all, we admire the graceful figures of the maidens to which he has given such charm. As regards composition and the execution of details, this beautiful relief is certainly one of the best on the Barabaḍur, undoubtedly the work of a great artist.

17. *The archery-contest*

As regards the chief point, this scene is perfectly clear, though perhaps for technical reasons the particulars of the manner in which the prince displays his skill, do not quite coincide with the text, any better than in the case of the famous contest of the historic Buddha (see p. 153). The prince stands on the left, ready to shoot, his bow is bent and the arrow fixed on the point of shooting through the seven tāla-trees set up in a row in front of the golden post that is fixed on a pedestal, more to the right. Between this post and the prince sit a number of interested kinnara's, one or two of them also have bow and arrows. The space to the right of the post is reserved for the king and his suite. Druma, with a halo round his head, is sitting on the right on an elevated seat, underneath which three servants are placed. Through some carelessness in the execution, the legs of the seat are hardly to be seen, so that it looks like a square board partly supported on the heads of the servants, the rest hanging in space. Other attendants are placed opposite the king, with their backs to the gilt post; respect for their sovereign deprives them in this way of any sight of the interesting scene. One of them cannot resist turning round to look. This touch of nature does not blind us to the defects of the design as a whole.

18. *Sudhana recognises Manoharā from the group of kinnarī's*

In my opinion this is the only scene about which Foucher is mistaken. He sees here only that Druma gives the hand of his daughter to the prince ¹⁾. On the contrary I think it much more likely that a second

¹⁾ l.l. p. 16.

test is meant for Sudhana to undergo, as described most elaborately in the text; i. e. that he was to select Manoharā out of a group of kin-nari's exactly resembling her¹⁾. In a pēndāpā on the lefthand of the relief, next to which two seated and one standing waiting-maids are seen, there are a large number (seven) of maidens, dressed and adorned exactly alike, just what the text leads us to expect for Sudhana's choice, whereas if this must represent a princess with her attendants, the entire absence of all distinction between mistress and maids would be incomprehensible. The details of the pēndāpā are not complete, the sculptor has only put in a few points and left the rest in the rough. On the right, next to the pēndāpā, stands the prince looking at the maidens; he wears here, and nowhere else²⁾, the halo belonging to him as Bodhisattva. On the right of the relief sits the king, also with a halo, on a high throne with a back and a woman beside him holding a flower in her hand; under the throne and opposite the king some attendants are seated; behind the queen is a waiting woman. Notice the standard with a winged shell, set up between the king and the prince.

19. *The youthful pair enjoying themselves at Druma's court*

On a wide throne with a back to it and spread with cushions, the reunited couple are seated in the middle of the scene. Under the throne are two large square open boxes with lotus-flowers and heart-shaped leaves hanging out of them. These flowers are not met with on any other relief, their meaning is not clear. A couple of servants with umbrella and leaf-fan are sitting on the right and on the same side, in front of two trees, are two horses decorated with bells, and an unharnessed elephant. The prince and his wife are admiring the performance of a dancer on the left. The accompanying music is next to her quite on the left, it consists of seated men playing the flute, the pot-shaped drum and the cymbals, while behind them stands a row of women in the same costume as the dancer and the same sort of jeweled diadem in their hair; they all hold the usual two little bells in their hand. It is noticeable that three of the musicians have the sect marks in the middle of the forehead.

20. *Sudhana and Manoharā distributing gifts in Pāñcāla*

Sudhana and Manoharā stand in the middle of the relief; she has a parcel of clothing, he a tray of jewels in his hand from which he distri-

¹⁾ Oldenburg rightly describes this scene as "the test with the girls".

²⁾ Perhaps one is faintly to be seen on No. 20.

butes gifts to the suppliants on the left, one of them kneeling, the rest standing. Both the front ones hold out their hands to receive the gifts, the two next ones make a *sēmbah*; behind are two more with umbrellas over their heads, already with a gift in their hand. All are plainly-dressed and seem to be brahmans. On the right behind the royal pair the ordinary attendants are kneeling, among whom we see again the umbrella-bearer without a headdress and some armed guards seated; there is an elephant caparisoned with a howdah, probably intended for the further journey of the royal couple.

No. 21—30 not identified ¹⁾).

The story of Māndhātara

(The beginning Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā No. 4 p. 123; the rest, Divyāvadāna No. 17 p. 210—224)

It came to pass that King Upośadha made a journey to visit the various hermitages in his land. And it happened that he came to a place where the ṛṣi's had just prepared water to produce pregnancy; tired and thirsty with his long journey, the king drank it all up before any one could prevent him. The result was that on this return to the city, it appeared that he was pregnant.

Upon his forehead there was a soft, painless swelling that increased in size, at last it burst open and a little prince was born marked with all the signs of an eminent man. He was given the name of Māndhātara. When he was grown up and had been declared crown-prince, Māndhātara set out on a journey through the land. There he received the news that his father had fallen sick, but when advised by his councillors to return and take possession of the kingdom, he gave no ear to them and even when soon after came the news of his father's death, he determined not to return to the city and declared that if he had a right to the succession, the coronation could take place just as well where he was. By the aid of the yakṣa Divaukasa who acted as herald to the prince, various materials were brought together and at Māndhātara's urgent wish even a royal residence appeared, for a coronation must take place in the capital of the kingdom. When all this magic performance was completed only by the utterance of a wish, Māndhātara was crowned king with the seven jewels of a ruler of the world — disk, elephant, horse, gem, general, wife and householder ²⁾).

¹⁾ For detailed description see p. 235—238 of the Dutch edition.

²⁾ Elsewhere: minister. Comp. p. 90.

In the neighborhood of Vaiçālī, there lived in the forest five hundred ṛṣi's and their devotions were very much disturbed by the clatter made by the herons who nested there. This made them so angry that one of the ṛṣi's uttered a curse that the wings of the birds should break and they could only make use of their legs. When the king on his journey saw the birds walking about like this, he asked the reason and was so infuriated at the cruelty of the ṛṣi's that he ordered them to quit his kingdom. This they did and knowing that Māndhātara would become lord of the four-quarters of the earth, they settled far away on the Sumeru. Then the king began to exercise his power of wishing for the benefit of his subjects. When he saw the land being tilled and heard the reason, he immediately caused grain to fall from heaven. The same with the cotton, when he saw it being cultivated to provide them with clothes; afterwards, noticing that they began to spin the cotton, he wished for a rain of spun threads and at last when he saw them weaving, he obtained a shower of ready-made garments. When he inquired of his ministers, by whose merit they thought all this happened, to his astonishment they replied: "By that of your Majesty and our own." In order to shew them that he alone had the power, he arranged a shower of gold for seven days, to fall only in his own apartments, not a bit anywhere else.

Now the king became filled with ambition and inquired of Divaukasa what lands there were not yet under his rule that he might conquer. Divaukasa mentioned Pūrvavideha, and Māndhātara set out with his army to subdue it, not by the ordinary road but through the air, and everywhere he went he was preceded by the seven jewels. He conquered the country and again asked Divaukasa the same question — which was again answered by the name of another country and with the same result. The text then describes over and over again and with the same words various countries, till nothing remains to be conquered and the yakṣa suggests a visit to the heaven of the three and thirty gods. This is accomplished. As the sculptor gives us nothing of this journey, it is useless to give any details and we need only notice an episode of the five hundred ṛṣi's, now settled on the Sumeru, who try to stop the prince's expedition, but are told they have not to do with the herons of Vaiçālī and whose attack fails. This episode too is not pictured, although the first encounter of the king with the ṛṣi's was given. Thus Māndhātara approached the city of the gods, his army being often hindered by the guards but, at last he himself appeared and forced them to precede him like heralds to announce his arrival. The gods understanding that his great power was the result of virtuous deeds, decided to receive him hospitably. The now-following

description of the city of the gods has had no more attraction for the sculptor than the previous journey. Māndhātār entered the council chamber and formed the wish that Çakra, king of the gods, should offer him half his throne. This was done, both sat on the same throne and were not to be distinguished from each other, except that the eyes of the mortal king blinked, while those of the god were fixed.

Soon after this, war broke out between the gods and the asura's, which was first indecisive. Māndhātār however succeeded in raising his chariot above all the asura's and they rightly ascribing this to his previous exercises of virtue, became dispirited and were conquered. King Māndhātār exclaimed: "Whose is the victory?" and his ministers replied "Your majesty's." At this the king was beside himself with pride and presumption. The fatal wish entered his mind to throw the king of the gods from his throne and reign himself over gods and men. But no sooner had this thought taken shape than Māndhātār fell, and great was his fall! Hurlled down to the earth he knew that death was at hand. His followers gathered round him to hear his last words and he told them he saw too late how all those things he had striven ceaselessly to attain had never given him any satisfaction, even though he had achieved more than any man before him. Here ends the real story of Māndhātār; what the text gives further, is of little importance to us.

31. *King Upoṣadha exercises charity*

As we have seen already above (p. 241) it is not certain that the first four reliefs really belong to the story of Māndhātār; but for want of further explanation it seems to me better for the time being to include them in this tale. No. 31 and 32 would then be the charity, nowhere mentioned in the text, exercised by king Upoṣadha. In these two scenes it is to be noticed that on the first the monarch causes the distribution to be done by others and on the second he gives the gifts with his own hand.

On the first relief the king is sitting in a pēṇḍāpā set up on the right, on a wide couch with cushions, with two women sitting next to him; on the right two female attendants are kneeling. He is just giving orders to a maid-servant who stands on the left of the pēṇḍāpā, separated from him by a box and some bowls and trays, she has a large dish in her hand with rings and jewels on it. Behind her is a bearded man in the same sort of dress as the royal servants, holding one of the ornaments in his right hand; if his dress was different we should consider him one of those receiving gifts, but it looks as if he must belong to the royal servants. In the back-

ground of this group is another maid-servant and a male attendant is carrying a large box on his shoulder to the left, where the distribution is actually going on. One of the servants takes with both hands from a large tray held before him that is full of moneybags, while a second standing behind him hands over a valuable piece. The receivers of the dole are away to the left, men and women in a standing and kneeling row; the last of them, one a woman with a child in a slendang, have already been served, the front ones still have their hands raised. According to their dress all these people belong to the poorest class in contrast to those on the following relief.

32. *The king distributes gifts*

With all its resemblance in design — building on the right, distribution in the centre and the recipients on the left, — this differs very much from the last relief. The receivers of the dole, here also in a row, kneeling, sitting or standing, are mostly different in appearance, some wear much better clothes, and in the top row, where one or two have umbrellas, there are some brahmans, one of whom, farthest to the left, has already turned to go away. There is more variety in their attitudes, we see one busy tying up his share in a cloth and another holds out a cloth or the hem of his garment instead of his hand and has already four things in it. The king himself is distributing, his hand is in a large bowl of rings that a bearded servant holds before him, supporting its weight with his left knee. Behind and next to these a number of other servants are standing and walking, one has a fly-whisk, others a tray with rings, a large pot and a dish with bags of money. The queen is busy too; she sits on a throne with a back, in a pavilion with two side-wings. A person with a large tray of valuables kneels before her to receive instructions about them and a second with the same kind of tray is behind her; another servant bent under the weight of a large box is approaching. In the right hand wing of the building two more of these boxes and a pot filled with jewels stand ready. The pavilion is decorated with fly-whisks and a banner.

33. *The king visits the hermitages*

The royal procession approaches from the left, on the right is the hermitage enclosed in a fence. Inside it part of a large building can be seen with richly-ornemented columns, cornice and roof-ridge; there is a porch resting on pillars above the entrance, where a person stands making a sēmbah with his hands raised, to welcome the royal visitor. More to the

left we see the gateway that gives entrance to the enclosure; it has two storeys, the first surrounded by a smooth sloping roof, whereas the second has a roof with a ridge. On the top are two birds and two more have just flown up, startled by the noise. The decoration of these buildings is rather too handsome for a hermitage, although we do know of large and important establishments of the kind in Hindustan as well as in Java itself. The king's procession is headed by some footsoldiers with sword and shield in very war-like, but here inappropriate attitudes. Next comes the standard-bearer and an elephant with his mahout holding a large angkuça, the animal whose head only is visible holds something in his trunk. Then come three men with swords, handsomely-dressed, therefore no ordinary attendants, perhaps princes. The front one is mounted; the two others, who are only just to be seen, we might also believe are on horseback because their heads are at the same height as the first man, but quite out of all proportion there is a leg and a foot to be seen on the ground between those of the horse. At last comes the king himself, not as the text relates, on horseback, but in a palanquin. This is not important, the horse may just as well be an invention of Kṣemendra and not belong to any older tradition. The palanquin is of simple design, no more than a rectangular plank with sides, resting on the bamboo-poles. The king sits inside leaning against a cushion with a flower in his hand. Attendants, some armed with bow and arrows, surround the palanquin, those walking on the side of the spectator are made small and put away under the king's vehicle, so as not to prevent our view of his majesty.

34. *The king drinks the holy-water of pregnancy(?)*

It is very difficult to explain what this relief represents by Kṣemendra's text. This may not be of such importance in itself, for the poet may of course have modified the information from the source he made use of, and it is possible that what we see on the monument may be nearer the original, yet in this case the difference seems rather too much. The whole relief is taken up by forest scenery, trees, rocks with birds, deer, monkeys etc. In the midst of all this some space is left open on the right and left for the actors, but we must leave it an open question if the right hand scene is simultaneous or previous to that on the left. On the right we see on an eminence of stone, beneath which birds are nestling, a very-plainly dressed person, adorned only with a flower on his forehead; he is talking to a brahman standing on the left with an umbrella over his head, who evidently gives some information. The plain-looking style of the person

sitting makes it seem unlikely that this is the king; this scene can then only be either something that is unknown to the text or a conversation between some of the hermits without any other intention than to depict the king's present surroundings. In neither case is it much good to us, as in the first we cannot tell how it must be explained, and in the second it has no importance for the text and could merely illustrate the sculptor's style of work. We will turn to the lefthand scene; here sits on the extreme left a man with a moustache: though the king does not wear this elsewhere and this person's dress is not ceremonial and besides the hairdressing incorrect — brushed back smooth on both sides of the head and then hanging down in locks adorned with flowers — he looks far more worldly and elegant than the figure sitting on the right, discussed above. We might, with an effort, accept him as the king. A maiden approaches him from the right, her hair hanging in plaits being adorned with flowers, evidently a hermitage-maiden such as we are familiar with in works like the *Çakuntalā*. In her hands she has a large waterjug with a spout that she appears to offer him. It is quite possible that this is the important jug of holy-water; though not at all in agreement with the tale that says he saw it standing and drank it all up before any one could prevent him. Here the water is brought to him. This deviation added to the different appearance of this figure to the king seen elsewhere, makes it impossible to say anything more about this scene than that it is not quite unlikely the king is here shewn drinking the holy-water, but if this is really depicted, the sculptor must have followed some other version of the tale than *Kṣemendra* in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. We can now turn back to the clearer source of the *Divyāvadāna*.

35. *The birth of Prince Māndhātara*

In a *pēṇḍāpā* with a smooth unornemented roof, on the right of the relief, the royal family is seated, first the king, the queen next to him, both on cushions, with two female attendants on the floor, one holding a large box. Between the king and queen, and standing on her hip, is the small prince with some traces of the crescent-ornement, usual for infants, behind his head but without the band crossed over the breast often seen with it. It is curious that king *Upoṣada* has a halo here and on the following relief, owing probably to the sculptor's carelessness. It is quite another thing that *Māndhātara* has one, later on, he is of course the *Bodhisattva*. On the right of the *pēṇḍāpā* there are some more female attendants sitting and standing. On the left seated, is a man in royal

dress conversing with the king. The text gives us no idea who this may be, so till some other version enlightens us, he may be considered as a visitor come to congratulate. Behind him is his suite with a umbrella-bearer and guard armed with a sword; in the background is a fruit-tree, a horse and groom and an elephant with saddle-cloth on. Notice these animals in connection with the description of No. 39.

36. *Prophecy concerning the new-born son(?)*

Although the text says nothing about a prophecy or rewarding of the brahman prophets, I can agree with Foucher ¹⁾, that this and the following relief may be assigned to the prophecying-episode that so often brings an intermezzo into this kind of tale, and is so customary that the writer of the Divyāvadāna may not have thought necessary to mention it. Its appearance on the Barabudur allows us to think that this episode was actually recorded in the original tale, for it is far more likely that the compiler of the Divyāvadāna might omit it as of slight importance, than that the sculptor of the temple should have imagined it when not found in the text. At the same time I shall not disguise my opinion that possibly these two reliefs, in spite of all this, represent something that does not occur in our text; and this becomes more probable when we see that No. 38 certainly does not coincide with the Divyāvadāna story.

The king, as already mentioned, has a halo, he sits with the queen on a bench in a pavilion, behind the queen kneel a couple of waiting-women. One of them now holds the prince; here too he is standing. His crescent can be seen here as well and in his hand he has some toy with a long handle, looking like a large rattle with a ribbon hanging from it. Next to the pavilion on the right some guards are seated, with sword, bow and arrows; on the left opposite the king is a beardless brahman on a stool. It is plain that he and the king are busy talking. Behind him the peacock-feather fan is fixed up and more to the left we see a damaged worn-off group of three armed men seated, with swords and shields, and behind them a horse, here too with a groom.

37. *Reward of the prophet (?)*

The scene is somewhat changed. On the right there is now a royal palace enclosed by a palissade, a solid building of two storeys, without windows or much ornament except on the roof; the covered entrance is

¹⁾ I.I. p. 20.

on the left. In front of this is the king with some attendants standing and kneeling, an umbrella-bearer, an armed guard and just behind the monarch a handmaiden holding a tiara, probably intended for a gift. The king himself holds in his right hand a vessel with a spout, usual at gift-givings, out of which sticks a lotus, while he is pouring water on the outstretched hand of a brahman who sits under a richly-decorated pent-house supported by columns. Quite on the left behind the brahman are some royal attendants and the peacockfeather fan is set up as in the last scene. The front one of these persons is not armed but the others all have swords or bow and arrows. Notice the enormous and well-filled quiver of the man sitting right at the back; this object is evidently of a size suitable for filling up the empty left-hand top corner.

38. *Visit of Çakra*

This scene at any rate is quite outside the course of the story as we know it from the Divyāvadāna. Foucher is inclined to think this the moment when the young prince takes leave of his father when setting out on a journey¹⁾, but this can not be accepted as the explanation, because it is evident that the "leave-taking prince" is no other than Çakra, king of the gods. His appearance at this point of the story is a complete surprise, but the enlightenment may come to us from some other version of the Māndhātara tale.

The king, of whom we cannot be sure if he is Upoṣadha or already Māndhātara, sits on a wide couch with a back, in a pēṇḍāpā; on this same seat is the queen and between them a rather-damaged third figure, possibly a second woman or it might equally well be Māndhātara grown into a youth. Next to the throne some female attendants stand and kneel. Outside the pēṇḍāpā we see the king's guard armed with sword and shield, and in the background the royal umbrella and an elephant with his mahout. On the left of the pēṇḍāpā opposite the king a figure kneels on a bench, dressed in royal or godlike garments, and judging by the flowers in his hands, offering homage. His retinue are sitting on the ground behind him, first the umbrella-bearer and next the unmistakable figure of Airāvata, with the elephant's trunk in his headdress, elephant ears and the angkuṣa on his shoulder. This makes it certain that the kneeling visitor can be no other than Çakra²⁾. The rest of the attendants are armed with

¹⁾ l.l. p. 20.

²⁾ This remark is also made by Jochim in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 55 (1913) p. 204.

sword and shield or bow and arrows, while in the background a standard and a fruit tree are to be seen.

39. *Māndhātār honored as king*(?)

As regards this scene too, I cannot accept the explanation given by Foucher, without qualification. He first relates how according to the text the "seven jewels" appear and continues "therefore we here see a disk, a gem, a horse, an elephant, a woman, a general and a minister represented near the prince now become king"¹⁾. I do not see anything of this. There is of course a large company of men and some women on the scene but I cannot find the three above-mentioned distinctly represented or placed together. In the left corner there is a horse and an elephant quite in the way of decoration; just the same as we have seen these animals on No. 35. And what there is no sign at all of, are the most typical of the seven jewels, the disk and the gem. This defeats the only argument for identifying this scene as the coronation of Māndhātār and it seems wiser, considering the last relief as well, to state that the correct meaning remains uncertain.

A very large pavilion with a wing at each side and a centre-apartment with a roof resting on columns, takes up nearly the whole relief. Here sits the king, now wearing a halo, in a seat with a cushion at his back. He turns to a person kneeling before him in ceremonial robes, rather damaged, but who appears to be offering something. The other figures on this scene seem to be all attendants and servants. On the right, behind the king, are one standing and some seated female attendants; the first has a fly-whisk, the last one holds an oblong parcel. Quite in the right corner, in the wing at the very edge of the relief, sits an armed guard. Behind the kneeling figure paying homage are seated a long row of persons, in the pavilion, the side-wing and outside up to the edge of the relief, many of them holding gifts of honor, dishes of flowers, a folded garment etc. The elephant behind with his mahout on his back and decorated with bells, and the horse have already been noticed; next to these we see an umbrella and a large burning torch that is sure to be of scented wood and not meant for giving light. This relief has suffered a good deal of wear and tear, but the meaning is clear on the whole: the offering of homage and gifts to a king, who is probably Māndhātār because of the halo.

¹⁾ Same p. 20.

40. *Māndhātār with the herons and the ṛṣi's*

We are now again on the firm foundation of the Divyāvadāna-text, the scene of the cruel ṛṣi's. This is as clear as possible. In the middle of the relief is a rocky plateau with a large tree and the unhappy herons walking about, unable to use their wings. The tree serves as partition between the two scenes here depicted, and is designed in such way that the herons belong to both and also figuratively connect the right and left episodes. On the right, the king inquires the cause of the birds' strange behaviour. He has approached from the right with his retinue and stands in front of the person who is giving him information and kneels with the hands in *sēmbah* next to the rocky plateau. Behind the king stands the bearer of the folded tray, the umbrella-bearer kneels and the military escort are seated, all armed with sword and shield and one with bow and quiver as well. On the left hand scene we are shewn the rest of the episode and the departure of the ṛṣi's. On the extreme left are some trees; between these and the plateau a pair of ṛṣi's are flying away. They wear a loin-cloth and necklace and a frightful coiffure, a brushed up and twisted mass of hair. Their light luggage is slung over the left shoulder and looks like a bundle at one end and perhaps a jug at the other end of the cord; both objects are swinging behind in their rapid flight. The text does not mention that the ṛṣi's travel through the air to their new domicile, but it is of course the simplest means of locomotion for such holy persons and allows the sculptor to make their departure unmistakeable.

41. *The shower of grain*

The miracle takes place on the left, while the king stands on the right with his retinue. The full ears are raining down from a mass of cloud, probably it is rice but it looks also somewhat like maize. The delighted laborers are gathering in their easy harvest; they are binding it up and in the background some is already being carried away by the help of a carrying-pole. In front of the king on the right and outside the shower of grain, three men are sitting, they are not helping with the harvest and are better-dressed than the farmers, one of them makes a *sēmbah* to the king; these are undoubtedly the councillors who answer the king's question and take part of the credit to themselves. On the right of the relief the royal suite are kneeling and standing, among them the usual bearers of the umbrella and folded bowl and the armed escort with sword and shield or bow and arrows.

42. *The shower of garments*

The same as the last, the miracle is shewn on the left, the king and attendants on the right of the scene. But this time the monarch is placed seated on a cushion, and under an awning supported by columns, to the right of which are the usual attendants sitting or standing. Here too there are a couple of persons opposite who are not helping to collect the clothes. We see these falling from the clouds in profusion and the people capturing them in the most life-like attitudes; they seize them, clasp them or hang them over their arm; not satisfied with one apiece they try to get hold of as many as they can; one is busy tying some up into a bundle.

43. *The shower of gold*

In contrast to the two last miracles, we here have the shower on both sides of the king seated in the centre. The king sits on cushions under a canopy supported by columns. On the left the two councillors again sit opposite him; on the right behind him sits the servant with the folded bowl; the others on the scene are women and they are collecting the gold. This quite agrees with the text that tells us the miracle was not out of doors and not intended for the public, but was performed in the king's private apartments. It is not actually a shower of gold coins, but chains of jewels, gold rings and such like valuables. Except two royal waiting-women who stand with fly-whisks on the right of the throne, all the women present are busy collecting the falling treasures into dishes of all shapes and cloths spread out on purpose.

44. *Māndhātā sets out to conquer the world*

The sculptor has plainly emphasized two particulars of the text i. e. that the royal journey was made by air and that the king was preceded by the royal jewels. To shew the first he has not chosen to depict them all hovering in flight through the air, but gives the whole company in the attitude of walking with their feet only a few centimetres above the ground. This must have given a curious look to the nearly-worn-away umbrella-bearer who is either kneeling or sitting just off the ground. Only the first of the jewels that precede the procession have a flying attitude. In the left top corner we see first the disk on a lotus-cushion and the gem and below, partly overlapping each other, the elephant, horse

and woman, the last in the real attitude of flying. Then immediately following, a yakṣa recognisable by his wild erect curling hair, undoubtedly the king's herald and adviser, Divaukasa. As this figure is armed with sword and shield, it might possibly do for the seventh "jewel", the leader of the army. If not, we must consider that not all the jewels are depicted. This group ends with the umbrella-bearer who holds his umbrella over the yakṣa. Then comes the king, whose head has an aureole, with a flower in his right hand; we have already noticed his umbrella-bearer. Some servants, then last the royal army; a few have bows and arrows but most of them swords and shields.

45. *The king asks what there is yet to be conquered*

The sculptor gives us only one of the many times the king asks Divaukasa what is left for him to conquer and the yakṣa shews him another part of the world; of course the scenes would have been too much alike and besides the sculptor seems to have been restricted as regards this part of the story, for not one scene is given shewing the journey to the dwelling of the gods. A large hall of the palace takes up more than half the relief; the king, still wearing his halo, sits on a throne with a back, and turns to Divaukasa sitting on the floor on his lefthand. The latter is rather damaged, but plainly to be recognised as a yakṣa by his wild curly mass of hair¹⁾; he has too the large round earrings worn by yakṣa's. He wears a beard that he did not have on the last relief; this is only carelessness of the sculptor, such as we often meet with. It is as well to notice this, as an example for cases of dubious identification, so that we need not always be led astray by the different aspect of the same person on various reliefs. Behind the king a large number of women are kneeling in the hall, thus the king is evidently in the women's apartments. On the left of the scene, outside the building, are some courtiers, with empty hands and unarmed; in the background, an elephant and a horse.

46. *Māndhātā as Çakra's equal*

In the middle of the relief, on a throne with a canopy, we see the two figures in robes of ceremony, each with a halo, Çakra and Māndhātā. The head of one of them has been knocked off, but even if that had not happened, we could certainly never distinguish the god from the human

¹⁾ Foucher's remark (I.I. p. 21) „le sculpteur a d'ailleurs donné au yakṣa l'ordinaire aspect d'un ministre brahmanique" must evidently be a mistake.

being, as the text tells us that there was no difference to be seen, only that Çakra's eyes did not blink. Then on the right, where a few trees appear in the background, a number of other gods are sitting on a stone platform, making a *sēmbah*, and quite in the corner a few figures are placed lower, only one of whom is not damaged and shews us that they were more plainly-dressed and must be gods of lower rank or some sort of divine servants. To the left of the throne there are two more rows, one standing with dishes and flowers in their hands, and one sitting, many of them armed with sword and shield. As this is quite unusual in a heavenly scene it is possible that the above-described are not dwellers of the heavens but the retinue of Māndhātara who have accompanied him here. In that case the figure seated on the same side of the throne, the one who has lost his head, would be the human king and the sculptor has, after all, indicated which is Māndhātara.

47. *The battle between the gods and asura's*

This relief is terribly worn away so that we can only guess at many of the details. Two groups are fighting opposite each other, both occupy about half the space. The left one is on the defensive and partly in retreat, the right are attacking; undoubtedly the first are the asura's, the other the gods. On both sides the composition is much the same, a kneeling or sitting row of combatants below, a second standing or hovering above it; behind, we find the leader whose rank is indicated by the umbrella held over him. We cannot see on what the chief of the asura's is seated, sword in hand; the leader of the gods, of course Māndhātara, is on a sort of square board that appears to rest on nothing but the heads of the warriors beneath it. The chariot mentioned in the text is not to be seen anywhere, although according to the tale it was raised right above the enemy. Both parties fight chiefly with sword and shield; the attacking army have a good many archers among them in the top row. Just as in other battle scenes, what the sculptor has achieved does not seem very successful; although we allow for the damage the relief has suffered, the design remains rather poor and not very lifelike.

48. *Māndhātara claims to be the only victor*

As mentioned above (p. 242) there is some doubt whether the three last reliefs belong to the story of Māndhātara; therefore I only keep to the identification given by Foucher, of which he himself is not certain, because I have no better to offer.

On no. 48 a king with a halo sits with a queen on a wide seat in a pavilion placed on the right; two female attendants crouch behind the queen, two more are standing outside the building on the right. On the left, opposite the king and conversing with him, sits a brahman with a beard and the usual appearance of such people; he is making a *sēmbah* towards the king. The rest of the space on the left, up to the edge of the relief, is planted with trees, under which, behind the brahman, sits a whole row of men in ordinary clothes, not actually servants (for they hold none of the objects always seen in the hands of servants) but more likely courtiers. The whole scene might be entitled: the king conversing with a brahman. According to the story of *Māndhātara* the king ought to be demanding, whose is the victory and to hear the reply: "your majesty's". It is plainly to be seen that this relief might represent any other sort of discourse between any king and brahman.

49. *Çakra turns away from Māndhātara(?)*

Here too, the king and queen sit in a pavilion on the right; this building has a wing at each side. In the one on the right, that does not come entirely on to the relief, we see a small kneeling figure, its hands raised above the head in *sēmbah*, on which the queen's gaze is fixed. In the wing on the left is a man richly-dressed, making a *sēmbah* while the king speaks to him. Behind this person but outside the pavilion we see again a row of important men sitting, surely no servants but perhaps the companions of those in front; as far as their appearance goes, they might quite well be gods. A tree and the royal insignia can be seen in the background. On the extreme left is placed a god or king with a halo — the only halo there — standing with his back to the whole scene, evidently turning away from the king and the assembled company. This should be *Çakra*, who after *Māndhātara*'s audacious last wish is leaving him and on the point of hurling him down to earth. Meanwhile the presence of the queen on this and the last relief, as well as the identity of the distinguished person to whom the king is speaking, remain unexplained. It seems very probable that no. 48 and 49 belong together and we might be inclined to take them for the beginning of a new tale. But then the story of *Māndhātara* would end with the battle between the gods and asura's and it is surely unlikely that the moral of this tale would be omitted.

50. *Stūpa of Māndhātara*(??)

It will be better to mention this scene here, though as noticed above on p. 242, I am not able to agree with Foucher's identification. This is entirely founded on the fact that a stūpa is to be seen here ¹⁾, which in my opinion is not the case. Trees are spread over the whole scene, so this takes place out of doors. The actual scene is acted on the right within an enclosed space; a palissade runs along the lower edge of the relief from the right nearly up to the middle, where we can suppose it turns at right angles, though the rest is not visible because of the gateway that rises into the centre of the picture; it has a panel with pillars at the side turned towards the spectator, a roof supported by columns, sloping straight up, and a small storey with a ridged roof. On the right, inside the enclosed space, are seated a richly-dressed woman on a elevation, who makes a sēmbah and a man with a high tiara, certainly of high rank, who touches with his hand some object placed between them. It is an oblong affair, ornamented at the top with a sort of flower and hanging ribbons, laid on an open dish that rests on a pedestal; it is certainly not a stūpa any more than a vase or urn, and looks rather like a large jewel, though of most unusual shape. What it really is I cannot tell. On the left outside the palissade several persons are seated, who evidently belong to the retinue either of the woman sitting inside or of both the chief persons. They are several women with dishes and a fly-whisk, the first of whom wears a kerchief on her shoulders, and behind her, quite to the left, are three guards with sword and shield. Notice just between the women and the soldiers the head of a fourth guard who holds his hand before his face. This curious attitude seems too much in the background to be of any importance to the story.

51—55 not identified ²⁾.

The story of the Çibi-king
(Sūtrālaṅkāra no. 64 ³⁾)

Çakra, king of the gods, was much grieved by the false doctrine communicated to him by a heretic teacher, but Viçvakarman told him there

¹⁾ I. l. p. 22: „le no. 20 nous montrerait ses funérailles, et, comme il sied à un cakravartin, le dépôt de ses cendres dans un stūpa”.

²⁾ Description in the Dutch edition, p. 249—251.

³⁾ According to Huber's translation of the Chinese version by Kumārajīva, p. 330—341.

was no cause for his sadness, while there lived upon the earth a king of the Çibi's who was so virtuous that it was believed he would soon become a Buddha. Both the gods then decided to convince themselves if this king was really so firm in his faith and put him to the proof. Çakra took the shape of a falcon, Viçvakarman that of a dove. The dove, pursued by the falcon, fled in fear to the Çibi-king who, as the guardian of living creatures, took it under his protection. The falcon demanded that his prey should be given up to him, but the king refused and said his compassion should be given to all living creatures. If that is true, answered the falcon, then you ought to give me the dove so that I need not die of hunger. The king thought over this and inquired if there was no other food as good, but the falcon could only feed on flesh and blood. Then the king thought of a way by offering his own flesh to the bird of prey, and the falcon agreed to accept an equal weight of the monarch's flesh. The scales were fetched and because a servant could not bring himself to cut off his master's flesh when ordered to do so, the king cut a lump out of his thigh with his own hand. Everyone turned away their eyes; and the gods and demigods came rushing to the scene. Once more the falcon asked for the dove, but the king remained firm. The scales continued to weigh down on the side of the dove and the king added more lumps of flesh till at last he threw all his flesh on to the scales in the hope of obtaining the bodhi by this means. The earth trembled, the two gods resumed their own shape and praised the Bodhisattva. When Çakra asked him if he had done his deed without regret, the king replied that as truly he had felt no regret, so truly his body might recover its former condition. Immediately all signs of mutilation disappeared and the king was himself again. After doing homage Çakra and Viçvakarman took leave.

56. *The king, the dove and the falcon; the weighing of the flesh*

Here we have one of the few instances, where consecutive episodes appear on the same relief without any distinct separation; it looks all like one scene, especially as the king is only once depicted. The king sits on the extreme right in a seat with back, placed in a large niche; under the seat is a dish with wreaths on it. The dove is perched on the chairback. The king is making a gesture of refusal with his right hand, either to the falcon who asks for his prey or to the courtiers who beseech him to alter his intention. The bird of prey sits in a tree opposite the king; the retinue is seated beneath it with the umbrella and bow and arrows in the

background. Without any transition, a little to the left, we see the scales, a large rack to which the beam is tied, of a thicker sort than that seen in the specimens in the museum at Batavia. On the round flat scales, is the dove on the righthand side and some lumps, of course the royal flesh, on the left one. The presence of the dove for the second time and the flesh in the scales, shews that the weighing is taking place already, thus a later episode in the tale than the discussion between the king and the falcon, pictured on the right. We need not mention that the king is not represented in his mutilated condition. Under the scales and quite on the left, some more courtiers can be seen sitting as witnesses of the virtuous deed.

✓ In older Buddhist art this story, so popular according to the Chinese pilgrims, is specially represented at Amarāvati and found there in three reliefs (see Fergusson pl. 60, 82 and 83). It can easily be recognised everywhere by the scales in the king's palace, but in contrast to Barabudur the sculptors have not hesitated to picture the king's sacrifice in a realistic manner; first on no. 60 where he is cutting flesh off his thigh with a long sword, then on no. 82 where we see it is a servant, not the king himself, who holds the sword. No. 83 is rather different, the king has his foot on the scales, while one of the attendants holds the dove in his hands. At Ajanṭā we find in Cave I the dove on the king's knee as well as the monarch putting his foot on the scale. The old Chinese art also gives the Çibi story; in the caves at Long-men ¹⁾ there is a scene that represents, on the right the king with one servant, on the left the scales, and above, the two birds.

57. *Homage to the Çibi-king*

The king, distinguished as Bodhisattva by the halo round his head, sits in robes of ceremony on a richly-decorated throne with a back in the middle of the relief, the right leg resting on a footstool, the (knocked off) right hand raised in the gesture of teaching. On both sides there is a row of standing and one of seated listeners, all men and all in the dress of princes, gods and persons of rank. Some carry flowers or bowls of flowers, others make a sēmbah; the whole evidently represents paying homage. The presence of Çakra is not indicated.

¹⁾ Foucher, *Lettre d'Ajanṭā*, Journ. Asiat. 11 : 17 (1921) p. 211, with reference to Griffiths, *Paintings* pl. 9.

²⁾ Chavannes, *Mission* fig. 1737 and p. 556. Comp. p. 306.

The story of the Dharmaseeker
(Avadānaçataka No. 38; I p. 213—222)

When the virtuous prince Subhāṣitagaveṣin ascended the throne after his father's death, his chief desire was to acquire the true faith. He therefore ordered his ministers to seek out a man who could teach him the Law and they offered a great reward through the whole of India. But no one appeared. Then Çakra, king of the gods, decided to test the integrity of the king's desire. He assumed the form of a yakṣa, appeared before the king and delivered a first gāthā. The king asked for more and the yakṣa replied he would only continue on condition that the king would do what he required of him. This was that for seven days and seven nights he should keep a fire burning and at the end of that time should throw himself into it; then the yakṣa would continue his lectures. The king agreed to this and preparations were made. On the day fixed all kinds of earthly and heavenly beings assembled to witness the deed; the yakṣa rose into the air and encouraged the king to fulfil his promise. After crowning his son as his successor and taking leave of those belonging to him, the king sprang into the fire, which at the same moment turned into a lotus-pool. Whereupon Çakra resumed his own form and uttered another gāthā that the king caused to be written down and distributed through the whole of his kingdom.

58. The king offers a reward

On the right the king sits on the cushions of his throne under a canopy supported by columns; he wears a halo and has a woman beside him, under the seat are a couple of dishes. The rest of the relief up to the edge on the left, is occupied by strange-looking men, who all wear a flat headdress with a round brim, only one with a somewhat higher crown; they have earrings rolled up flat and most of them pointed beards, drooping moustache and a visible row of teeth. All except three are seated; the one nearest the king has both hands on the ground in front of him. The first of the three standing ones turns towards the king with a jug (partly disappeared) in his hand while the two others are bringing a heavy shut-up box. This box we imagine contains the valuable reward offered by the king for a teacher of the true doctrine. On the background are the royal insignia and a tree.

59. The king and the yakṣa by the altar of fire

The altar is seen flaming on a square pedestal in the middle of the

relief. On the left, with some trees in the background, sits the yakṣa, his left leg in the sling; he has the usual appearance of these beings, wild eyes and heavy eyebrows, thick beard and moustache, a great mass of erect curling hair and round earrings. Behind him are two men of the same sort as we have seen on the last relief, with flat headdress, moustache and beard and rolled-up flat earrings. Their presence seems to connect this relief with the last one. The king stands on the other side of the altar with a halo as Bodhisattva and royal robes; he has a lotus in his left hand, that as noticed already on p. 244 might be accepted as an indication of the miracle of the lotus-pool, not represented, but nevertheless important to the tale. A round object with a little circle in the middle can be seen under his left arm; perhaps this is a lotus leaf (unfinished), if not I am unable to account for it. The royal retinue is seated more to the right with umbrella and featherfan fixed up in the background.

60. *Homage offered by Çakra*

The Bodhisattva with his halo sits in the middle of the scene on a large throne of honor with a nicheshaped back, he is very much damaged. On the right on a lower seat is the king of the gods, also very much worn-away, he too has a halo and an umbrella over him as well. He turns to the king with a flower in his left hand. Two servants are sitting behind him, the first with a bowl, the second with an incense-stand and fan; both have lost their head-dress, but the first shews traces of the large elephant ears that would identify him as Airāvata and thus his master as Çakra, though they are not very distinct. On the left are seated more of those who pay homage, with trees behind them; they have a diadem-shaped headdress, the front one holds an incense-burner and fan, the next a large lotus-bud, the third a whole bouquet lifted up in his hands. It seems to me these are not earthly courtiers but more like a group of heavenly beings; they may be the witnesses of the deed, mentioned in the text or perhaps the version followed by the sculptors transported the demonstration of homage to the heavens. The entire absence of an earthly king's retinue makes this look probable.

The story of Sambulā(?) (Jātaka no. 519)¹⁾

Prince Soththisena, when he came of age, was appointed viceroy by

¹⁾ As there is a great difference between this text and the reliefs, I give only a very slight review of the jātaka.

his father the king; his chief spouse was named Sambulā and she was exceedingly beautiful. After some time signs of leprosy appeared on the prince; then the disease increased and in despair he determined to leave the court and retire into solitude. Sambulā could not be persuaded to leave her husband; the faithful spouse accompanied the unhappy prince and they settled in the wilderness together in a well-watered district in the forest, where she ministered lovingly to his wants. One day when she had just been bathing, a yakṣa caught sight of her and became enamoured of her, but the virtuous wife resisted his persuasions and his violence. Her virtue made the throne of Çakra hot, the king of the gods hastened to the earth, stood with the vajra in his hand over the yakṣa and ordered him off. When she returned, her spouse was suspicious about her long absence and refused to believe her tale, till she convinced him by declaring that as surely it was true, so surely she would be able to cure his disease. With these words she sprinkled him with water and behold, his terrible sickness disappeared. They returned with joy to the court where the king entertained them royally and withdrawing himself from the throne he crowned his son in his place. The young king soon began to neglect his wife until his father, who was aware how this grieved her, recalled his son to his duty.

61. *The prince and princess at court*

This meaningless relief might represent any royal pair in their surroundings just as well as Sothhisena and Sambulā. They are seated together on a wide couch, each leaning against a separate back, in a pavilion just in the middle of the scene; the prince (very much damaged) lays his hand on his wife's knee. Next to the pavilion are the attendants on both sides, among them two with swords. The right hand group sits under a tree; on the left, next to the pavilion, is a waiting-woman with a fly-whisk, next to her a bearded man with a rosette on his forehead, not enough left of him to see if he is a brahman; the others present are ordinary courtiers. On the left in the background, besides a pair of birds flying, can be seen an elephant, an umbrella and a leaf fan.

62. *The stay in the wilderness; the rescue by Çakra*

Most of the relief on the right is taken up by the wilderness. The royal pair are sitting next to each other on the bank of a river flowing through the foreground, there are plenty of fish and a decoration of trees with

conventional rocks. A couple of deer on the left, a pair of tigers in a den on the right, indicate the forest scenery. The royal persons still wear royal robes, not very suitable for camping in the forest, but easy for the spectator to see that the chief actors are a prince and princess.

The scene on the left is not as easily identified. The rock and forest decoration is here too, with deer and other creatures in the trees. Çakra stands in the middle with a halo and holding up in the right hand his emblem, the double vajra. In addition, there is his faithful companion Airāvata in the left corner with elephant ears and headdress adorned with elephant trunk. On the right is a well-dressed man making a respectful *sēmbah* to the king of the gods; we had better look upon this figure as the prince. The episode of the yakṣa does not appear at all; if this representation is really principally the same as the story in the Sambulā-jātaka, then the version followed by the sculptor has ascribed the curing of the leprosy to Çakra himself instead of to Sambulā's declaration of truth. This is of course not impossible but all evidence is wanting. When we notice the very important differences between text and reliefs even in a tale like the Māndhātavadāna, discussed above, in which the chief points have been established with absolute certainty and where a version of the story was available according to the Northern Church, then a difference like the case in question where we have only a Pāli-jātaka, need not discourage us very much. I do not mean to say that the deviation is unimportant and the identification is clear; but until the contrary is proved from some new text, I think we may accept the partial recognition here offered.

63. *Conversation between king and prince*

In a large *pēndāpā* the two royal persons are seated opposite to each other; the one on the left has a woman sitting beside him; the other is alone and it might be difficult to make out which is which, if the sculptor had not given the one sitting alone a halo: so that must be the prince, as Bodhisattva. It is quite natural that the father is placed on his right hand. The rest of the company on the relief are evidently secondary figures, in the righthand corner sit two servants, behind them rises the roof of a building that indicates the further palace and left we see the seated retinue of the king in ordinary court-dress, with a round-shaped standard and the umbrella behind them. The difficulty is to discover which conversation between father and son is meant, that is, in case the story in our text has been followed. It may be the reception on

the return from the wilderness or the warning given at the end of the story. In the first case it seems impossible that Sambulā could be left out. On the other case it seems out of place to represent the old king, who has become an ascetic, in royal robes with a queen beside him. Here too the sculptor's version deviates; perhaps he had reason for not putting Sambulā into the picture as on the last relief too she plays a smaller part than the text we have relates; or is it more likely that the whole episode of the neglect and the repentance comes in before the king abdicates? Finally we must not forget the possibility Foucher suggests¹⁾, that this might belong to some prologue to the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna.

The story of Rudrāyaṇa
(Divyāvadāna No. 37, pag. 544—581) ²⁾

During the time that the Buddha dwelt in Rājagṛha, and in that city king Bimbisāra ruled with justice, in the far-distant city of Roruka reigned king Rudrāyaṇa, whose rule was no less beneficent. Now there came merchants from Rājagṛha with their goods to Roruka; the king was eager to hear news of the land where they came from and the merchants had many good things to tell about their country and their king. This caused Rudrāyaṇa to long for intercourse with Bimbisāra, so he gave them a letter and a chest of jewels for their king. The merchants soon returned with a letter from Bimbisāra and a chest filled with rich garments. It was now Rudrāyaṇa's turn to send a gift and he dispatched his famous cuirass which not only had miraculous powers but was ornamented with priceless jewels. Embarrassed by the magnificence of this present, Bimbisāra sought counsel of Buddha who advised him to get his (Buddha's) likeness painted on to a cloth. At first the painters could not succeed in this, but at last the Buddha himself threw his shadow on the cloth and caused it to be outlined in color, the space left being filled in with suitable words and verses. Then Bimbisāra wrote a letter telling Rudrāyaṇa that he was now sending him the most precious thing the world contained, which he must receive with due honor. And so it was done; Rudrāyaṇa escorted the treasure with troops along decorated roads into the city. When the cloth was unrolled, some merchants who happened to be present, shouted "Hail Buddha!" The king at once made inquiries as to who or what Buddha might be, and was told his story.

¹⁾ See above p. 244.

²⁾ A table of contents by Huber can be found in *Bull. Ec. franç. d'Extr. Or.* 6 (1906) p. 12—17. Compare Lulius van Goor, *De buddhistische non* (1915), p. 236 and 241.

He pondered over the writing on the picture then and meditated further on these principles, finally attaining the rank of srota-āpanna. He now desired greatly to obtain the presence of a bhikṣu and dispatched another letter to Bimbisāra whereupon, selected by the Buddha himself, the venerable Mahākātyāyana appeared and was received with respect. His preaching made numbers of converts among the population. Chief among these were two heads of families, Tiṣya and Puṣya, who attained the grade of arhat and whose remains after death were honored and preserved in two stūpa's.

The king's approval of Mahākātyāyana's preaching roused also in the women's apartment a longing to hear the doctrine; the bhikṣu however declared he was not allowed to enter therein and advised that a bhikṣuṇī should be sent for from Rājagṛha. Then a nun named Çailā was sent, whose words made a deep impression, especially on queen Candraprabhā. When she received warning of her approaching death (on the occasion of a dance), she asked and obtained her husband's consent to her becoming a nun, in hope of reaching the arhat-ship and reincarnation as goddess. This came about and according to her promise she appeared to the king as goddess and urged him to follow her example which would make their reunion in heaven possible. The king followed her advice, he resigned the kingdom to his son Çikhaṇḍin, whom he counseled to govern justly and act on the advice of the wise ministers Hiru and Bhiru; he then retired to Rājagṛha where he was ordained monk by the Buddha himself. When the venerable Rudrāyaṇa was begging in the streets of Rājagṛha, an impressive meeting took place between him and Bimbisāra who could not understand the renouncement of his former colleague and tried with various inducements to persuade him to return to the pleasures of life; but Rudrāyaṇa remained firm.

Meanwhile things had been going wrong in Roruka. King Çikhaṇḍin had started to rule unjustly and oppress his subjects and when the two ministers had wearied him with their repeated warnings he dismissed them and took bad councillors in their place. Merchants related all this to Rudrāyaṇa, who thought it his duty to return to Roruka and set his son again in the right path. His plan became known to the two evil ministers, who, fearing their downfall, wished by all means to prevent Rudrāyaṇa's return. They made the king believe that his father intended to take the government again into his own hands and persuaded him to consent to the old king being put to death. The murderers encountered Rudrāyaṇa on his way; before being killed, he gained permission to withdraw himself and seated beneath a tree he attained the grade of arhat.

Pronouncing with his last words that his son was doomed to hell for the murder of his father and of an arhat, he willingly allowed himself to be put to death. Çikhaṇḍin realized too late the crime he had committed, when the ministers brought the murderers to him. In his despair he began by recalling Hiru and Bhiru and so the evil councillors endeavoured to convince him that his remorse was misplaced. The queen-mother undertook to assist them by telling her son that Rudrāyaṇa was not his father, and then to shew him that the arhat-ship was worthless, they made a hole under the stūpa's of Tiṣya and Puṣya, put two young cats to live in it and trained them to appear at a certain sign, take a bit of meat and then perform the pradakṣiṇā of the stūpa and return to their hole. The two ministers requested the king to go with them to the stūpa's and repeated the adjuration: as sure as ye, Tiṣya and Puṣya, have always deceived people and are now changed into cats dwelling in your own stūpa, I adjure ye to fetch this bit of meat, to walk the pradakṣiṇā round the stūpa's and then return to your hole. The cats performed what had been taught them and the king was quite convinced that the arhat-ship was an imposture. He continued his evil ways, deprived the monks and nuns of their nourishment so that they deserted the city, and at last meeting once outside the city Mahākātyāyana who endeavoured to avoid him by going another way, on the evil advice of his ministers he caused all his followers to throw handfuls of sand on to the monk, until he was buried under a sandheap. Fortunately Hiru and Bhiru soon arrived and with the help of some cowherds rescued Mahākātyāyana. The holy man then prophesied the end of the evil king and his city; for six days it would rain precious things, but on the seventh a storm of sand would annihilate the whole city. The two ministers must get ready a ship and on the sixth day load it up with the showers of jewels and then sail away. This advice was followed and they, with their treasures, became the founders of new cities Hiruka and Bhirukaccha.

Not until the rain of sand began to fall, did Mahākātyāyana leave the city doomed to ruin and he was accompanied by Çyāmāka, the son of Hiru, and the goddess of Roruka, who had asked to follow them. They flew through the air and came to Khara. Here the goddess was obliged to remain, because one of the citizens in order to secure her beneficent presence for his town, made her promise to take care of his stick and key till he returned and then made away with himself so that she could not go away. The saint left behind as a remembrance his bowl¹⁾ for which a stūpa was erected and a festival founded. Then he continued his flight

¹⁾ According to Huber's reading kāmçikā. See Bull. Ec. franç. d'Extr. Or. 14 (1914) p. 16.

with Çyāmāka and came to a land where the young man was offered the title of king because they were in need of a good monarch and noticed the miracle, that when he sat under a tree the shadow of the tree never left him. So Mahākātyāyana came alone to Vokkāṇa. Here he presented his staff to his former mother and a stūpa was also built over this object. Finally after giving at the Sindhu his shoes to the goddess of the North to be honored in a stūpa, he arrived at Çrāvastī, where he related what had happened to the interested bhikṣu's.

64. *Rudrāyaṇa asks the merchants about Rājagṛha and Bimbisāra*

The first seven scenes are taken up with the introductory events, the exchange of presents between the two kings. It is often rather difficult, by the way it is depicted, to make out whether the receiving or the dispatch of a gift takes place, for instance on No. 68 the chest of garments being sent away or arriving. Foucher thinks ¹⁾ it is impossible to distinguish a regular change from one court to the other. It seems to me on the contrary quite discernible, only we must take into consideration that a more elaborate version of the tale has evidently been followed than the one known to us from the Divyāvadāna. Two points make this evident. According to our text Rudrāyaṇa's first present was a letter with a box of jewels. On the Barabaḍur however we see the letter on No. 65 and the jewelbox not until No. 67; so we might gather from this that two different consignments were meant. This looks the more probable when we see the intervening No. 66 with its richly spread table. I cannot agree with Foucher that this may be a farewell or reception banquet for the amateur ambassadors; it seems evident that the feast is spread for the king himself. The importance of the richly-spread table is accounted for only when, as in the adjacent reliefs, the presenting of a gift is intended and the one king offers the other a feast of his national dishes. If this is correct then the alternation of the two courts appears; first Rudrāyaṇa interviews the merchants (64) and sends a letter that Bimbisāra receives (65). Then we have always the *receiving* of the gifts; the banquet by Rudrāyaṇa (66), the jewelbox by Bimbisāra (67), the garments by the first (68), the cuirass by the second (69) and finally the arrival of the Buddha's portrait at Roruka (70).

No. 64 gives as follows. In a handsomely decorated pavilion with

¹⁾ I.I. p. 24 note. The same savant remarks in his Lettre p. 221 on the resemblance between the introductory scenes of this tale on Barabaḍur and a representation at Ajanṭā.

makara-heads on the top of the columns, king Rudrāyaṇa sits with his queen on a couch ornamented on the back with makara-heads; he is conversing with three men seated on the floor to the left, the first of whom is replying to him with hands in *sēmbah*; these are of course the merchants giving the desired information about their king and country. On the right next to the pavilion are a few of the king's retinue. On the left is a larger group; three men standing with garments and a bowl of valuables in their hands, which they are evidently offering to the kneeling and standing persons in front of them; they have already received many kinds of objects and some of them hold out their hands for the rest. This group resembles the ordinary representations of charity. As these persons do not look poverty-stricken but very well-dressed, we might think the sculptor intended to give us a picture of buying and selling to make it clear that here are merchants doing business. Nevertheless the kneeling attitude of most of them is more suitable for the receiving of gifts, so that taking all together we may conclude this is what the scene represents.

65. *Bimbisāra receives the letter*

The king with two women is seated in a small pavilion, on the right of it is just room for a couple of attendants. On the left next to the pavilion is a large group of men, in which we can recognise the ambassador-merchants as well as the courtiers. In the background is a tree and the ordinary royal insignia, besides a standard with a winged shell. One of the men sitting in front has unrolled a large oblong letter, the contents of which are being or have just been read to the king. Of course by itself this might just as well represent king Rudrāyaṇa getting the letter written and handed to the merchants to take with them, but taken with the whole series I prefer to explain it as above.

66. *A banquet is offered to Rudrāyaṇa*

A spacious *pēndāpā* occupies most of this scene. A table and a seat are placed within. The table takes up a very important place, it is loaded with viands; a large ball of rice surrounded by a number of dishes of accompanying foods, *sambalans* and *sayurans* and among them the small fish still to this day so much liked, are to be seen. The king and queen on the couch are in my opinion, as remarked on the last page, the persons for whom the feast has been arranged; if this were not the case then we

ought to see more of the guests. A couple of waiting-women with fly-whisks stand on the right of the pēndāpā. On the left are two men with other dishes, one kneeling and one standing; the latter has a plate in each hand and the first holds a dish on what looks like a square tray; as the sculptor could not put this in to advantage quite flat, he has let it slope so as to be seen plainly, but the dish is sure to fall off. The rather irregular shape of this tray makes us wonder if it may be intended for something else, perhaps a letter, but the unnatural way in which the dish hangs above it remains incomprehensible. Behind these figures, above whom a pair of birds are flying, some men are sitting on the left under a tree, they may belong to the merchant-ambassadors or to the king's retinue; the last one behind is armed with a sword.

67. *Bimbisāra receives the box of jewels*

The king of Rājagṛha is sitting with his spouse, who holds some flowers in her hand, on the right of the relief on a couch under a canopy that rests on pillars. A closed box is under the seat. Next, on the left, in a group are some members of the king's household, behind whom the umbrella and the peacock-feather fan are set up. The first of the courtiers raises his hands in sēmbah but holds up something to the king at the same time, something now quite indistinct. The last of the group turns round and holds up both hands to receive the box of jewels offered to him by a kneeling man more to the left. This man wears a beard and with the three just behind him differs from the other figures on the relief by not wearing their hair in the usual high style, as they have only a wreath on their smooth hair, brushed back and twisted together in a knot. As the same style of hairdressing is found on No. 69 on the men who there come to present the cuirass, it may be this has been done to distinguish the men of Rājagṛha from those of Roruka, and if only it had been done consistently it would have saved much trouble in explaining the reliefs. Three of these four men are armed, one has a short sword, the second the usual long straight sword and shield, the third a curved sword. Quite to the left behind this group some persons are sitting in ordinary dress, they probably belong to the king's suite. In the background are a few trees.

68. *Rudrāyana receives the chest of garments*

This scene more or less resembles the last; we see here too, from right to left: the king, some persons seated who turn towards him, those who

present the gift, and then attendants. The king sits with the queen in a small pavilion; he leans his head on his right hand that holds some flowers, and is sunk in thought, evidently cogitating over the gift to be sent in return. On the left, next to the pavilion, three men are sitting, two of whom make a *sēmbah*; they might just as well be Rudrāyaṇa's courtiers as members of the merchants' party. In the background we see the royal umbrella and a *cakra*-standard. Just behind those seated men are two standing, the front one is holding up a box with both hands: this will be the gift from Bimbisāra. The second holds in one hand a small spherical object, such as we noticed in the last relief in the hands of one of the persons who are presenting the gift. The space between these two standing figures is occupied by a row of seated men, with trees in the background; some of them are armed with swords, the attendants maybe of the ambassadors or of the king himself.

69. *Bimbisāra receives the cuirass*

Here again the king sits on the right with the queen on a couch with a back, under a canopy supported by pillars; a waiting woman with a fly-whisk stands next to him and another with a bowl in her hand sits behind the queen. On the left we see again a group of courtiers behind whom the umbrella and peacockfeather-fan are fixed up; the same as on No. 67, the front one makes a *sēmbah*; his hands however have been knocked off so that we cannot see if he held something in them as he does on that relief. Not the very last, but the last but one it is here, who turns round with outstretched hands to receive the gift. On the left under some trees sit the bringers of the present; here they are not accompanied by a group of followers or courtiers. They all wear moustaches and the curious wreath on their heads already mentioned on No. 67. The front one is just about to hand over the cuirass. This object has remained uninjured; its shape is not that of armour or coat of mail, but like a jacket without sleeves, with opening for head and arms, and worked up into thickness along the edge, probably as a way to indicate its jewelled ornamentation, not easy to represent in stone. As we here see it in the arms and hands of the person who presents it, it is far too small for any figure on the relief, but these sculptors everywhere do as they like with the proportions.

70. *The portrait of the Buddha is received in state at Roruka*

Bimbisāra's last and most precious gift is escorted into Roruka with

full honors. The text relates that the roads were decorated and that king Rudrāyana himself with a military escort of the four weapons brought the gift into the city; but the sculptor gives us none of these details. All sign of decoration on the road is wanting, there is no indication of the road at all; nothing but the procession is given and in that neither the king nor the military escort is to be seen. As the procession reaches across the whole relief, we can only imagine that the monarch and his soldiers belong to another part of the train that either preceds or follows this. What we see is, turning to the left, first three standardbearers and then a number of the king's household attendants, three of whom carry respectively a pole with a round cushionlike top, a large padma on a long stick and an umbrella. The place where the umbrella is carried might make us think the man with the lotus is the king, but this figure too much resembles the others in dress and is not conspicuous enough in the procession. The train ends with two conch-shell trumpeters. Then comes an elephant wearing a large bell; in the howdah on its back sits a man with the wreath on his hair, noticed before, holding in both hands a large oblong rolled-up parcel, of course the cloth on which the image of the Buddha is painted. To give this figure its required importance, the elephant is made quite small; in proportion to the figures on foot it is about the size of a calf. Behind the elephant comes another escort of men with empty hands, most likely courtiers. None of the company bear arms.

71. *Rudrāyana makes inquiries about the Buddha*

To the extreme right on a large couch the king is seated with two women, underneath is a wrapped-up oblong parcel and a flower; the usual canopy supported by columns is over their heads. The rest of the relief on the left is taken up by a number of seated men, among whom at any rate, we can suppose the merchants giving information and perhaps part of the king's retinue. Two of the foremost by their gestures, are the spokesmen. The king listens, thoughtfully staring in front of him. In the background on the left are a pair of birds in flight, a tree and the royal umbrella.

72. *Mahākātyāyana preaches at the court*

In a hall of the palace with side elevations, right and left, sit the two chief persons, the monk and the king. The latter is on a throne with makara-Barabudur

carved back and an attendant sits behind the throne with a bowl. The monk is on the left in the place of honor at the king's right hand, while his seat indicates the reverence paid him, for it is higher than that of the monarch and has a curious niche-shaped cover resting on columns. Mahākātyāyana's right hand is stretched out in the attitude of preaching; the gesture of the left seems to me suited to argument, although possibly Foucher may be right ¹⁾ in thinking it one of refusal, in answer to the request for him to preach in the women's apartment. Two of the royal attendants are sitting in the right wing of the building; the rest of the seekers after salvation, the courtiers, are in the left wing and outside the hall, in the open air to judge by the trees. The royal umbrella is also here set up. The king himself, it seems by his attitude, is pondering over what he hears; as to the rest of the audience, some shew their interest in the sermon by making a sēmbah, others hold up a hand and others again have flowers; all listen with great attention.

73. *Çailā preaches in the zenana*

Here it is a nun who preaches. She is seated in a kneeling attitude on a low couch with a back, in a large palace hall with side-wings, a couple of waiting-women behind her. Separated from her by a vase of lotus-flowers with a spout, the audience is sitting on the ground; it consists of the king, holding an utpala in his hand and some four of his wives, like the nun, kneeling. An armed guard surrounds the palace, represented by one figure in the side-wing on the right and several others sitting quite outside the building on the left. Opposite these last stands a waiting-woman in the left wing, possibly, as Foucher ²⁾ suggests, she is giving orders to the guard not to let any one enter while the sermon is going on. For the rest, it does not seem to matter much if any one was let in to the side wing, where on the other side of the hall the military escort apparently is permitted. It is also quite possible that no order is being given but the attendant is merely leaning with her lifted hand against the doorpost while, for some reason or other, she is just stepping outside. Notice that the bhikṣuṇī, the same as on the relief following, wears the tip of her garment over the left shoulder of her otherwise quite-clothed body, while the monk when he appears, sits in the usual way with bare right shoulder.

¹⁾ L. I. pag. 26.

²⁾ Ibidem.

74. *Queen Candraprabhā is ordained nun*

The hall, in which the ceremony takes place, reaches across the whole relief so that no figures appear outside of it. The wings are not shewn in section but in elevation against the large centre-hall on both sides. A peacock is perched on each of them. On the right inside the hall, is a wide bench with a back and the usual vases under it; on this two nuns are seated, the front one of course is Čailā and the second, as Foucher¹⁾ very correctly perceived, serves as the needful quorum for the solemn ceremony. A couple of attendants, one with a lotus in her hand, sit far on the right behind the bench. In front of the women to the left are placed a dish of lotuses and a stand, with a bouquet on it between two incense-burners, and on the other side of this kneels a third woman with folded hands, shorn head and dress without any ornament; this of course is the new bhikṣuṇī, the ex-queen Candraprabhā. Several attendants fashionably-dressed are standing behind her and fill up the rest of the hall; the front one makes a sēmbah, at the same time holding a large lotus²⁾, the second holds a folded garment in both hands, it may be the royal raiment just laid aside by the queen or, what seems more likely, the nun's dress she is about to assume. The royal figure has suffered a good deal of damage, but it really looks as if the ex-queen does not yet wear the same dress as the two nuns seated on the bench.

75. *The goddess Candraprabhā appears to her former husband*

In the text we read that the apparition of the queen as goddess took place while king Rudrāyaṇa was lying alone on the upper terrace of his palace. The meeting happens quite otherwise on the monument in a closed pavilion and, to judge by the trees outside, on the ground-floor. The king sits on the right on a bench with a back, the usual vases underneath it; the goddess stands in front of him on the left and by her gesture seems to be telling him how he may attain the same beatific condition. Candraprabhā wears no halo but is splendidly dressed, though there is nothing to shew whether she appears as queen or goddess, if the text did not enlighten us. Outside the building we see the royal attendants; three

¹⁾ L. I. pag. 27.

²⁾ Lulius van Goor, I.I. p. 238, thinks it is an almsbowl in the hand of this attendant, but it is not at all the same kind we see elsewhere. This author also suggests that the woman furthest behind holds the lid of the bowl; I can only see a basin with a lid, so often carried by the attendants.

men on the right, the rest on the left. Among the latter, behind whom the royal insignia are fixed up, are some armed ones, as shewn by the swords above them; some are carrying vases. There is nothing to account for the figure of a yakṣa sitting away on the left, he is unmistakable with his rough mass of curly hair and large round earrings. The text says nothing about him and if he had some special part in another version of the tale, he would surely not be pushed away into a corner. I believe the presence of this figure is due merely to the sculptor's fancy and has no more importance to the tale than the gatekeepers in yakṣa-shape we found in the court-scenes of the Buddha-story. They are a proof of how misleading such figures on a relief are, when we have no text as guide; just such unusual persons as this yakṣa may be seized upon as starting-point in the search for a corresponding text and probably with results as disastrous as would here be the case, if we set out to discover the text of this tale with the yakṣa as guide.

76. *Rudrāyaṇa announces his intention of abdicating*

In a spacious pēṇḍāpā, against the same kind of back, the king and the crownprince Çikhaṇḍin are sitting with the so often seen folded bowl, placed in a vase between them. They are having a lively conversation, as the text alone can tell us. On both sides of the pēṇḍāpā that takes up the middle of the scene, the attendants are seated, nearly all of them armed. The two persons without weapons sitting on the right we must not recognise as the ministers Hiru and Bhiru, though they are mentioned in the text as taking part in the ceremony; these figures are sitting too far away to be such important persons, for ministers would never have been put at the back of the king's bodyguard. On the left we see men with swords and one with bow and arrows; on the right, some with sword and shield, quiver and a large shut-up case. Trees appear behind both groups; on the right is the royal umbrella as well as a leaf-fan and an elephant without saddle or trappings.

77. *Rudrāyaṇa the monk and king Bimbisāra*

Here too, the sculptor has taken some liberties with the mise-en-scène. We read in the Divyāvadāna that when the monk Rudrāyaṇa was begging in the streets of Rājagṛha, king Bimbisāra heard of it and went to him; therefore the famous conversation took place in the street. The relief evidently removes this meeting to the palace. Both figures are seated in a pēṇḍāpā, the monk in the place of honor on

the righthand of the king; he sits on a cushion with a back, whereas the monarch is humbly sitting on the floor. They are in eager discourse, the monk seems to have his right hand (now knocked off), raised in the gesture of refusal suitable to the result of their conversation. The king's retinue surrounds the pēndāpā, three on the left, among them the one with the folded bowl; on the right, first two standing with flowers in their hand, the rest sitting. There is a bearded brahman and a couple of men armed with bow and arrows and sword and shield. In the background the umbrella and some trees. Away on the right there is a horse and an elephant with his mahout on his back.

78. *Rudrāyana hears of his son's misconduct; Çikhaṇḍin gives the order for his father's murder*

A tree divides the relief into two unequal parts. The smallest, on the right, shews the conversation between Rudrāyana and the merchants who tell him of his son's misgovernment and to whom the old king announces his intention of taking the matter in hand. The monk is sitting on a pedestal between two trees, his right hand lifted in surprise and disapproval, his waterjug is beside him. At his feet sit three merchants, the front one as spokesman making a sēmbah, the two others holding flowers.

On the other side of the dividing tree Çikhaṇḍin is devising his evil plans. The king is seated in an chair with back, leaning easily on his right hand under a canopy supported by columns. The men with whom he takes counsel sit in front of him to the right, where an umbrella is set up. Both the foremost ones are unarmed and no doubt represent the two bad ministers, the others have swords and shields. But this is not all. Quite on the left is a separate pavilion and in its niche-shaped opening appears the figure of a woman of high rank seated with flowers in her hand; this lady, Foucher recognises ¹⁾ as the queen-mother. On the right a man kneels before her holding up his hands. This attitude is too humble for the king interesting his mother in the plans for his father's murder, so that this lefthand bit of the relief might be a separate incident consecutive to the one in the centre. It is however quite comprehensible that even though the text does not mention her at this moment, the sculptor has thought fit to introduce this figure as a sort of prologue to the important part she plays later on in the drama. If this is the case, we see the queen-

¹⁾ L.I. page 29.

mother with an attendant sitting in a separate part of the palace, while in another part her son is being persuaded to consent to his father's murder.

79. Çikhaṇḍin is informed of the murder; his conversation with the queen-mother

Here too the relief is divided in two and more distinctly than in the last scene; the left part is now taken up by a space enclosed in a palissade, and the gateway giving entrance to it together with the adjacent tree, forms the partition between the two scenes. On the right the king is receiving the news that his orders have been carried out. He is seated on a large throne with a back richly-ornemented by makara-heads, under the seat is the closed box wound round with bands, that is also present in the last scene and need not be mentioned every time. A servant with a plaited basket sits behind the monarch on the right. On the left, where the royal umbrella is fixed up, sit the four persons with whom the king is talking; the two front ones with their grand headdress are certainly the wicked ministers, the first one making a sēmbah is the spokesman. The third has a gigantic sword in his hand, he must be one of the murderers from whom the king hears his father's last words.

The result of this appears on the lefthand scene, where the now-remorseful king converses with his mother, who tells him that the murdered man was not really his father. The place as already mentioned, is surrounded by a palissade. Inside this, on the extreme left, is the pavilion where the queen sits in the niche-shaped opening comforting her son. The king sits with one companion, not a servant but one of the ministers, between the pavilion and the gateway on the right, in an humble attitude, his hands in sēmbah. His rank is indicated by the umbrella and the two fly-fans fixed up behind him. A pair of birds are flying in the air. This representation of the scene differs from that of the text, where we are told that the queen visited her son, while on the contrary here the king is visiting his mother.

80. The performance of the trained cats at the stūpa's

Under a large penthouse supported by pillars we see the stūpa's on the left; they are round, with a band of garlands round the middle, each standing on a separate lotuscushion but placed together on the same pedestal. In the pedestal two cats are sitting; this is not what the text relates, each cat in its own hole under its own stūpa. Both the monu-

ments are crowned with an umbrella pinnacle, while right and left another umbrella is set up and flowers are falling from the sky; this latter miracle is misplaced and would surely have roused some doubts in the king's mind. Next to the pedestal of the stūpa's on the left, two men are seated, on the right, one; this one makes a sēmbah and the two first are pointing with their hands to the monuments; these are surely the two wicked ministers again. The royal spectators are seated to the right on a wide seat under a canopy. The queen has the place of honor, on the king's right hand; she sits higher and has a back while the king is sitting on the bench itself without a back. Notice his headdress, so well-preserved and finely-executed. Under a tree on the extreme right sit a few attendants, among them an armed guard; on the left next to the queen are her waiting-women, two kneeling, one of whom holds the folded bowl, and one standing with the fly-fan.

81. *The king returns after his vengeance on Mahākātyāyana; the monk foretells the destruction of the city*

Like on many others of this series, we here find two episodes on one relief. The first scene shews the king entering the city and although there is nothing to indicate what the occasion may be, we need not doubt it is the return after his vengeance on the saint, described in the text. It was too difficult for the sculptor to depict the actual deed, the monk being buried under the sand, therefore we are shewn the return of the king, comprehensible enough to those familiar with the course of the story. The city is indicated by a building on the right, a temple or a palace with pillared niches, corner-towers and a triṣūla on the roof-top; some birds are flying above it. As the double-door and the staircase face the spectator and the royal procession is not turning in that direction, it is evident that no palace is intended, but only the buildings of the city in general. Pushed away into the righthand corner is a man in fine clothes who may have been put in only to decorate the space, but might be considered as belonging to the head of the king's train that is partly hidden behind the building. At any rate the king with his retinue approaches on the left of the house; he is seated in a palanquin and this fact has caused the most extraordinary lack of proportion between the various servants and attendants. The king himself with the attendants behind the palanquin are of normal size; the bearers, in order to place the monarch becomingly on the relief, are about two heads shorter and the third class of servants, who walk at the side of the train, are fitted in as dwarfs just below the seat of the

king. The vehicle is a plain square of boards on which the king leans against a cushion and makara-back. Peacockfeather-fan, umbrella and fly-fan are carried beside him.

The second scene is quite out-of-doors as we see by the trees; those most to the right serve as partition. On the left, on a low bench with a dish under it, Mahākātyāyana is seated on a cushion, recovered from the sand-heap and uttering his prophecy to his rescuers sitting on the right; the front one makes a sēmbah and the last one wears a sword. There are three of them; two of course should be Hiru and Bhiru, so we might consider the third as one of the helpful cowherds. None of the three however are dressed for this humble occupation, it looks more likely that they belong together, one being possibly the son of Hiru who plays a part in the tale later on; so the cowherds have been forgotten. It is quite plain that the monk is speaking and the others listening to him.

82. *The shower of precious stones*

Along the whole length of the topedge of the relief is a border of clouds with overturned pots in front of it. Out of these the precious stones are raining down and as the miracles of the other days are not separately depicted, the sculptor has here given rein to his fancy with necklaces, gold rings and coins in a shower of riches. A temple or palace, seen on the right, indicates the city doomed to destruction. Next to that sits the king with a woman on a pēndāpā-seat with a wide back, watching the miraculous shower, a servant with the folded bowl is opposite. Under the seat are the usual vases etc. On the lefthand remainder of the relief the delighted populace are gathering up the treasure, all poorly-dressed, undoubtedly lower class. We see one standing and one sitting row, every one busy with a dish or cloth or their hands collecting the valuables or carrying them away. Below on the left is a boat being loaded up with the treasures. The text makes us expect the ship in which Hiru and Bhiru will presently set sail, but the sculptor has thought otherwise. There is no sign of water, the vessel is high and dry among the jewel-collectors, it is nothing better than a sloop, certainly not fit for a successful escape and then so overloaded with treasure that no place is left for the crew. Nor has any attempt been made to distinguish Hiru and Bhiru by their costume as prominent men. In fact the sculptor has merely put in a boat to be loaded with treasure and neglected all the other circumstances.

83. *The erection of the stūpa at Khara*

The sacred edifice rises in the centre of the relief; it is under a wide penthouse supported by columns, with a bell hanging on each side of it. The stūpa is of the usual round shape with a band of garlands round the middle, it rests on a lotuscushion and that on a pedestal with projections at the four corners. A pinnacle with an umbrella crowns the monument; want of space has obliged the umbrella to be placed in front of the penthouse instead of underneath. Flowers are falling from the sky; two columns of incense-smoke rise on each side of the pedestal. On the right stands a bearded man representing the citizens of Khara, with a pointed headdress but otherwise plainly-dressed; a vase of lotuses is seen on the ground in front of him and he bears in his hands a dish of flowers. Other citizens are kneeling and sitting behind him, the front one making a sēm-bah, the others carrying bowls and a dish of flowers. Four standards are fixed up in the background by way of decoration; two with a shell and two with a clasp-ornement at the top. On the other side of the stūpa as pendant to the old man, is a female figure with an incense burner and fan in her hand; this is of course the guardian-goddess of Roruka who was presented with the sacred relic for which the stūpa was built. Her attendants are kneeling behind her with an offering of a flower and a dish. On the extreme left is the music representing the yearly festival¹⁾, a couple of men who are beating oblong drums with sticks and one who plays the cymbals. The fourth lifts up a small drum that is only partly visible. Neither Mahākātyāyana nor his companion Ćyāmāka are present, for according to the tale the monk gives his bowl as a farewell gift, and after that follows the erection of the stūpa.

84. *Ćyāmāka is offered a kingdom*

This rather damaged relief would hardly be intelligible without the text. The events here depicted take place near a city, as we see by the building on the right; it is of simple construction, one storey on a foundation with rosette ornament, large double-doors between panels of square wall-paper pattern and a smooth sloping roof with top decoration. On the left of it stands Ćyāmāka with an attendant; the monk is not present, for the miracle of the motionless shadow and the offer of the kingdom took place in his absence. Ćyāmāka stretches his hand down to the people

¹⁾ This was noticed by Huber l.l. pag. 16.

who kneel before him making their offer. The trees in the background shew that the scene is out-of-doors; the tree, under which Ćyāmāka was seated, is not specified. The deputation that kneels before the chosen king is headed by someone holding up a very indistinct object in both hands, to judge by the shape probably a dish with flowers. Behind these people stand a couple of bearded men leaning on sticks, with rolled-up loincloth and hair twisted in a knot, probably brahmans. Quite on the left another barely-clothed man with no headdress is going away, he leans on a stick and carries another stick over his right shoulder with a bundle on it. There are several things we cannot very well account for on this relief, like the figure on the left¹⁾ and the now here mentioned attendant of Ćyāmāka, so that it is only on the authority of the text that this scene can be entitled the offering of a kingdom.

85. *Erection of the stūpa at Vokkāna*

Here again if the sculptor has followed the text, and this is the stūpa for the monk's staff, we can at once discover a mistake; it was a woman to whom Mahākātyāyana left his staff and there is no woman to be seen on the relief. The scene naturally resembles that of No. 83. Here too the stūpa is in the middle of the relief and the monument is round with a centre-band of garlands; it is crowned by a pinnacle with an umbrella and stands with a lotus cushion on a pedestal with projections, from which on each side rises incense-smoke from a lotus ornament. A brahman, as chief-worshipper, stands on the right with a flower in his hands in the gesture of sēmbah, while next and behind him three men are kneeling, one with an incenssory and fan, another with a bowl of wreaths and flowers; finally quite to the right some more men stand with a flowering branch and a dish of flowers, against a background of waving banners; on this side too is a decorative tree with an umbrella above it and garlands and bells hanging on it. On the left in front kneels a man in royal robes with a pot of incense in his left hand and a lotus with a long stalk in his right. Behind him sit and stand his servants and attendants with all the customary emblems of honor and sacrifice for the occasion, in the shape of flowers, dishes and a jug, in their hands. The oblong object in the hand of the front sitting one is not to be recognised. Among those who stand is one whose headdress looks like that of a nāga;

¹⁾ Comparing the curious dress worn by Mahākātyāyana on No. 87 with this, we might think perhaps that it is the monk going away. But this figure has too little of the bhikṣu about him.

the presence of such a being would seem strange when the text makes no mention thereof, but on the other hand, homage paid to a stūpa by a nāga is in itself nothing unusual. The headdress is not distinct enough to authorise a positive statement.

86. *Hiru lands at Hiruka*

As may be seen in the contents of the tale given above, the text relates the further history of the two ministers before that of Mahākātyāyana and immediately after their flight from the city; the sculptor seems to have had a different sequence of events in his text, or for some other reason has altered their order. We must not accept this scene as one whole; the voyage is on the right and the landing of the passengers on the left of the relief. The ship is not anchored near the coast while the passengers go on shore; quite otherwise, the vessel is depicted at full speed as can be seen by the sails and the water at the bow. It is not on the point of foundering on the coast at the left, but is in the open sea with fish in the water and clouds in the sky: the scene of the landing is another quite separate episode. We can form some idea of the vessels used at that time, by this and the one on No. 88; notice the broad stem and the way in which the sails are hoisted, the appearance of the hull and how the ship is given more stability by the side-wings still common in the Archipelago with smaller vessels.

On the left we see the emigrants on land again. Standing and kneeling they turn with outstretched hands to the family, man, woman and child, who are ready to receive them into their dwelling on the extreme left of the wooded landscape. The man has a dish with something in it, the woman an indistinct square object in her hand, both evidently intended for gifts. The house is remarkable; we can see a portion of it on the left, and it gives a better idea of the ordinary dwellings of the time than the richly-decorated palaces on other reliefs. It stands on piles, so there is room under the floor for some of the servants. The construction is plainly to be seen, with the beams and cross-beams; there is a window in the long side while the short sides project upwards and outwards, just as the houses are now still built, for instance in the Padang Highlands. A ridged roof projecting at the sides covers the structure. On top of the roof can be seen (as well as a pair of birds) a pot, next to which hangs a small ladder; these pots are still in use in various parts of the Archipelago (Celebes for instance) as an ordinary roof-ornament. The text says nothing about this reception; it would be interesting to know if the sculptor intro-

duced it himself or if he had a more elaborate account of Hiru's adventures at his disposal.

87. *Mahākātyāyana returns to Ćrāvastī*

This relief as well gives the impression of not quite agreeing with the text. There we read that bhikṣu's came to the monk and inquired about his adventures, while here the only bhikṣu is the chief person himself. A large building stands on the left of the scene, it has a double-door, niches on both sides and a wide roof decorated with small stūpa's on which some birds are perched. It is enclosed by a palissade that runs first along the lower edge of the relief and then bends round upwards, where a small gateway is inserted that has the same smooth ridged roof so often seen on the rice-sheds; a pair of peacocks are sitting on it. The monk has come inside the palissade which must be the city walls ¹⁾, he holds a water-jug in his left hand hanging down; what he has in the right hand is very indistinct, but looks like a lotus-bud. Just below this hand we see the head of a person standing much lower down with his back to him, turning round his head to the monk and evidently speaking or shewing him something. Mahākātyāyana's dress, if he is meant, differs noticeably from that of the ordinary bhikṣu's: he has a girdle tied round his loins with the ends hanging to his knee, and over his left shoulder a cloth that hangs down in front and behind, quite another thing than the tip of the monk's garment we have so often seen depicted. Outside the palissade on the right of the relief a number of people in fashionable dress are approaching with flowers, bowls of flowers and a fly-fan; these may be the citizens of Ćrāvastī coming to greet the returning monk. It looks rather as if one man is the most important of the group and the rest attendants; this rouses the question whether the whole picture may not be intended to represent something else, unknown to our text.

88. *Bhiru lands at Bhirukaccha*

Naturally this relief a good deal resembles No. 86. It is divided in the same way into sea and landscape, and the ship is very much the same. This vessel does not seem to be sailing at such speed as the other one and is not quite so well-finished. Its build is however the same; the crew are of a larger size, so there are fewer of them.

¹⁾ Foucher l.l. p. 33.

The scene on land however is quite different to that of Hiru's arrival and again makes it look as if there might be some reason for this difference; the scene depicted has too many characteristics to be considered only the representation of "landing". Under some trees on the right several men are sitting, surely sailors from the ship, in front of a bearded person seated comfortably in a small *pēndāpā* or couch under a canopy on a dais, apparently speaking to them; he wears his hair with a band round it, twisted high with hanging locks. He looks as if he lived there and is conversing with the persons just landed. The front one of the group who, like the one most behind, has a beard, holds a sort of bottle with a stopper that he either is presenting or has most likely just received. Our text, as we know, gives no information about this.

At the end of these *Rudrāyaṇa* scenes I will call attention to the representation of this same tale in the newer Tibetan art; not of course that this of itself might yield efficient material for comparison, but because of the fact that apparently almost the same version of the *avadāna* has been followed. It is most instructive to see how the Tibetan artist has made nearly the same kind of selection from the material for his scenes as the sculptors of the *Barabudur* and wherein their choice differs. We find consecutively depicted¹⁾: the presentation of the cuirass; jewelers come to value it; the portrait of the Buddha being made; the portrait arrives at *Roruka*; it is received with honor by *Rudrāyaṇa*; the preaching of *Kātyāyana*; *Candraprabhā's* dance; the preaching in the *zenana* (by *Kātyāyana* himself, not *Çailā*); *Candraprabhā* visits her spouse as a goddess; *Rudrāyaṇa* becomes a monk; he goes to *Roruka*; his last meditation; his death; his head is brought to *Çikhaṇḍin* (these artists did not shrink from horrors!); *Kātyāyana* rescued from the sandheap; the flight of the ministers; *Kātyāyana's* journey with his companions through the air; the stay at *Khara*; erection of the bowl-*stūpa*; *Çyāmāka* hanging to his master's garment; *Çyāmāka* and the miracle of the shadow; *Vokkāṇa*, *Kātyāyana's* mother and the staff-*stūpa*; the sandal-*stūpa*.

The story of *Bhallāṭiya* (*Jātaka* No. 504)

The king of Benares wished to go hunting; he departed from the city

¹⁾ Hackin I.I. p. 43—51 and pl. XI.

with his dogs and went towards the Himālaya, first along the Ganges and then following a tributary of that river. When he had climbed to a great height, he observed on the bank of the river, that was full of fish and tortoises, shaded by trees bearing blossom and fruit, and frequented by birds, bees and many kinds of deer, a pair of kinnara's who embraced and kissed one another and then fell to weeping and wailing. Curious to discover the cause of their grief, the king left his dogs behind, laid down his bow and other weapons beside a tree, and walking quietly along the ground, he inquired of the kinnara's the reason of their tears. The male kinnara was silent, but his companion answered the king. It had happened once that they had been separated for one night; while she was gathering flowers, a sudden rise of the river had separated her from her beloved who on the opposite bank was prevented from rejoining her. Not till the following morning did the water sink down and were they able to embrace one-another again. They still grieved for that one lost night in their life of a thousand years, although it had happened 697 years ago; for the separation of loving hearts, however short, seems to last for ages. Moved by this story, the king lost interest in his hunting and returned to the city, where he related the adventure to his courtiers.

89. *The king overhears the kinnara's*

The scene is a wooded landscape with rocks high and low, the whole relief being filled in with trees. Below on the left flows the river in which, just as the text tells us, fishes and tortoises are swimming, there are birds in the trees and a deer lying on the rocky edge of the river to the left. It is all in accordance with the text; but it does not follow that the version of the Northern Church represented here, coincided with the Pāli-jātaka known to us, for even without that the sculptor would naturally depict a scene on a mountain side with a river in this way. The pair of kinnara's stand to the left on the other side of the river, an actual embrace or expression of woe is not to be detected, but they are holding each others right hand and looking at one another and in the left hand respectively they have a monochord cithern and a flower. They have not the human shape of the kinnara's in the Sudhanakumārāvadāna, but the shape usually given elsewhere to these creatures, a human body on bird legs, behind which the wings spread out. In this tale wings are rather out of place, for by using these they could have flown across the river into each others arms on that fateful night. Separated from the pair by the foliage of a tree just to the right, the king stands listening, his

right hand before his breast, his face turned towards the spectator and so with his right ear listening to the loving pair. The royal retinue, not mentioned in the text, is sitting on the ground on the right; it consists of three rather damaged figures; the one most to the right has in his hand what seems to be an arrow. The dogs are nowhere to be seen, as weapon of the chase the king seems to have held a bow in his hand, of which not much remains.

90. *The king conversing with the kinnara's*

The mise-en-scène is very much the same, though some variety is introduced in the arrangement of rocks and trees and animals. The rocks on the left across the river, rise to the top of the relief and serve as background to the kinnara's; there are more birds fluttering all about, and as well as the couching deer away on the left, there are two more grazing on the right near the royal attendants in company with some fat-tailed quadruped. The kinnara-couple stand on the same spot, now no longer holding each other by the hand, and only the kinnarī has a flower, an utpala, in her left hand. Both turn towards the king who is sitting on the right, his hands in sēmbah, listening attentively to their words. Contrary to the text that relates how the man was silent and the woman answered the king's questions, we here see the man in the front and there is nothing to shew that it is only the woman who tells the tale. The attendants are put away into the corner on the right, separated from their lord by a wide space of wooded ground and the king, as was to be expected, is having a private interview with the kinnara's. Two of these servants are armed with sword and shield, while the front one is taking care of the bow which the king was holding on the last relief.

With this conversation of king and kinnara's we must compare the corresponding scene at the stūpa of Bharhut, pl. 27 : 12 of Cunningham; that is if Warren is correct in ascribing this scene to the same jāataka ¹⁾. In any case identification as the Candakinnara-jāataka is here as mistaken as on Barabudūr, as we have seen above. There is not much to compare in it: the medalion at Bharhut gives no details and shews only the king on a throne in conversation with a kinnara couple. So we find here nothing of any importance to Barabudūr; on the contrary the picture on the Javanese monument, where the quiet conversation in the wilderness leaves no doubt of the identification, should help towards the recognition of this tale at Bharhut, though there is no forest, the manner

¹⁾ Warren, *Two bas-reliefs of the stūpa of Bharhut* (1890) p. 8—14.

of conversation with no sign of force such as the Candakinnara-jātaka suggests, will probably turn the scale ¹⁾. If we put more emphasis on the entire absence of forest scenery and the fact that the king is seated on a throne, then as suggested by Hultzsich ²⁾, the Bharhut representation should be ascribed to the Takkāriya-jātaka and will have no connection with Barabudur.

91. *The king relates the story to his courtiers(?)*

By way of completion I must suggest the possibility that a third relief belongs to this story. No. 91 might surely serve as closing scene, where the king relates what he has heard and seen to his court. At the same time it would do just as well for any conversation with a monarch, and as we have no knowledge of the tale that follows, it is not possible to judge if this belongs as opening scene to it. A reason for not attaching this relief to the story of the kinnara's is of course its position, it being separated by a doorway from the kinnara-tale.

92—105 not identified ³⁾.

The story of Maitrakanyaka
(Avadānaçataka No. 36; I p. 193—205)

In the city of Benares lived a merchant and leader of a caravan, whose wife was about to give birth to a child; his friends advised him, in case a son should be born, to give him a girl's name. ⁴⁾

It so happened; the son received the name of Maitrakanyaka and grew up without mishap. While he was still young, his father died on a voyage. When Maitrakanyaka was a man, he asked his mother what trade his father had followed, intending to take up the same work. But his mother, fearing that her son too might travel across the sea, told him that his father had been a shopkeeper. Then Maitrakanyaka set up a shop and earned four kārṣāpaṇa's the first day; this money he gave to his mother to be spent in charity. Then some one told him that his father had been a dealer in perfumes, immediately the young man closed his shop, started

¹⁾ See Foucher l.l. pag. 35, where more references are given. Foucher himself agrees with Warren.

²⁾ Hultzsich insists Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1912 p. 407 on his former (Ind. Ant. 21, p. 225) identification.

³⁾ Described in the Dutch edition p. 272—276.

⁴⁾ According to another version, this was suggested because till then all sons born to him had died at their birth.

as perfume-dealer, and earned directly eight *kārṣāpaṇa*'s, which he disposed of in the same way. Then again he was told that his father had been a goldsmith, so he at once started that trade; the first day he earned sixteen *kārṣāpaṇa*'s and the second thirty-two; both sums he gave to his mother for charity. His success made other merchants jealous of him and in order to get rid of a tiresome rival, they told him that he followed a trade unsuited to him, for his father had been a great merchant and caravan-leader. Maitrakanyaka then asked his mother if this was true, which she could not deny, but begged him to stay with her. This he refused and gave out that he was about to fit up a caravan for a trading-voyage overseas. Five hundred merchants accompanied him. Again his mother besought him not to depart and threw herself in despair at his feet, but her son, furious at her opposition, kicked her on the head and departed.

Arrived at the harbor the caravan went on board but the voyage turned out unfortunate. A sea-monster upset the vessel, Maitrakanyaka saved himself on a raft and was washed ashore. He went inland and reached a city called Ramanaka, where four beautiful *apsaras* met him at the gate and bade him welcome. In their company he lived a life of pleasure for several years, but at last the longing to travel drove him further South. There he came to the city of Sadāmatta, where eight *apsaras* welcomed him in the same manner. After some pleasant years passed among these, he departed and came to Nandana, where there were sixteen *apsaras* and these too he forsook in the same way and came still farther South to the palace Brahmottara, where thirty-two ladies received him. But here again the longing to depart laid hold of him and he left this pleasure-city and came at last to Ayomaya. No sooner had he entered this city than the gates closed behind him. When he came into the middle of the place, he saw a man of lofty stature, who carried a revolving iron wheel on his head; this wheel, all in flames, tore open his head and the unhappy man was forced to feed himself with the blood and matter that dripped off. Maitrakanyaka inquired who he was and received the answer: "A man who has ill-treated his mother." Then Maitrakanyaka remembered his evil behaviour to his own mother. And a voice was heard saying: "Those who are bound, are free and those who are free are now bound"; immediately the wheel sprang off the man's head and fastened itself on to the head of Maitrakanyaka, who began to feel the most horrible pains. He asked how long the torture would last and was told sixty thousand and sixty hundred years; then again he asked if another would come to undergo the same torment and the

man replied: "One who has committed the same sin as yourself."

Though he was overcome by the pain, yet Maitrakanyaka did not lose his compassion for human kind. He said: "I am willing to wear this wheel for ever on my head for the sake of my fellow-creatures; may there never come another who has committed such sin." No sooner had he uttered these words than the wheel was lifted from his head and remained floating in the air. And at the same moment the Bodhisattva Maitrakanyaka died and was born again into the heaven of the Tūṣita-gods.

106. *Maitrakanyaka gives his mother the money he has earned*

The dutiful son and his mother are sitting together in a pēṇḍāpā; she is on the right on a raised seat with a back, her hand stretched out to receive the bag of money that is laid between two flowers on a tray in front of her. To the left of this, Maitrakanyaka sits on the floor offering his earnings with a respectful sēmbah. Next to the bench on which the mother is seated, there are four pots with some balls sticking out of them; perhaps these indicate Maitrakanyaka's business and belong to his shop or else they are filled with perfume. On the right behind the merchants widow her servants are standing and sitting, some with dishes, others with flowers in their hand. Behind her son, on the left under some trees, is a group of men, some very much damaged; the front one holds a small round object in his hand, one of the others a large oblong something, neither of them recognisable; two of the men look like brahmins and have beards and their hair in a knot on the top of their heads; one of these last makes a sēmbah. It might be that these, because of the sēmbah, are the people who are about to receive alms, but their dress does not look suitable for beggars and they have a lot of things in their hands already, before the distribution begins. Perhaps they are customers of the shop or friends of Maitrakanyaka or merely spectators. In the left-hand corner is a small building, probably to shew us we are in the town; it is an ordinary little temple with steps up to the entrance that is decorated with kalamakara-ornement, and has a roof with a story to it on a rich cornice with antefixes.

107. *Maitrakanyaka as goldsmith; his departure*

The two scenes given on this relief are divided by a large building of two storeys, the one with staircase and entrance, the second with a niche, both decorated with kalamakara-ornement. The roof is finished off with

a row of pots. On the right of this building we see Maitrakanyaka as goldsmith in a shop with a wide double roof. Under the roof some clothes hang over a rail. The goldsmith himself sits on the right on a cushion negotiating with a woman sitting opposite; his right hand is raised and she is weighing something with a small pair of scales that she has in her hand, evidently some ornament. Between them on the ground is a tied-up bundle of small bars, perhaps gold(?), and a large moneybag that surely contains the thirty-two kārṣāpaṇa's. The woman is very indistinct, just as the one sitting behind her, and as the man with a beard standing more to the left, his hair twisted up; possibly he is a brahman and he leans on a stick. These persons are probably not of much importance, where the whole scene represents the goldsmith doing business.

The scene on the left shews Maitrakanyaka ready to depart, he stands out-of-doors among some trees with another man similarly dressed but very much damaged, who of course represents the company of merchants. On the right is a woman prostrate at Maitrakanyaka's feet, she is kneeling with her left hand on the ground and the right touching his leg. This is no doubt the mother imploring her son not to set out; we can see plainly the one plait of hair, the ekaveṇi, shewing her to be a widow; the same can be seen too on the last relief but not as clearly. The son holds his right hand above her head, and if we were not better informed, this might be taken for a beneficent gesture; but the text shews us it is an angry dismissal that will be followed by the fatal kick, not of course to be depicted.

108. *The voyage and arrival at Ramanaka*

This relief is also divided. On the right sails the ship that carries the caravan; it is of the same build as those on No. 86 and 88 in the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna, noticeable only for the flags and pennons that decorate its stem and stern and the mast. The crew here too are hard at work but the vessel is too much damaged for us to see what they are doing; the man lying on his back on the sidewing looks very queer. There is no sign of the coming shipwreck or the sea-monster that is to cause it; the vessel seems all right, there are fish and other creatures in the sea but no sort of makara in sight. To the left of the ship is a small boat in front of the stem and going in the same direction, its sails are spread and it has a crew of several men. Some are looking at the big vessel, but it is not clear what is going on. It is not likely that the big ship is being boarded by the small one considering their position, but we might think that the small boat will be run down or that it is a sloop belonging to the larger vessel,

in which the passengers are saving themselves or perhaps only about to land. There may be some explanation to be found in the Pāli-tradition of the Catudvāra-jātaka (no. 439) in which it is not a shipwreck that causes the hero of the tale to land among the nymphs, but during a calm he is pointed out as the cause of the delay, and is thrown overboard, after which he comes to land among the apsaras ¹⁾. Perhaps the strange figure on the side-wing is Maitrakanyaka, or perhaps he does not get thrown overboard but is put on land by a sloop. The latter seems most probable. However it may be, text and monument agree in so far that Maitrakanyaka is alone for the rest of the tale, cut off from his companions, shipwrecked, marooned or whatever it is.

The partition is made by a piece of ground with trees and rocks, with a pair of birds on it belonging to the scene depicted on the left. Nothing is to be seen of the city, not even the gateway where according to the tale the apsaras awaited the young merchant. Maitrakanyaka stands on the right, his right hand raised in salutation; separated from him by some bushes the four asparas stand on the left in a row, in charming attitudes, richly-dressed with flowers in their hands, interlaced and leaning against one another. They form a very pleasing group, only they turn quite to the spectator and take no notice of their guest.

109. *Arrival at Sadāmatṭa*

A city or a gateway is not to be seen any more than on the last or the two following reliefs; Maitrakanyaka meets the nymphs out-of-doors in the forest. There are trees all about the scene, on the right with a couple of deer, while on the left a wide piece of the relief is entirely filled up with forest scenery, birds in and above the trees, among them a parrot and a pigeon, and some wild pigs on the ground with a snake just appearing out of his hole in the rock. Maitrakanyaka is coming from the right, he has a red lotus with a long stalk in his left hand and his right stretched out towards the nymphs; a halo is round his head. This is of course quite natural, for Maitrakanyaka is no other than the Bodhisattva, but it is strange that he wears an aureole on this scene only, nowhere else. The apsaras, eight in number, as they should be, are all depicted sitting; we see most of them in profile as they turn towards the approaching Bodhisattva. Nothing can be distinguished of the objects they hold, because the group is so damaged.

¹⁾ See Speyer l.l. p. 195.

110. *Arrival at Nandana*

This relief too is set in trees, fruit- and flowering trees instead of the jungle on No. 109; everything looks better cared-for, something like a pleasure-garden, though we see a pair of wild animals in the right hand lower corner. Maitrakanyaka is coming from the same side; he is looking towards the side from where he comes, evidently to bring a little variation to the repetition in these scenes. The apsaras are not all sixteen present, only eleven of them, four standing separated by trees, the rest seated. Three carry an utpala, one a padma and another one a dish of flowers. The rest of the group that takes up the rest of the scene are empty-handed.

111. *Arrival at Brahmottara*

Here again as in the other three cities Maitrakanyaka visits, there is no sign of the palace in which he was to meet the thirty-two apsaras. The scenery is even wilder, with trees growing out the rocky ground on the right. Our hero again approaches from the right, his head has been knocked off, but the flower is still visible in his right hand. He is now not alone, one of the thirty-two is walking behind him and has hold of his left hand. Thirteen others await their arrival on the left hand of the relief. They are in two rows as they were on the last scene, but now in much more natural attitudes. Some of them hold a bowl or a flower in the usual manner, but others have their arms raised or hold one another's hand; one has her hands clasped above her head with an imploring gesture, another lays her hand on her breast. In this way there is much variety in attitude and gesture, a freedom and charm that is surely intended by the sculptor to form a climax to these episodes, and in this he has succeeded. His last group of apsaras must have proved irresistible in loveliness as well as number.

112. *Maitrakanyaka with the man of the wheel and in the Tuṣita-heaven*

The sculptor continues with his forest scenery; like the cities and the palace of the apsaras, now the Iron City where Maitrakanyaka is to suffer his well-earned punishment, is also depicted by means of trees. Only the gateway that is to shut behind him is here and forms the partition between the two episodes on this relief. A palissade as usual, represents the city walls and runs straight up from the lower edge of the relief, against the gateway that has a double smooth-sloping roof without any orna-

ment. On the right of the gate squats a rākṣasa, leaning on his club with both hands. He wears the ordinary large round earrings, but the tangled hair is hidden under a cap or else left unfinished. Next to his foot a snake is raising its head. Besides this gatekeeper there are two men standing between the trees, one, with nothing particular about him, evidently by his gesture is speaking to the rākṣasa; the other, quite on the right, catches hold of the wheel revolving on his head. This man might of course be Maitrakanyaka and the other his predecessor just relieved of the torture; it might of course also be the other way about, and on this point I agree entirely with Foucher whose opinion is ¹⁾ that we are not allowed to see the actual punishment of the Bodhisattva, any more than the kick earlier in the story. Therefore I follow him in rejecting the idea that both these figures might be Maitrakanyaka, with and without the wheel, and believe too that the man with the wheel is the one just about to be released from the torture, and that it is Maitrakanyaka who is speaking to the gatekeeper. In our text this gatekeeper plays no part, though he appears in the version of the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇasūtra given by Beal from the Chinese translation and in the gāthā's of the Pāli-tradition ²⁾. In the Chinese text it is a yakṣa gatekeeper who himself places the wheel on Maitrakanyaka's head and tells him the reason and length of the punishment; this he tells in the Pāli gāthā's as well, though the reason of his presence is not given. As it appears, the Chinese version has not been followed on the monument, for here they speak to each other before the wheel gets on to the head of the Bodhisattva and the tale ends further happily in the Tuṣita-heaven, which is in accordance with the Avadānaçataka but not with the Chinese text; therefore the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇasūtra and the Pāli gāthā's are only of value to us because they shew that the gatekeeper is not an invention of the sculptor's, but belongs to a reading of the tale unknown to us.

On the left of the partition ³⁾ we are shewn the reward of Maitrakanyaka's compassion, the life as a god in the Tuṣita-heaven. The Bodhisattva sits on a throne with a back ornamented with makara, while a woman kneels on his left holding his right arm that he rests on her thigh. On the other side stands a waiting woman with a fly-whisk and there is an umbrella, really too small to be of any use. Behind her, still more to

¹⁾ L. I. p. 38.

²⁾ Beal, *Romantic Legend* p. 345, and for the Pāli-redaction Speyer I. I. p. 192—196.

³⁾ I think it improbable that this scene belongs to the following tale, as Foucher suggests on p. 39. A partition between two tales in the middle of a relief, is only to be found in the small jātakas of the balustrades, but nowhere in the more important tales.

the right, more women are sitting ready to serve their lord and above this seated group we see hanging in the air on a separate foundation, a decorative tree between two kinnara's. In describing the reliefs on the covered base I have already shewn that this kind of tree with kinnara's is often used to indicate a heaven, where it would otherwise be difficult to distinguish between earthly and heavenly joys ¹⁾).

113—120 not identified ²⁾).

¹⁾ The man with the wheel, as described in the Pāli-jātaka, is represented in Pagān; see Grünwedel, *Buddh. Studien*, Veröffentl. Kön. Mus. f. Völkerk. 5 (1897) abb. 3 p. 3 and abb. 75 p. 97. A modern Siamese representation of the whole tale in the Trai Phum is also to be found Grünwedel abb. 78 p. 99.

²⁾ Their description will be found in the Dutch edition p. 281—284.

CHAPTER V

THE JĀTAKAMĀLĀ

(First gallery, balustrade ; top series, first part)

The moral tales described in the last chapter, which are depicted on the lowest row of reliefs on the chief wall of the first gallery, belonged chiefly to the avadāna's; on the balustrade of the same gallery we come to the real genuine jātaka's. For the explanation of the first 135 there is a consecutive text at our service, the Jātakamālā of the poet Ćūra that was published in 1891 by Prof. Kern ¹⁾ ; a translation by Prof. Speyer appeared first in the *Bijdragen van het Kon. Instituut v. d. Taal, Landen Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië* ²⁾, later as first volume of the *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* ³⁾. It is to the Russian scholar S. d'Oldenburg we owe the identification of the Jātakamālā on the first balustrade of the Barabudur, a discovery published in the article quoted on pag. 239 ⁴⁾. He has identified most of the jātaka's, though he had at his disposal only the drawings by Wilsen and this portion of the album of plates is rather inadequate. It has been possible to supplement Oldenburg's identifications beyond what is given by Wilsen's drawings, in the *Oudheidkundig Rapport* of 1910 ⁵⁾, and a complete list of the Jātakamālā-scenes is given in the Appendix of the „Short Guide to the Boro-Budur” with which my present view as will appear, differs only in a few instances.

Let us see how the reliefs fit in with the text of Ćūra's poem that is known to us. They do not completely coincide; even if only in details,

¹⁾ The Jātaka-Mālā or Bodhisattvāvadāna-mālā by Ārya Ćūra, edited by Dr. Hendrik Kern, Harvard Oriental Series Vol. I (1891).

²⁾ 5: 8 and 10 (42 and 43, 1893—1894).

³⁾ Edited by F. Max Müller, London 1895.

⁴⁾ See also Brandes in *Not. Bat. Gen.* 1896, p. 106 sq.

⁵⁾ Pag. 6—10. A supplement is given in *Rapp.* 1911, p. 26, an amendment in *Oudheidk. Versl.* 1912 p. 58.

still there exist as becomes apparent in the description of the separate reliefs, a marked difference in some points. Judging by the way in which the sculptors worked with other texts known to us, we can not allow for imagination on their part, so we are forced to ask if another version of Ćūra's work has been followed at Barabuđur or if an older jātaka-collection may have existed, from which Ćūra as well as the text used at Barabuđur originated.

This question may not be of great importance for the identification of the reliefs, for in any case the Jātakamālā of Ćūra remains our only available material for comparison; all the same it will be worth while to take it for a moment into consideration and find out what we can learn about the text used on the monument. To answer this question in the first place, we can not bring forward any argument from the presumed date of Ćūra's life; Oldenburg gives the end of the seventh century as certain terminus ante quem, because I-tsing then mentions our Jātakamālā, but Kern thinks that he flourished between 550 and 650 or earlier and Speyer, following the lead of Zachariae, considers it not unlikely that he lived before 434 in which year a work ascribed to him was translated into Chinese ¹⁾. Therefore as regards the date it is quite possible that his Jātakamālā is represented on Barabuđur. Secondly, a close resemblance between text and reliefs does not necessarily enforce the conclusion that the sculptors entirely depend on Ćūra, for he states himself in the opening verses that he intends to keep to those facts recorded in the sacred writings and preserved by tradition; this he seems faithfully to have done, as we see wherever comparison has been possible, for instance with the Pāli jātakas ²⁾.

This is so striking that where the facts of the jātaka's are related, a remarkable resemblance is often to be noticed between the gāthā's of Ćūra and those from the canon of the Southern Buddhists, so much so that they have been of mutual help in the interpretation and criticism of the texts. There seems thus no doubt at all that Ćūra both in subject and in form has borrowed from an older jātaka collection or collections. It now only remains for us to decide if his work must be regarded as a sort of anthology from the tales he found, or as a new adaptation of an existing collection, retaining its sequence. In the first case the resemblance in

¹⁾ Oldenburg in Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. 1893, p. 308 etc; Kern in *Der buddhistische Dichter Ćūra, Festgruss an Otto von Böthlingk* (1888), Verspr. Geschr. IV (1916), p. 182; Speyer on p. XXVIII of his Introduction; Zachariae, Gött. gelehrt. Anzeig. 1888, p. 850.

²⁾ Wherever his account differs from that preserved in other sources, we may infer that he followed some different version (Speyer, Introduction p. XXV).

sequence of the Jātakamālā and Barabudur would prove the monument to have followed the poem, in the second case the possibility remains that both can be referred to some common source.

Now there is a tale to be found in Tāranātha ¹⁾, who for the rest does not appear to be well-acquainted with Ćūra, that the poet began to write ten times ten jātaka's, that were to illustrate the attainment of the ten pāramitā's by the Buddha, but that he died when he had finished thirty-four. This tale may not be credible in itself because, according to Kern, thirty-four is the official number of jātaka's among the Northern Buddhists who also give the epithet *catuṣṭriṃṣajjātakajña* to the Buddha ²⁾; so the thirty-four we now have before us would make a complete whole. But we must understand from this piece of information that Tāranātha, or *casu quo* his source ³⁾, might consider the thirty-four jātaka's known to us through Ćūra, as the first of a larger collection of one hundred tales. This view is certainly confirmed by what we see on the monument, where the last story of the Jātakamālā is followed without any interval or transition by the same kind of animal story, after which others follow, all treated in the same manner and clearly giving the impression that they illustrate some jātaka-collection that runs from No. 1 without intermission. The top row of the first gallery shews just what Tāranātha's statement makes us suppose, a collection of birth-stories of which those known to us from Ćūra's work are the first.

However it would not be correct on account of this, to conclude that Ćūra has not made an anthology, but restricted himself to a poetic adaptation of the first part of an existing whole of considerable size, which Tāranātha has referred to and that would appear on the Barabudur. Speyer has already drawn attention ⁴⁾ to a couple of verses in Somendra's introduction to the *Avadānakalpalatā* of his father Kṣemendra; he there gives the characteristics of the "garlands from birth-stories of the Jina" style of art; a type that seems to agree entirely with our Jātakamālā, and then states that the authors collected their tales here and there without regard to the usual sequence. The Jātakamālā itself points in the same direction: the first story, that of the tigress, was praised by his guru, says Ćūra and as Speyer observes ⁵⁾ that will be

¹⁾ *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, üb. Schiefner (1869), p. 92 (= 73).

²⁾ See p. VII of the Preface of Kern's edition. Oldenburg (J. R. A. S. I. I. p. 307) thinks that this epithet has been given on the authority of our collection.

³⁾ According to Thomas (Album Kern, 1903, p. 405), Tāranātha has perhaps taken his idea from the *Jātakamālāpañjikā* of Vajrasimha, included in the *Mdo* (CXXXIII fol. 286—330).

⁴⁾ Introduction p. XXIII.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.* p. XXV.

the reason, as mark of honor to his guru, why the tale of the tigress and no other has been chosen to open the Jātakamālā.

If we must consider these two probabilities, first that Ćūra's work may be an anthology and secondly that it nevertheless on the monument forms the first part of a larger whole, then these two data, in my opinion, can be united only in one way and that is by assuming that an elaborate jātaka-text has been followed on the Barabuđur, in which the already-existing Jātakamālā of Ćūra was incorporated and formed the beginning. As this work had gained such fame that it was received into the holy scriptures ¹⁾, it is easy to understand that on making a larger collection, it was included without alterations; that something of the kind was actually done is proved by the existence of a Tibetan collection of 101 jātaka's in which our Jātakamālā is also included ²⁾, and to which I shall refer later on.

If my supposition is correct, it then follows that we can regard Ćūra's work of art as the primary source for the explanation of these reliefs and this view is confirmed by the fact that at Ajaṇṭā too, as will appear further on, it is the text of Ćūra that has been illustrated, as we can see by the quotations on some of the jātaka-pictures. Slight variations must therefore be ascribed to the difference of version. The Jātakamālā takes up rather more than a third of the whole series on the monument; of the other two-thirds a few stories have been identified from other sources, but no text with the same sequence has been found.

It is remarkable that while the thirty-four jātaka's of Ćūra occupy 135 reliefs, the 372 reliefs of the whole series would accommodate just about a hundred, in this way indicating a text of the size Tāranātha seems to mean. The existence of such a text must be the foundation of his statement, and that our Jātakamālā is treated as a portion of a whole of ten times ten, may appear from the uddāna (list of contents) placed just after the 10th, 20th and 30th jātaka in the manuscript ³⁾.

As regards the manner in which I have treated it, let me say that for practical reasons it was not possible to give the corresponding portion of text with each relief; not only because Ćūra's work is so entirely unsuitable for bits of quotation and it is equally unpleasant for reader and editor to assist at the mutilation of a fine piece of literature, but what

¹⁾ Ibid. p. XXVII.

²⁾ See Ivanovski in *Zapiski* 7 (1893), p. 265—299. A French translation can be found in *Revue de l'Hist. d. Relig.* 47 (1903), p. 299—335.

³⁾ Oldenburg l.l. p. 307.

makes it unfeasible is the very different way of composition followed by the poet and the sculptor, so that what the poem relates at the beginning has been brought into sculpture further on and vice versa. Therefore the text would have to be torn asunder to correspond with the separate reliefs.

The best way will be to give a summary of the tale at the beginning of each jātaka, as I have done with the separate stories in the last row of reliefs, laying emphasis of course on the details that are of most importance for expression in sculpture, while the descriptions, maxims, meditations and such like drop out of sight. In this manner we get a review of the story, but a very inadequate idea of Çūra's great art of enhancing these simple tales, and what is still more to be regretted, the moving eloquence, the religious fervour that despite all differences of time, place and philosophy still enthrall the reader. Though it is no part of the task in explaining reliefs, to rouse enthusiasm, it grieves me to be obliged to treat this masterpiece of Buddhist Sanskrit literature only as a unit for archaeological research. Fortunately this poem of Çūra's is within the reach of those interested through Kern's excellent edition princeps and Speyer's no less successful translation.

I. The story of the Tigress (text p. 1—6; translation p. 2—8)

The Bodhisattva was born into an eminent brahman family. Purified by the jātakarman and other sacraments in the order prescribed, he grew up and attained great skill in arts and science. He gave no thought to earthly pleasures and shaking off the householder's state as a disease he withdrew himself into a retreat among the mountains, where he was visited by many who recognised him as Salvation in human shape and became his disciples. Once while he was walking with one of his pupils, he saw a young tigress in a rocky cave who had just whelped, and being exhausted and hungry was on the point of devouring her young. The Bodhisattva immediately sent off his pupil to seek food for the animal, but this was only a pretext, for he had at once decided that he would give his own impure body to the tigress to save her from the unnatural deed, to give an example to the world and seize the occasion to sacrifice himself for the sake of others. Thereupon he threw himself down off the rock and the tigress rushed up and began to devour him. When the disciple returned empty-handed, he saw what had happened and his grief

was subdued by respect and admiration for his master's good deed. He and his companions together with gandharva's, yakṣa's, nāga's and gods covered the ground, that held the treasure of the master's remains, with wreaths, garments, jewels and sandal powder.

1. *The Bodhisattva purified by the usual sacraments*

The Bodhisattva, as a child, is sitting on the lap of a nurse on the left; he wears the double band round the breast fastened with a clasp, usual for children, and though the head has been knocked off, a bit of the crescent-shaped ornament that is also often given to children can be seen behind the head.

His left foot rests on a small lotus-cushion. Two figures in brahman dress stand in front of him, they are evidently performing the ceremony; the front one, behind whom sits a pupil, is pouring the contents of a jug, held up high in both hands, over the Bodhisattva, the second is ready for the sprinkling with scallop and brush. The rest of the company are in worldly dress, a servant with a fly-fan, some one with a partly-damaged round object on his shoulder and then quite to the right a person sitting, with some ornaments, a tiara and two bracelets, on a tray. Behind this figure a banner is set up to shew the festive character of the ceremony.

2. *The Bodhisattva receives instruction*

On a large seat, with a water-jug and a bowl placed underneath, sits a bearded brahman on a mat with a style in his hand, against a back ornamented with makara's. He is discoursing with a youth on the right who is seated on a small dais and dressed in fashionable garments; the hands which probably held the book are entirely damaged. A couple of figures in brahman dress are here standing in the background, and two scholars, one sitting and one standing, are behind the brahman first-described. Though a scene of the Bodhisattva with his pupils would here be quite appropriate, this explanation is not quite satisfactory; not only would the Bodhisattva wear a beard that he has not retained on the scene following, but this takes place indoors, when an outdoor scene is required for the Bodhisattva's teaching. Probably we have before us an episode in his youth and the Bodhisattva is the young man sitting on the right, who receives instruction from a guru. To this view it may be objected that this layman shews no sign of belonging to the brahman class, but then in the 7th story and elsewhere

we shall come upon the young son of a brahman family in the ordinary dress of the upper-classes.

3. *The Bodhisattva and the tigress*

Conventional masses of rock, give the background to the mountain-scene where the great deed is to take place. The Bodhisattva in the dress of an ascetic, necklace and hair twisted up into a knot, is sitting in a sort of niche in the rock, under which his water-jug stands on a pedestal; he turns towards the disciple sitting on the ground before him with his hands in *sēmbah*. A figure standing behind this one, also dressed like an anchorite, we might take for a second pupil, which would not correspond with the text, where only one is spoken of. When we notice that this person is not joining in the conversation on the left but has fixed his attention on what takes place below on the right, we are much more inclined to consider that the right half of the relief represents a later phase of the tale and the standing figure may be the Bodhisattva depicted for the second time and now on the point of sacrificing himself. Below on the right the tigers have evidently been put in, there are still traces of them, though the relief is so much damaged and a large piece of it has disappeared. Quite at the bottom one of the whelps can be seen and above it something of the dam's body. How exactly the performance took place, it is now impossible to find out, but we can be sure that anything so horrible as the devouring of the Bodhisattva's body would never have been represented.

4. *Honoring of the Bodhisattva's remains*

Not much is left of this relief, still less than the last one, only just enough to allow us to discern its subject. Below on the left we see some one kneeling, who is in worldly dress. Some other persons in similar costume are sitting behind him, and above three ascetics are discernible, standing. These latter are of course the disciples and as the only occasion on which they were brought into the company of other persons was, according to the text, at the homage shewn to the master after death, this relief we may consider gives the final scene of the story. The figures in full-dress must of course be the gods, while the other super-human beings of the text are not depicted or belonged to the piece that has disappeared. Just to the left of the kneeling god has been the column that closed in this relief, so there was no space for a *stūpa* or anything of that kind, but perhaps the kneeling god was holding a

funeral urn. Or is it possible that all these figures are only intended as spectators of what is happening on No. 3?

II. The story of the king of the Çibi's (text p. 6—14; trans. p. 8—19)

Reincarnated as king of the Çibi's, the Bodhisattva ruled his subjects as if they were his own children. Noble and virtuous as he was, his chief aim was the exercise of charity. Almshalls were set up where everything the indigent desired was to be had, so that beggars from all parts poured into his kingdom like elephants go to a lake.

When the needs of all were satisfied, and there was almost nothing more to ask for, the king seeing no more chance of satisfying his passion for charity, began to think of something else more valuable to give away, for instance his own limbs. At the thought of this, the earth trembled and Çakra, king of the gods, understanding the cause of this emotion decided to put the king of the Çibi's to the proof. In the shape of a blind old brahman, he appeared before the monarch who had issued a proclamation, summoning all those who were in need and had made ready gifts of every possible kind; he then asked the king to give him one of his eyes. The king acceded joyfully to this request in spite of all the protestations of his ministers, and what is more, presented the brahman with his other eye as well. Sometime later when the wounds were healed, the king was sitting with legs crossed, in his park. Suddenly Çakra appeared to him and expressed his surprise that after all that had happened, the monarch was still interested in his beloved beggars. "As surely as the supplications of the beggars then as now sound like benedictions to my ear, so surely may one eye be returned to me", said the king, and at the same moment one of his eyes was in its place again. "And as surely as, when giving away my eyes, I felt nothing but the greatest joy, so surely may I obtain also my second eye." This at once took place. Then the king returned into the city with his councillors in joyful procession, received the congratulations of his delighted subjects and preached unto them the Law, making it clear by his own example that there is no greater blessing than charity.

5. *The Bodhisattva as king of the Çibi's*

There is not much to be said about this very much damaged relief. On the left sits a distinguished person on a dais, with his leg in the support, in the company of two women; he is conversing with an important

person seated opposite on the ground, next to whom can be seen the pole of an umbrella or standard and behind whom sits a servant with a fly-fan and there are the remains of another with a sword. The rest of what has been on the relief it is impossible to discover; at any rate there seems to have been a king represented, so that this relief cannot form a part of the story on the last, but most probably will belong to the second jātaka about the king of the Ābhi's.

6. *The exercise of charity*

The king is sitting with a servant (male or female) to the left, on a throne that is ornamented with makara-carving on the back; under the seat is a tray of money-bags ready for distribution. On the right we see the beggars standing and sitting, rather too well-dressed to be poverty-stricken, though their stretched-out hands shew plainly enough why they are there.

7. *Çakra asks for the king's eye*

The sculptor takes no trouble to give the surroundings described by the text, but restricts himself to the chief figures. The king sits on a small dais with two waiting women, one of whom holds a lotus in her hand; in front of him stands Çakra as a brahman, old and bent, blind and leaning on a staff. He makes his request with right hand outstretched. The deed itself, which in the text too is only described in a few words, is not depicted. Both Çūra and the sculptor shew their good taste, in contrast to the disgusting details exhibited by the Pāli-jātaka (No. 499).

8. *The king and Çakra in the park*

The similarity of Çakra's attitude on this relief compared with the last one, caused me at first to take it for the giving of the second eye. This was a mistake. The king now sits quite alone on a throne, his eyes blind, with hands in his lap, his legs crossed; underneath the seat is a waterjug. The plants pictured next to him shew it is not in the palace, but out-of-doors where the scene is enacted. Çakra stands in the same pose as on No. 7 on the right, in converse with the king who is going to receive back his sight. Behind Çakra are some more plants. The god is still shewn in the form of a brahman; probably the sculptor wishes to make it plain that it is the same Çakra of the last relief. The text says nothing about Çakra changing his appearance on

his second visit so that it would have been natural to have depicted him as king of the gods. The form of brahman is here quite out of place, for in the first place the king cannot see at all and then Çakra as soon as he appeared, disclosed his identity. This unnecessary disguise is a mistake on the sculptor's part.

9. *The king receives congratulations and preaches the Law*

This uninteresting relief might just as well serve for the first scene of the following story, if it were not that a queen is required there, who is here wanting, and that the offering of gifts to the king, that is evidently taking place, is most suitable to the court scene of rejoicing over the Çibi king's recovery. The king sits on the left on a throne with makara carving and by his gesture is clearly preaching to his delighted subjects. These fill up the rest of the relief, sitting and standing, while most of them hold in their hands the gifts of honor usual on such festive occasions, in the shape of dishes and trays with wreathes etc.

The Çibi-jātaka is also found among the wall-paintings of Ajañṭā, a fact requiring special mention, because, as we shall see later, it is at Ajañṭā where in a few cases of tales from the Jātakamālā the actual *text* of Çūra is quoted. Among the paintings in Cave IX is a scene that possibly depicts this jātaka; there we see only a king with his retinue and the figure of a god flying down to him; that this might be Çakra descending to the king of the Çibi's to put him to the proof, could only be surmised by Burgess ¹⁾ on the strength of a similar scene among the clear pictures, moreover distinguished by inscriptions, in Cave XVII.

First of all we see there ²⁾ the king, with his name written below, seated on a throne; besides the figures evidently belonging to his retinue, there is a man with a dish standing, while a god entitled *Indra* comes flying through the air. This must be the moment when the king is exercising charity, and Çakra comes to put him to the proof. On the next scene we see the king (inscription *Çibirāja*) on his couch touching his eye with his left hand. A woman next to him raises her arm as if to prevent him doing something; a second weeps, holding a handkerchief

¹⁾ Notes on the Bauddha rock-temples of Ajanta, Arch. Surv. West Ind. 9 (1879) p. 7; Foucher, *Lettre d'Ajañṭā*, Journ. Asiat. 11: 17 (1921) p. 211, considers the identification doubtful. The representation of the similar Pālī-jātaka (499) at Paḡān, reproduced in Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. 1906—7 pl. 9 is only to be recognised by the inscription; we see nothing more than a king on a throne, a man standing opposite and three kneeling women.

²⁾ Burgess l.l. pag. 75 sq.; Griffiths, *Paintings* pl. 82; Herringham, *Ajañṭā Frescoes* pl. XVI, 18 and XXXIX, 47; Foucher, *Lettre* l.l.

to her face, a distinguished courtier also turns towards the monarch. In front of the king an old man is standing, inscribed *Indrah*, making a request. This is clearly the moment when the king of the gods asks for the eye. The scenes at Ajaṇṭā can therefore be compared with No. 6 and 7 at Barabudur; they are rather more elaborate but shew no fundamental difference from the Javanese. It is noticeable that while, as we have seen, panel No. 5 on Barabudur represents a conversation between two persons of rank not further explained, at Ajaṇṭā as well the two scenes just described are preceded by a conversation between two important persons who are there seated near a pool.

III. The story of the portion of gruel (text p. 14—18; trans. p. 20—25)

The Bodhisattva, reborn as the just and noble king of Koçāla, one day recollected his former existence. As the result of this he set himself more vigorously to perform charitable deeds and those who were near him heard him continually reciting two verses, that related how all his power and glory was derived from a small portion of coarse gruel. No one dared to ask for an explanation of this, until at last the queen in full audience found an occasion to request the king to satisfy her curiosity. The monarch then related how in his last existence he had been a servant in this same city, and one morning when he was setting out to work, he saw four çramaṇa's approaching who begged for alms. Although he hardly knew how to keep himself and his family alive, he never hesitated to bring the four holy man into his house and offer them a small portion of gruel. The consequence of this pious deed was that he was now reborn as a mighty monarch. The queen heard this with delight, when suddenly the king saw her transfigured with a divine radiance and asked the cause thereof. It appeared that she too had recovered knowledge of her former life, when she had been a slave and had given the remnants of one dish to a monk; it seemed as though she had fallen asleep and was now awakened into royal splendour. These two striking examples did not fail to make a deep impression on the company assembled and the king seized the occasion for a suitable discourse urging them to lay to heart the immense importance of charity.

10. *The entertainment of the four çramaṇa's.*

While the text brings the king and queen on to the stage first and lets

them tell the tale of their previous existence, the sculptor first shews us the two chief persons in their former condition and then gives us the result of their actions. On the first relief we have the king's previous history. The four çramaṇa's, dressed as ordinary bhikṣu's, approach from the left; they carry large alms bowls. Two almsgivers are on the right, one stands just on the point of putting an oblong object, possibly a fruit or lump of sugar of the shape seen to this day, into the bowl held out by one of the monks. The other kneels down and touches the feet of one of the çramaṇa's with both hands; this will surely be the servant inviting the four holy men to his house to partake of the gruel.

11. *The slave-girl gives the remnants of a dish*

It is only the first half of this panel that shews the queen's previous existence; a very simple but perfectly intelligible scene. The monk, who has lost his head, stands on the right, the slave girl on the left. She holds in her hands the bowl of remnants that she is offering him. The right-hand half has nothing to do with the left. Here, turning to the right, are some persons sitting with an umbrella and two banners in the back-ground; the one furthest away is a bearded brahman, the others are in court dress. These people turn towards what is happening on the next relief and form the retinue of the king depicted there.

12. *The king and queen recall their previous existence*

As the retinue has already been shewn on the last relief, we are here given only the king with three women opposite to him. Of these the one at the back is a servant; there is very little difference to be seen between the two others, but the one sitting in front will of course be the queen. This scene has very little individuality and can hardly mean anything more than the conversation, when the two chief persons tell their former lives.

13—14. *The king preaches the duty of charity*

It is rather disconcerting that while the text gives no suggestion of any change of scene, on the monument the king's sermon is given out of doors, to judge by the trees that are to be seen behind the audience on these two connected reliefs. The king is sitting with the queen on a couch to the left on No. 13; his gesture shews that he is preaching. On the right the councillors etc. listen attentively, the front one making a

sēmbah. The rest of the auditors are placed on No. 14; first a couple of women standing and then some members of the royal household sitting, a rather damaged group, among them several armed with shield and sword or bow and arrows, represent the king's body-guard and a few are holding a flower; the front one carries a banner. The composition of the whole, with the chief persons pushed away into the corner and the elaborate execution of the audience who are of no importance to the story, is anything but successful.

IV. The story of the head of a guild (text p. 19—22; trans. p. 25—30)

As a rich and virtuous head of a guild, the Bodhisattva lived respected by all; moreover he was known as the benefactor of the poor and needy. One day, as he was about to sit down to the table where a plentiful meal was spread, a Pratyekabuddha appeared begging alms.

Meanwhile Māra, the Evil One, who could not bear that the Bodhisattva enjoyed the blessings of almsgiving, by his power of magic caused a wide deep hell to appear near the threshold, full of horrid sounds and shooting flames, where hundreds of people were struggling in the agonies of death. The Bodhisattva had requested his wife to give the holy man a plentiful portion of food, but at the sight of these hellish horrors she started back in fear. Without listening to what she said, the Bodhisattva took the food, afraid that the holy man should leave his house with empty hands and went to the door, where he too caught sight of the hell that barred his way. While he was wondering what could be the meaning of this, Māra appeared to him in the air in divine shape and told him that this was the great hell Mahāraurava, the dwelling-place of all those who, desirous of being praised by beggars, had given themselves over to a vicious passion for benevolence and warned him to renounce the exercise of charity and be saved from their miserable fate. But all this could not restrain the noble being from his virtuous action, he stepped forward and behold, out of the middle of the hell there rose up a lotus by means of which he reached the Pratyekabuddha and filled his bowl with food. To testify his approval, the monk ascended up to heaven glittering with majesty like a cloud that flashes lightning.

15. *The head of the guild requests his wife to give the saint food*

On this relief nothing more is to be seen than the Bodhisattva and his

wife. He is sitting with his left leg thrown over his right knee, on a handsome throne, the back of which is carved with makara while underneath are placed a couple of dishes; the woman stands in front of him on the right. Her hands have disappeared so that we cannot see if she already held a bowl of food. As on the next relief she has made her fruitless attempt, it is equally possible that on this first scene she is receiving directions from her husband, or that she has already been at the door and comes to tell him what has happened.

16—17. *The Bodhisattva goes to the Pratyebuddha*

These two reliefs must be taken together as they complete one another and are evidently separated only for want of space; we should expect to find this on *one* relief. On No. 16 the Bodhisattva is coming out, going to the right with a bowl of food in his hand; his wife is following him as we can fancy she would, though it is not so stated in the text. She carries a larger dish and a spoon. In the background we see a part of the house they come from; for we must understand the situation to be that they come out of their house and cross the courtyard to the gate where the Pratyebuddha is standing. We see him on No. 17, to the right, standing on a lotus cushion, the almsbowl in his left hand, the right stretched out over the hell. It is placed between him and the figures on No. 16 and consists of a large cauldron on legs, from which the upper part of human bodies emerge with hands above their heads in a beseeching attitude. The flames, never omitted under hell-cauldrons elsewhere, are not to be found here unless, what is not unlikely, the legs are really intended as flames. Above the hell floats a heavenly being on a cloud, making a *sēmbah* to the saint.

18. *The Pratyekabuddha ascends into the air*

The sculptor has evidently found it too difficult to depict the further course of the tale and therefore not attempted to shew the passage across the hell by means of the lotus, but restricted himself to the final scene. On the left of the relief stands a man in fashionable dress with a lotus in his right hand. Who this is we can only guess at; perhaps it is intended for Māra though he does not here appear in the air; possibly it is only the Bodhisattva we see before us and the lotus is meant to remind us how he achieved his task. The rest of the scene shews the saint ascending into heaven with his almsbowl, on a cloud to the right. On another cloud in the middle of the relief, is a group of heavenly beings who do him homage,

while below both clouds the dwellers on earth are sitting and standing, respectfully watching the miracle ¹⁾).

V. The story of the head of a guild *Aviṣahya*
(text p. 22—27; trans. p. 30—37)

The Bodhisattva was no less virtuous in another existence as head of a guild; he was rich as Kubera, noblest of almsgivers, and it was his greatest happiness when beggars carried off the most valuable goods from his house. His extraordinary generosity astonished the king of the gods who decided to test his endurance. *Çakra* began by causing what the Bodhisattva prepared every day for distribution, to disappear immediately. But a new supply was brought and the distribution went on as before. Then the king of the gods deprived him in one night of all his possessions so that his house was bare; nothing was left behind but a coil of rope and a sickle. But this was no reason for *Aviṣahya* to lose courage; his only trouble was that he could no longer satisfy the needs of the poor, and to help his fellow-creatures as much as possible, he took the sickle and the rope and went every day to cut grass and gave his scanty earnings to the poor. Then *Çakra* appeared to him in person, as a god in the air, telling him that this poverty was only the result of his own wastefulness, and that the only way to recover his riches was to give up his habit of prodigality, at any rate it would be better, if he wanted to resume his charity, to begin by putting an end to unnecessary almsgiving. As may be expected, this good advice made no impression on the Bodhisattva who was not to be persuaded from his belief in the duty of charity under all circumstances. In the end of course *Çakra* rewarded his constancy by returning him his possessions.

19. *The head of a guild Aviṣahya*

Here we have again one of those insignificant reliefs that seem to have no other intention than to introduce the chief person to the spectator

¹⁾ The *jātaka* corresponding to this in the *Pāli*-collection (no. 40) is represented at Sukhothaya in Siam and Pagan in Burma, the first-mentioned is very insignificant (see Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, Ann. Mus. Guim. 31, II, 1908, pl. 29), the second shows three persons, left the *Pratyebuddha*, right the guildmaster with his alms bowl, under whose feet a flaming mass can be seen and behind that his wife (Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Studien*, Veröffentl. a. d. Königl. Mus. f. Völkerk. 5, 1897, abb. 32 on p. 23).

without any actual incident of the story. The head of the guild is sitting on a bench with two women, holding in his hand some round object that has become quite indistinct; under the seat is a dish of money bags to shew his riches. On the right is a female servant holding the stem of a lotus, not a loose flower, but one that grows from a plant at her feet. This rouses the question whether we may here have to do with a feature not spoken of in the text, but put in by the sculptor from another version known to him, or if perhaps this relief may belong to the last tale and the lotus is the one that rose up out of the hell and was of such assistance to the former head of a guild. The text of that story however gives us nothing more after the saint disappears up into heaven and Māra is frustrated.

20. *Aviṣahya's charity*

The left hand top part of the relief is missing with the upper part of the chief persons body and that of his companion. They stood both on the left; one was certainly Aviṣahya, still holding a dish in his hand, the other must have been a servant who was assisting him. The receivers of charity are on the right, two of them kneeling before the giver and the front one just holding out both hands to receive the dish already mentioned; behind them stand two others who look like brahmans.

21. *Çakra and the poor Aviṣahya*

This scene is one of the few that are in actual opposition to the text. The bearded brahman standing on the right, leaning on a stick, can be no other than Çakra of whom Çūra relates expressly that he revealed himself standing in the air. I do not think that this variation shews that the sculptor used another version of the text, but that probably only to make it more clear to the spectator, Çakra is represented as a brahman. The king of the gods we have seen in the same form in the second jātaka and we shall find him again as brahman in the following one; therefore there is something to be said for not giving him here quite another shape, but keeping him distinguishable by making a slight deviation from the text. On the left is the bench whereon the Bodhisattva sits with his wife, listening to Çakra's words; the seat has a handsomely-carved makara back and the Bodhisattva is indicated by a halo and wears his ordinary well-to-do costume. To make it plain that he is in reduced circumstances however, the sculptor has taken care to depict un-

der the seat, the sickle and bundles of grass tied with rope, that he made use of to continue his acts of charity.

22. *The head of the guild recovers his riches*

Very little is left of this relief and that little is badly damaged. A large tray of money-bags that can be seen in the middle shews us that this scene does not belong to the following story, and assures us that Aṇiṣa-hya is rich again. What else there may be it is impossible to discover. A person to the right of the tray, who has lost his head, seems to be pointing to the money bags; more to the right some more people are kneeling and standing, among them more brahmans. Perhaps the Bodhisattva, now rich again, is already following the dictates of his heart with deeds of charity.

VI. The story of the hare (text p. 27—33; trans. p. 37—45)

In a pleasant part of the forest, among flowers and fruits, on the bank of a river, the Bodhisattva lived as a hare. His noble and kindly behaviour made all the forest animals his friends, in particular an otter, a jackal and an ape, who were his faithful companions and whom he always reminded of their duties, especially that of hospitality. Yet the Bodhisattva was grieved to think that when a guest should come among them, the others would be able to bring him food while he himself could give nothing, until the idea came to him that he could sacrifice his own worthless body. When this thought reached the heavens, Çakra determined to find out if this intention was genuine. The next day he went to the forest in the form of a brahman and not far from the spot where the four animals lived, he cried out for help like one who has lost his way and is hungry, thirsty and exhausted. The four friends rushed up and offered their services. The otter fetched seven fishes, the jackal a lizard and a basin of sour milk, the ape some ripe mangoes; but the hare had nothing.

So he came to the brahman and offered him his own body; but of course the brahman was forbidden to kill any living creature, least of all one that had shewn him such kindness. The hare began to think of some means of sacrificing himself and Çakra, who understood his intention, caused a fire of glowing charcoal to appear. The hare sprang into the fire joyfully, as a swan into a lotus-pool. Moved to admiration, the king of

the gods resumed his own shape and praised the great deed, he took up the body of the hare and shewed it to the heavenly beings. In memory of this selfsacrifice, the image of a hare was placed on the tops of the gods' palaces as well as in the moon.

23. *Çakra enters the forest*

On the monument neither the beginning nor the aetiological end of this jātaka are depicted. We see nothing of the life of the four friends in the forest, but the arrival of the king of the gods is given as first scene. He enters the forest on the right, in the form of a brahman, his right hand leaning on a stick, the left holding an umbrella on his shoulder from which a water-jug hangs down. The forest is indicated on the left by some trees and plants and a few wild animals, placed above one another for want of space, so that below, we see a lion standing and above, a couple of deer.

24. *Çakra and the four friends*

The brahman stands again on the right, but now has nothing but the stick in his left hand, while with his right he makes a friendly gesture to his hosts. These too are placed one above the other, each with his gifts. In front at the top is the jackal with the basin of sour milk, on top of it is a saucer with the lizard on it; this animal is not quite true to nature. Below this is the otter, next to whom we see the seven fishes distinctly one above the other. In the lefthand corner sits the ape holding some mangoes in his paw and above him is the hare who of course has nothing. Some conventional rocks and a tree in the background here too give the style of the landscape.

25. *Çakra and the hare*

For the last scene the sculptor has selected the moment just before the great deed. Now the brahman is sitting in the righthand corner; he is talking to the hare who sits opposite to him on a slab of rock and has just been announcing his intention. Behind we can see the outlined charcoal fire that looks more like a sort of altar. The charcoal is laid on a square slab with rocks in front, and a large pear-shaped flame rises up from it. There are trees here too, a squirrel is climbing in one of them.

The sacrifice itself of course is not depicted any more than the praise given by the king of the gods, and the tale is therefore cut off suddenly.

VII. The story of Agastya
(text p. 33—40; trans. p. 46—55)

Born into a brahman family, the Bodhisattva became a learned and prosperous man, respected by everyone; he strove continually to benefit those around him with his riches, as rain refreshes the fields. But he soon became convinced that the life of the world is a source of pain and only renunciation can bring happiness; therefore he forsook this life and retired as a hermit to a remote and picturesque island. There the animals of the forest knew how to appreciate his virtuous conduct and to imitate it as far as they were able. When visitors appeared, he regaled them with roots and fruit and himself ate only what was absolutely needful. The fame of his abstinence spread abroad till Çakra, king of the gods, wished to make trial of his constancy. To begin with, he caused all the edible roots and fruits to disappear; the Bodhisattva fed himself with fresh leaves. Then he made all the leaves fall off the trees and bushes, but the hermit boiled those that were still fresh and so kept himself alive. Then the king of the gods did more; at mealtimes he appeared in the form of a brahman as guest and ate up the whole portion of boiled leaves, and this he did for five days. But nothing could shake the constancy of the hermit so that at last Çakra gave it up and appearing to the Bodhisattva in his divine shape, asked him for what reason he was leading so abstemious a life. His reason was no other than to redeem human beings from repeated incarnation. The king of the gods offered him the choice of a gift and first he asked for freedom from all covetousness and hate; then that he might never suffer the company of fools but always find himself among wise men; further, that he might always have imperishable food from the gods to distribute among the destitute who were pure of mind, and finally that Çakra should never appear to him any more to interrupt his penance with his radiant presence.

Then the heavenly king disappeared, but the next morning the Bodhisattva found a large consignment of divine victuals with hundreds of Pratyekabuddha's and also many gods sons ready to serve them. The hermit experienced the most exalted pleasure in distributing the heavenly viands.

26. *The Bodhisattva living in the world and as a hermit*

This tale is rather curiously treated by the sculptor. First, two episodes are squeezed on to one relief and then a double relief is given to the

final scene, but with all that the chief point, the repeated visits of Çakra as a brahman, and his appearance in divine form, has been entirely left out. The manner in which this jātaka is represented shews plainly how necessary it is to have the text at hand for such stories. If it were wanting here, we should not be able to understand anything of the three reliefs of this tale; however clear what is really depicted may be, we should remain in the dark about what has been omitted. This ought to serve as a warning for the treatment of relief-series, for which there is no text available. Such experiences are rather depressing.

Here we see on the left the Bodhisattva during his sojourn in the world. He is standing by the steps of his house which can be seen to the left; one of his hands has been knocked off, in the other he holds a round object that he is on the point of giving away. The poor are pressing towards him from the right, standing and kneeling; they hold out their hands for alms and at the back is a woman imploring with arms raised. The Bodhisattva is evidently exercising his charity.

On the righthand part of the relief he has retired from the world and is settled on his island. We find him seated with legs crossed on the rocky ground between two trees; in front of him a hare or deer to shew how the wild animals have learned to trust him. He wears the usual dress of ascetics, hair twisted up high, moustache and beard, necklace and loincloth. There is a water-jug next to him and as the trees are still in full leaf, it is evident that Çakra's second test has not yet taken place.

27—28. *The feeding of a Pratyekabuddha*

We now come at once to the end of the tale, the feeding of the many hundreds of Pratyekabuddha's, here represented by only one, who wears a halo and sits on a lotus cushion that rises out of the ground on a stem. This figure is on No. 28; in front of him is a dish of food/and more dishes are being brought by kneeling and standing gods sons on the right. Still more heavenly food is coming from the left, where on No. 27 as well several angels are bringing viands. Two of them are here seated on the ground with the Bodhisattva, who of course wears the same hermit's dress as on the last relief and has besides a broad band over the left shoulder. A small figure is sitting next to the stem of the Pratyekabuddha's lotus, in the place where so often a nāga is to be found. Here there is no reason for a nāga, but it seems that the sculptor feels something is needed.

29—30. *Çakra pays homage*

This scene, that also takes up two reliefs, shews only a royal personage striding along with his retinue. This king, a Bodhisattva or god according to his halo, walks left at the head of the procession; behind him on No. 29 are several women, two of whom are carrying a bowl with a lid, possibly gifts. On No. 30 we find the rest of the suite, in front the umbrella-bearer, the others walking behind. This umbrella-bearer seems to have lop-ears on both sides of his head¹), elephant's ears of course, that would identify him as Airāvata and his master as the god Çakra. The other attendants are wearing grand clothes, one or two of them hold a lotus, the last of all has a tray with flowers or jewels. The procession ends up with some women, one of whom is also holding a large lotus-flower with both hands.

VIII. The story of Maitrībala (text p. 41—51; trans. p. 55—71)

The Bodhisattva, now the just and virtuous king Maitrībala, ruled like a father over his land. One day there came to his kingdom five yakṣa's who had been banished from their own land, and seeing how thriving and prosperous his subjects were, they began to devise, as was their way, how they might take away the people's vigour. To their surprise they found themselves powerless to do any harm at all and in order to discover the cause of this, they put on the shape of brahmans and went to a cowherd who was sitting under a tree with shoes on his feet and a wreath on his head, twisting a rope. They asked him if he was not afraid of goblins, yakṣa's and such creatures; he laughed heartily and said he felt perfectly safe for he and all the other inhabitants were protected by the extraordinary virtues of their king, and he praised their ruler so much that the yakṣa's were filled with fury. They went off to the city and presenting themselves to the king, asked for food. Whatever was set before them, they pushed it away, offended as tigers would do with grass and when the king asked them what he should give them to eat, they replied that nothing else could satisfy them but human flesh and blood. Thereupon they revealed themselves in their real shape. The king was filled with pity for these unhappy creatures, and as he could not allow others

¹) As the ears are not quite distinct, this scene might possibly be the beginning of the Maitrībala-jātaka, where without representing any special incident the chief person is brought on to the scene.

to be killed, but at the same time believed it was his duty to satisfy the hungry yakṣa's who had appealed to him for food, he decided to sacrifice his own body. Disregarding all the remonstrances of his councilors, he caused his veins to be opened and gave the yakṣa's his blood to drink as well as pieces of his flesh cut off with a sharp sword. Overcome by such magnanimity of soul the yakṣa's could not endure the sight, they cried out that it was enough and that they repented of their evil-doings and only begged for help from him whose endeavour was to save all beings from the ocean of existence. And they departed resolving to walk in the paths of virtue. The king's selfsacrifice did not fail to attract the attention of the king of the gods, who hastened to the city and expressed his admiration for the monarch's behaviour, bringing herbs with him that healed the wounds.

31—32. *The yakṣa's and the cowherd*

The cowherd is sitting on the left, he is under the tree described in the text but quite without the shoes or the wreath; he has the usual appearance of people of the lower-classes and wears a small beard. Opposite to him, also under the trees, sit the five yakṣa's, two on the first and three on the next relief. An actual deviation from the text is that they here appear not as brahmans but as yakṣa's; this difference of course shews the spectator at once who they are, but does not improve the tale as we see by the unconcerned manner in which the cowherd is answering their questions. The yakṣa's have the wild eyes and hair, moustache and beard and large round earrings with which they are usually depicted, but the sculptor seems not to make any distinction between the bearded yakṣa- and the beardless rākṣasa-type, for the two furthest behind are shewn just like those we are used to call rākṣasa's. The identity of the cowherd is rather curiously specified; in the tree above the front yakṣa three cows' heads appear, one above the other, the two lower ones with unnaturally stretched necks, but it was not possible for the sculptor to get the heads above each other on the available space in any other way, without being obliged to bring their bodies into sight. The result is rather funny. It looks almost as if a fourth head could be discovered right in front of the cowherd, who would be holding the rope attached to it in his hand; but this head would then be hovering in the air. As this part of the relief is damaged and worn-away, it is quite possible that no fourth head is intended but that the cowherd is busy with something like rope twisting, as the text says.

33—34. *Maitrībala and the yakṣa's*

On the first relief we see the king, on the second the yakṣa's. The trees above their heads are rather out of place, for the scene should be set in the king's presence-chamber, not out of doors. Of course the yakṣa's are shewn in their own shape, it may be accidental that their appearance is so much milder or perhaps they are already moved by the king's words. He is seated on the lefthand relief in the company of a woman, on a seat with makara arms, underneath which is a large dish; judging by the gesture of his left hand, he is speaking. Between him and the yakṣa's is a tree at the foot of which a large jewel is lying on a lotus cushion with big flames rising up from it. The meaning of this object is quite unknown; the text says nothing about it. Perhaps the sculptor attempted to symbolise something that would be more comprehensible to his contemporaries than to us, or this may be a sign that he followed another version of the story, where the king may have performed some miracle.

35. *Çakra pays homage (?)*

Although I have ventured to assign No. 35 to the jātaka following where it will be explained, I must here draw attention to the possibility that it may be intended for the end of the Maitrībala story, the homage of Çakra. Two royal persons appear, one sits on a throne and the other, surrounded by his retinue, is in front of him. As both of them look like earthly kings and the one not seated has with him the retinue usually accompanying royal persons on earth and as there is nothing to shew that Çakra is intended, whereas elsewhere when he appears in this series of reliefs in divine shape he is plainly indicated by the presence of Airāvata — except in the Çakra-jātaka where mistake is impossible — I have come to the conclusion that this must be the first scene of Viçvaṃtara's story.

Let us here give special attention to the representation of the same jātaka at Ajañṭā because there we see not only a similar tale but just as at Barabudur the Jātakamālā itself has been followed. It is therefore disappointing that at Ajañṭā we find nothing more than the single figure of the king without any sign of the way in which the sculptors treated the further representation of the text. In the left outer room of Cave II we find on the right wall, a king seated on his throne ¹⁾. The sub-

¹⁾ Burgess and Bhagvanlal Indraji, *Inscriptions from the cave-temples of Western India*, Arch. Surv. West Ind. 10 (1881) p. 82.

joined inscription, as deciphered by Lüders, gives not only the name of Maitrībala but traces of Çūra's verses were also discovered¹⁾. Therefore certainly at Ajaṇṭā an illustration of the 8th jātaka of the Jātakamālā was intended and although further comparison is impossible, the fact of this coincidence is remarkable enough. As will appear later, the Kṣānti-jātaka (No. 28) is also depicted at Ajaṇṭā in the Jātakamālā version.

IX. The story of Viçvaṃtara (text p. 51—67; trans. p. 71—92)

At one time the Çibi's were ruled by king Sañjaya who performed his royal duties excellently and was above all distinguished for his justice. Next to him, and his equal in virtues, was the crownprince Viçvaṃtara, no other than the Bodhisattva, whose fame was far-spread and who always endeavoured to satisfy the wants of the poor and suffering. On sabbath days he used to mount his beautiful white elephant and visit the various alms-houses that he had set up. It was not long before his extraordinary generosity brought him into difficulties. A neighboring king took advantage of this and sent some brahmans to ask the prince to give him his elephant. This was directly acceded, the brahmans had only to ask for the animal and the prince at once dismounted, came and stood before them with the golden water-jug held up and poured the ceremonial water of gifts over their hands. Though both giver and receivers were delighted over this, the Çibi's could not approve of the transaction. They hastened to point out to the king that a man who was capable of such irresponsible acts was quite unfitted to rule the kingdom. They demanded that the prince, who was much better suited for a hermit, should be sent into retirement and the king was obliged to agree to this.

Viçvaṃtara prepared himself to depart, quite determined not to renounce the pleasures of charity. He therefore distributed his possessions among the poor and set out on a chariot with his wife who would not desert him, and their two children. On the way some brahmans came and asked him for the horses which were given to them, then four yakṣa's appeared in the shape of deer, to draw the chariot until they met another brahman who received the chariot as a present. At last they reached their place of banishment and settled into a hut made of branches, where for half a year they lived a happy life in spite of their punishment. After

¹⁾ Lüders, *Ārya S'ūra's Jātakamālā und die Fresken von Ajaṇṭā*, Nachr. d. Königl. Gesellschaft. d. Wissensch. z. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. 1902, p. 761 sq.

a while another brahman came along, stiff and weak, with his stick and water-jug on his shoulder. He was hospitably received by the hermit and told them that the reason of his visit was to ask for the Bodhisattva's two children as servants for his wife. Whatever it cost the prince to part with his children, he could not refuse this request and they were carried off as quick as possible before their mother, who was not there at the moment, should return. To hurry their departure, the brahman tied their hands and dragged the poor children along by force; the Bodhisattva was obliged to suffer the sight of this as well as the difficult task of accounting to the mother for their disappearance. At this act of self-sacrifice the earth began to tremble and Çakra, seeing the cause thereof, decided to put the Bodhisattva still further to the proof. The next day he came himself as brahman and requested the prince to give him his wife. Without any hesitation this was granted. Then the king of the gods resumed his divine form and returned the Bodhisattva his wife, praising him highly and assuring him of the safety of his children. In consequence of Çakra's power the brahman had taken them to the land of the Çibi's, where their grandfather and his subjects had ransomed them. Touched by the story of the prince's noble conduct, they recalled him.

35. *The king and the crown-prince*

On the left two thrones are set up against a background of buildings. On the right hand one the king is seated against the back, on the left throne the queen against a cushion; under the seat of the royal pair are a couple of dishes. Both of them are headless. They are evidently sitting outside the palace, for we can see plenty of trees behind the other figures. On the right there is a large group with a royal personage in the middle, seated on something like a mattress; next to him sit the umbrella-bearer, an attendant with the usual folded tray and others of the retinue, one of whom has a sword; those most to the left are kneeling to present their homage to the king. I have already stated above that the identity of this relief is uncertain, but I consider it most likely to represent a conversation between king Sañjaya and his son the crownprince; it seems to illustrate not exactly any particular incident but more to introduce the chief persons of the tale to the spectator.

36. *Viçvamtara and the brahmins (?) or the instructions given to the brahmins (?)*

The prince is sitting with his wife on a large throne. He is talking to

three persons in front of him, two seated and one standing behind them. The latter is evidently making some statement, he wears brahman dress. The front one of the two seated has his arms crossed on his breast; these persons have their hair brushed back with a band round the forehead, they are beardless, and though we might think they are not brahmans it is quite possible they may be, considering their likeness to the two men who are given the elephant on the next relief and who the text says are brahmans. They are certainly not ordinary beggars and they receive no dole. In my opinion this is not a picture of the prince's charity in general; possibly it is the moment when the brahmans are asking for the elephant which scene then takes place indoors and not as the text says in the street. I consider it not impossible either that this may be the neighbouring king giving instructions to the brahmans to ask for the elephant.

37. *The gift of the elephant*

This picture is quite clear. The two brahmans stand on the right beardless, with only a moustache and their hair smooth under a band round the forehead. The prince is opposite them, just pouring water out of his golden jug over the hands of the front one to seal the gift. The mahaut with his angkuça kneels at his feet; the head and front feet of the elephant himself are just to be seen behind his master.

38. *The giving away of the children (?)*

It is not easy to find a place in the tale for this relief. On a square dais to the right sits the prince with his wife and the two children, the youngest child on the mother's knee, the elder with hands in sēmbāh, next to the father. Both have the crescent-shaped ornament behind the head, we often see in these reliefs. On the ground in front of the prince sits a well-dressed man making a sēmbāh. If we look for a scene in the tale where the whole family is present and the prince converses with some man of rank, we find only one and that is, the moment when the prince hears from the king's chamberlain his father's decision to banish him. Yet I think it highly improbable that the sculptor should select this unimportant incident from the whole tale, while he takes no trouble to record the deputation of the Çibi's to their king, or the departure of the prince and his family or the incidents of the journey. We might even suppose that this represents a much later scene and the figure seated

might be Çakra; but when the god shews himself, the children have already been carried off and the prince does not see them again till he is reinstated in his fatherland. As I do not see any way to find an explanation that agrees with the text, the only thing left is to suppose the sculptor followed some other version. Seeing that the climax of the story is the giving away of the children, we must imagine that this scene represents something at, before or after that event, though not agreeing with the text known to us, where the giving away takes place in the absence of the mother and where a brahman receives them ¹).

39. *The prince and princess return*

The subject of the last scene is the triumphant return of the prince. It has been left unfinished, but what is represented remains clear. Viçvaṃtara and his wife are seated in a palanquin surrounded by the delighted Çibi's and are being carried away towards the left. In the left hand corner is a person in the costume of high rank, sitting with his hands on his knees, perhaps the same who appeared in the last relief. The fact that the scene is left unfinished, agrees with the carelessness appearing elsewhere in the treatment of this famous jātaka.

The circumstance that on Barabaður only the gift of the elephant was selected from the many striking episodes of this jātaka makes it impossible to gain much from comparisons with other representations of this tale, so popular in the Buddhist community. The corresponding relief at Bharhut has mostly disappeared ²); at Sānchi, the tale is depicted on one relief in which the principal scenes missing at Barabaður are easily recognised: the family in the hut, the giving away and ill-treatment of the children, while the mother is kept away from them by a couple of lions, the wife being handed over and carried off etc. ³). In Gandhāra too the same sort of sequence is followed, beginning with the gift of the elephant and the horses ⁴), and at Amarāvati as well the gift of elephant and oxen — which the same as at Sānchi take the place of the horses — and then of the children while the

¹) Compare the scene at Pegu of the prince with four subordinate figures, Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Burma 1919 p. 23 sq.

²) Cunningham, The stūpa of Bharhut (1879), p. VI.

³) Fergusson, Tree and Serpent worship (1873), pl. 24.

⁴) Burgess, The ancient monuments, temples and sculptures of India (1897), pl. 151; Foucher, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra I (1905), pl. 144 p. 284.

mother is kept away by a lion, are all recognisable ¹⁾. At Ajaṇṭā, where Burgess had already identified this jātaka ²⁾, Foucher recognised consecutively: the gift of the elephant, farewell of the prince, departure from the palace and journey with wife and children, gift of the chariot, the woman held back by a lion, giving the children away, their return to the grandfather, the mother's grief, giving the wife away, etc. until the reunion ³⁾. Among all these we can find no explanation for No. 38. The representation in the oldest Chinese art in the caves at Long-men ⁴⁾ shews the journey of the princely couple, who after giving away the horses and cart are obliged to carry their children across the river, then the children being carried off by the brahman, and possibly too the prince taking leave of his father. Elsewhere ⁵⁾ we find the horse being given away and the crossing of the river, but there jātaka No. 547 is followed.

X. The story of the sacrifice (text p. 67—73; trans. p. 93—104)

A long time ago the Bodhisattva lived as a king who gave his whole mind to ruling his subjects justly and did not neglect any of his religious duties. Now it happened that there came a great drought with all its disastrous results. The king, convinced that this plague was due to the shortcomings of himself or his subjects, consulted the brahmins to find a way of causing the drought to end. Their reply was that only the great sacrifice of hundreds of living beings, such as the Veda demands, would be of any avail. The king on one hand could not refuse to follow this advice but on the other he was fully aware that there could not possibly be any justice in the killing of animals. After much thought he found the right way to act under these circumstances. He informed the brahmins that he was prepared to offer up a thousand human victims and gave the necessary orders. Thereupon he called the citizens of the land together to tell them of the approaching sacrifice. The victims were to be those who had in any way misconducted themselves, and in order to

¹⁾ Fergusson l.i. pl. 65; Burgess, *The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta*, Arch. Surv. New Ser. 6 (1887) pl. 32.

²⁾ Burgess, *Notes*, p. 32.

³⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 209 with reference to Griffiths, pl. 65 and Herringham pl. XXIV 26, XXXVII 41, XXXIX 48, XXXV, 39, XXIII 25 and XXXVI 41.

⁴⁾ Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, Publ. Ec. franç. d'Extr. Or. 13 (1915), fig. 294 and p. 329.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.* fig. 432 and p. 591.

find them, royal officials were to be appointed everywhere to observe the behaviour of the people. This was done; the royal command was proclaimed with beating of drums and the inspectors appeared all over the kingdom. The result was that people were very careful not to do anything that might bring them within reach of the law, so that extraordinary good conduct prevailed throughout the whole land. When the king saw this, he gave orders that the riches collected for the great sacrifice should be distributed among the poor and needy. This encouraged the exercise of virtue so that all evil influences lost their power and great prosperity spread again over the kingdom. His wisdom was praised by all, by his subjects as well as the high officials, who on a certain occasion came to the king to express their gratitude for the way in which his sacrifice had brought prosperity to the kingdom.

40. *The sacrifice is suggested to the king*

The monarch is sitting with his leg in the support together with a woman, on a seat underneath which is a dish. His left arm is stretched out over his knee and his whole pose expresses indecision; he can hardly refuse but still cannot agree. Below on the right sit two beardless men, it is not clear whether they belong to the king's retinue or are the brahman advisers, but the figure behind them is unmistakable a bearded brahman, who is bending forward and by the gesture of both hands is plainly urging the king to offer the great sacrifice.

41. *The king informs his subjects of his decision*

We still see the king seated on the left and again in company of the woman, whose face is all that is to be seen of her. Under the seat, and intended to be sitting in front of it, we see three servants, one with a sword. The king explains his orders to the people who are represented by four persons on the right, two sitting and two standing, all very plainly dressed. The one furthest away has a stick in his hand, all four are listening attentively.

42. *The proclamation*

A very simply-designed scene, not shewing more than five men standing next to each other. The front one beats a small drum, the second one is waving a cloth high above his head. The three others seem to be ordering silence with their hands lifted in front of them, but it is not clear if they belong to the heralds or are only interested spectators.

43. *Homage to the king*

The same as on No. 40 and 41, the king is seated on the right, now on a square block of stone that was probably intended to become a throne; the back can already be seen. The woman is here too, holding a fly-whisk. The subjects who are bringing homage we see on the right; they are four standing and in front of them four kneeling. To judge by their plain clothes they look more like a deputation from the people than the high officials the text speaks of. The four in front are making a *sēmbah* and the two next ones hold a fly-whisk and a flower ¹⁾).

XI. The story of Çakra
(text p. 73—76; trans. p. 104—108)

Once the Bodhisattva was born again as Çakra, king of the gods; he enjoyed this happy state without becoming arrogant and attained great glory. But because the demons could not endure him to be famous, they began to make war on him and attacked the gods with a large army. Then the king of the gods mounted his chariot of war adorned in front with a high waving banner that displayed an arhat, and surrounded by the whole army of gods he encountered the army of demons on the sea-shore. A terrible battle took place in which many were killed and at last the army of the gods began to waver, overcome by the fierce swords and arrows of the demons. Only Çakra made a stand until Mātali, his charioteer, judging that the moment for retreat had come, turned the chariot away from the battle. While they were ascending again towards heaven, Çakra suddenly perceived some eagle's nests in a tree, with young ones in them not yet able to fly and this was right in their way. Even though himself in such desperate case, Çakra was determined to save the lives of the young birds and ordered Mātali to avoid the tree; the charioteer said this was impossible without turning the chariot back and then the enemy would be sure to overtake them. "All the same", replied the king, "turn the chariot back, it is better to be killed by the clubs of the demons than to live a dishonorable life after murdering these poor timid creatures". So the chariot turned its face again to the foes who, having seen Çakra's courage, were startled by the unexpected manoeuvre and thrown into disorder. This pause was fatal to them, the gods, seeing that the ranks of the demon army were broken, renewed their

¹⁾ The possibility that this jātaka is to be found at Ajaṇṭā is suggested by Foucher, *Lettre* p. 219.

attack and then gained a decisive victory. The glory of the battle was given to Çakra alone and he returned triumphant to his heavenly kingdom.

44—46. *The Bodhisattva as Çakra*

The sculptor has required no less than three reliefs to give some idea of the beatific condition of the king of the gods, which he represents by a dancing party. On the first relief we see Çakra (who has lost his head) seated on a bench between two females. Under the seat three men- or women-servants are sitting while another woman stands next to the seat. Then No. 45 shews us the dancing. A dancing girl between two other women is performing on a sort of platform in the middle, swaying with the well-known curious motions of the arms and legs; she is adorned with a handsome belt and holds a narrow slendang in her left hand. The diadem is especially remarkable; she wears it on her hair that is twisted up in a large loop at the back of her head, and it has the shape of a rosette band ornamented with leaves, such as may still be seen in Bali. The woman most to the left, who has her hair brushed back smoothly with a band round the forehead, is probably a servant and the one most to the right with a high headdress adorned with ribbons, more likely belongs to the corps de ballet. On the third relief we see the orchestra that consists of four standing and four seated figures. Those standing are three women, probably more dancers, and one man, all richly-dressed, they all have those two cup-shaped objects on a stalk that I take to be some sort of bells; here they can be more distinctly seen than elsewhere. Those seated are all men in very plain clothes; one plays the cymbals, the second a big drum that has the form of a pot and the third and fourth are both playing the flute.

47a. *The battle*

Very little of this relief is left; it is so much damaged that we cannot distinguish the details. The chief point however is clear, a battle is going on and a tree is to be seen in the middle, though not with a nest of young eagles in it, but a bird exactly like the haṃsa's in the Haṃsa-jātaka. With the exception of one warrior above on the right with rākṣasa-hair, the soldiers seem to be all alike, so on the strength of the one demon we must decide that the army of the gods will be on the left. Çakra is advancing from that side in his chariot preceded by a banner bearing a cakra and not the device of the arhat described in the text; the shaft is still

visible, but the place where the chariot ought to be has disappeared. There is nothing to shew that one army is being put to flight by the other, we can only see that fighting is depicted with sword and shield, and bow and arrows as well as the battle-axe and one man is blowing on a conch-shell. This is all we can discover from the ruins of this relief.

XII. The story of the brahman (text p. 77—80; trans. p. 109—114)

No representation has yet been found of this curious tale of a brahman teacher who sets his pupils stealing; only the Bodhisattva, who is among them, is not willing to be a thief. The space for one scene (no more would be needed) is there, between No. 47*a* and 48. The four actual corners in this series have been taken up by double reliefs of large size, whose two parts, as can be seen on No. 233 and 326 (No. 140 is missing) are not connected but contain each a separate scene. Thus no. 47*b* must also have been a separate scene.

XIII. The story of Unmādayantī (text p. 80—87; trans. p. 114—124)

The Bodhisattva reigned over the Çibi's, the very personification of righteousness; unimpeachable and unprejudiced he administered justice and guided others into the path of virtue in which he walked himself. One of the townsmen in his capital had a daughter of enchanting beauty; people could not take their eyes off her and all men were fascinated by her charms. The fortunate parent thought it his duty to inform the king of this jewel that had appeared in his kingdom and ask if he desired to have her to wife. The monarch sent some brahmans who were good judges of the marks of perfection in women, to examine if Unmādayantī (she who makes mad) would be suitable for him. The brahmans went to her house, where they were to be waited on by the young beauty herself, but as soon as they set eyes on her, these reverend old men were completely overcome by her charms and could not recover themselves or partake of the repast, until the father had sent his daughter out of sight. After the visit they discussed the matter and came to the conclusion that such a beauty who could even turn the heads of holy men, was in no case a suitable spouse for a young monarch who would live only for her and neglect all the business of government. They therefore

drew up their report to say that although the young woman was certainly very beautiful, they had discovered signs that shewed even the sight of her would bring misfortune to the king. At this the monarch gave up all claim to the maiden and soon after she was given in marriage to one of the officials of his court. Now it happened at the time of the Kaumudī-festival that the king wished to see the decorations and stepped into his chariot to make a tour of the city. In the midst of the rejoicings his attention was attracted by a charming apparition on the roof of the court-official's house; this was Unmādayantī and one long look was enough to enslave him. The king returned to his palace quite overcome and learned from his charioteer that the lady was another man's wife. However hard the virtuous monarch strove to put all thought of her out of his head, he did not succeed and his changed appearance soon shewed the cause of his trouble. The husband of Unmādayantī also noticed the king's dejection and hastened to solicit a private audience where he offered to give up his wife to his royal master. In spite of all his entreaties, the king remained firm and chose the path of virtue instead of the satisfaction of his desires.

48. *Unmādayantī's father and the king*

The Bodhisattva, who here again wears a halo, is sitting with one leg in the sling on a throne with a woman, in the left of the relief; in front of it sit a couple of servants. The father kneels on the right with both hands on the ground in front of him, a second person sits behind him. In the background stand two brahmans, the first one making a sēmbah; they are evidently placed here to indicate the task they are about to undertake.

49. *The brahmans and Unmādayantī*

As an instance of the freedom given to the sculptor or perhaps as a proof of his carelessness about details, we see that the two brahmans here are without beards, while on the preceding relief as well as the one following this, they do have beards, and in the case of No. 50 they must of course be the same men. They are both sitting on a bench under which is a large well-filled dish. The maiden is coming from the right; she carries with both hands the jug of water to pour over the guests hands.

50. *The brahmans report*

The haloed monarch here sits on a wide couch with back that he shares with his two visitors. Under the seat are again some dishes. The brah-

mans are plainly relating their experiences and the king makes a gesture of dissent. As is fitting, there are no members of the royal household present at this private audience.

51. *The king sees Unmādayantī*

A very crowded relief, as might be expected where the royal procession is making its way through the midst of the merrymaking; on account of the traffic the sculptor has taken liberties with the description the text gives. To begin with he could not find room for the royal chariot and horses, so he puts the king into a palanquin and there is not quite enough space even for that; only one side of the chair has poles and carriers and the other side hangs in the air. The same with the roof of Unmādayantī's dwelling; the roof is there all right but there is no sign of any house under it; it hangs in space. The young woman is seated thereon with two attendants; she is not looking at the king and allows herself to be admired without taking any notice; she sits in a charming attitude with a mirror or perhaps a fan in her hand. The roof is on the right of the relief, it reaches to about the waist of the king's umbrella-bearer standing next to it. The king, whose vehicle turns towards the left, is turning round in the cushions to look at the lovely apparition (his face has been knocked off) and his right hand expresses his admiration. Across the whole width of the relief, under the palanquin as well as under the roof, we see numbers of citizens, who will be the festive population, most of them talking to one another; on the left is one who also catches sight of the irresistible charmer and is saluting her with a *sēmbah*.

52. *The king and Unmādayantī's spouse*

This relief is very much damaged. The king is sitting left, on a throne, underneath which are the traditional dishes; he is conversing with the obsequious courtier seated to the right and making a *sēmbah*. The privacy of the interview has not been maintained on this relief, for not only is some person sitting behind the visitor but in the background two figures have been standing, though now there is not much left of them. Maybe these were the two brahmans to whom the affair had been entrusted.

XIV. The story of Supāraga (text p. 88—95; trans. p. 124—134)

It is in the nature of a Bodhisattva to excel always in whatever art or

science he may undertake. So was it when the Bodhisattva appeared on earth as the steersman Supāraga. He had knowledge of the stars and seas and knew navigation and thereby he was vigilant and unwearied.

No wonder that when he grew old, the traders who hoped for a successful voyage still did their best to get him on their vessel. It happened once that some merchants wanted him to sail with them, and although he was nearly blind and had become too weak for this task, they would not be denied and assured him he should not be obliged to work, his company was enough to make their voyage prosperous. When after a time they came into the open sea, they were overtaken by a storm and the ship lost its bearings and was at the mercy of the tempest, but Supāraga kept the crew from losing courage. At last they saw creatures rising out of the sea who resembled men armed in silver; Supāraga, who himself could not see, hearing of this, knew them to be a sort of fish and at the same time understood how far they had drifted out of their course. He at once advised the ship to be turned, but the sea and wind made it impossible. In this way they drifted on through many seas, the description of which made Supāraga more and more anxious, until at last they heard a thundering noise and saw in the distance that the ocean was rushing down into an abyss; they had reached the entrance of the Vaḍavāmukha-hell. In despair they called on all the gods for help, but the ship flew on. None but Supāraga could help. He knelt down on the deck, did homage to the Tathāgata's and spoke: "Ye merchants and ye gods be my witnesses, that never in my life have I injured any living being. By the power of this truth and the strength of my merit may the ship return in safety." And behold hardly were the words out of his mouth, when the current and wind altered their course and brought the ship round. Supāraga ordered the sails to be hoisted and they were soon flying home. In the far seas he had ordered the ship to be filled with sand and stones from the bottom; one day on awakening they saw that this cargo was changed into gold, silver and jewels, and that they were home again. Full of joy and gratitude they all praised their saviour.

53. *The merchants persuade Supāraga to sail with them*

Supāraga is standing on the left, behind him a servant holds up an umbrella; he does not at all look like an old man, but seems quite as young as the others. The merchants come from the right, shewing by their gestures that they are pressing the matter; one kneels and makes a sēmbah, the other two are standing, one also with hands in sēmbah and the other with a garment, doubtless intended as a gift to the old seaman.

Supāraga does not look as if he had yet consented, but as if he were explaining his objections.

54. *The voyage*

This relief shews us a ship at sea; at the top and on the left it is rather damaged, so that the stern of the vessel with the mast and sails has mostly disappeared. Only on the right above the stem a puffed out sail can be seen on a yard, with a sailor who has gone up to set or furl the sails. There is not much more to be seen of the ship than the flat deck with the passengers on board, among them several women. Some of the crew are busy with a sail; several have packages of merchandize (?) or something of that sort in their hands, but there is nothing to shew what they intend to do with it. On the forecastle someone is standing with a waterjug with a spout to it in his hands, pouring water into the sea, evidently a ceremony for procuring them a safe voyage or possibly to save them from the sea-monster that is disporting himself just in front of the vessel¹). For while the rest of the ocean is peopled with ordinary fish, away to the right a fearful sea-monster is opening its horrible jaws. The whole scene in this way exactly resembles those, where the sailors are attacked or wrecked by some makara. Our tale only speaks of a storm, discreetly suggested by the cloud in the left top corner; the leviathan is therefore quite out of place and its being put in here makes it look as if the sculptor had received some unspecified order for "perils by sea". A more correct explanation is perhaps this: "Vaḍa-vāmukha" (the jaws of the mare), the dreaded entrance to the hell, is depicted as the actual "mukha" of the monster and so this scene represents the moment of the greatest danger. In that case the man with the water-jug must be Supāraga who is exercising his power in a different way to that described in the text²).

55. *Thanksgiving on the return*

Supāraga sits on a dais to the right with two women standing behind him; here again he is not in the least like a weary old man, but one in the prime of life with carefully-dressed headgear. Next to him in rows above one another are the sacks and pots with valuables from the voyage, and then on the left the grateful merchants sitting and stand-

¹) The forecastle is still the consecrated part of the ship, where ceremonies take place; compare Hornell, *Indian boat designs*, Mem. As. Soc. Beng. VII (1920), p. 249.

²) At Paḡān the corresponding Pāli-jātaka (no. 463) is represented simply by a boat with three sailors, the furthest one of whom is steering with an oar, see Grünwedel I.I. abb. 63, p. 82.

ing in a row. Some of them have more of the precious cargo in their hands; the front ones are making a *sēmbah* towards him to whom they owe their prosperity. *Supārāga* himself is speaking, probably he is delivering the usual closing discourse, though here not mentioned in the text. The top part of the relief on the left is missing and with it the heads of some of the audience.

XV. The story of the fish
(text p. 95—98; trans. p. 134—138)

Once upon a time the *Bodhisattva* was the head of a shoal of fish who lived in a small lake adorned with lotuses and waterlilies and where swans, geese and ducks had their home. He devoted himself entirely to the welfare of his fellow-creatures even in their fish-existence and by the exercise of mutual goodwill they achieved prosperity. Now it happened that no rains fell for a long time and during the hot season the rays of the sun began to drink up the water of the pond and earth and wind absorbed it, so that it became less and less and gradually shrank into a puddle. The fish were in a very awkward position, while birds gathered all round them ready to snap them up as soon as they were left out of water. In this predicament the *Bodhisattva* debated what he should do. Any prospect of rain was hopeless and to leave the pond was impossible. He saw only one chance of salvation and that he seized on. Looking up to heaven he spoke thus: "As sure as I do not remember ever to have injured any living creature, even when I was in the greatest need, by the power of this truth may the king of the gods fill up this pond with the water of his rains". As he spoke these words, a miracle took place. Rain-clouds rolled up on all sides of the heavens with thunder and lightning, they spread over the sky and poured streams of rain on to the earth like showers of pearls. Masses of water flowed down from the mountains on all sides and the pond was filled. And the *Bodhisattva* still urged *Parjanya*, the rain god, to further efforts.

Hearing this, *Çakra*, king of the gods, appeared at the lake filled with admiration and with warm words of praise offered homage to the *Bodhisattva*, at the same time promising a continual water-supply for the perfect Being.

56—57. *Çakra offers homage at the refilled pond*

The lower part of both reliefs is taken up by the pond; we see in the first place lots of fish, then the lotus-flowers mentioned in the text, some water-

fowl and a couple of tortoises. Above the water gods hover on clouds, doing homage. The four on No. 57 wear the same kind of headdress as the hermits on earth, the hair first brushed back under a headband and then twisted up in a loop. On No. 56 there are two heavenly beings, the front one with a halo is Çakra, who is identified by his companion carrying an oblong tray, the well-known Airāvata with his elephant-trunk-headdress and elephant ears. Just below the king of the gods we see in the water a very large plump fish, who of course must be the Bodhisattva. A pond with a large fish looking up to heaven, in cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā, is ascribed by Foucher to the same jātaka ¹⁾.

XVI. The story of the quails young
(text p. 98—100; trans. p. 138—141)

The Bodhisattva once lived in the forest as a young quail. He had just come out of the egg and could not fly, for he was still fledgless. He lived with his many brothers in a nest on a creeper within a thicket. Even in this sort of existence he never forgot the precepts of the Law and therefore did not eat the living creatures his father and mother brought him but fed only on vegetarian food. In consequence of this he did not grow properly and his wings remained undeveloped. But the other young quails who ate everything grew up and had strong wings. While they were living there, a great fire broke out in the neighbourhood and came rushing towards their home with a terrible roar, clouds of smoke and fiery sparks. Flocks of birds flew about in terror and bewildered quadrupeds rushed away on all sides. When the fire reached the nest, all the young quails flew up in confusion, each trying to save himself without thinking of the others. Only the Bodhisattva was too weak to fly away. But he was not alarmed and when the fire was on the point of burning up the nest, he said: "My feet are not strong enough to be called feet, and my wings cannot fly and the confusion you bring has put my family to flight. Here, there is nothing valuable enough to offer such a guest as you, Agni, and it would become you to retire."

And when he had spoken these words sanctified by the power of Truth, the fire though swept along by the wind and fed to fury by the dry grass and trees, suddenly came to a stop as if it had reached a swollen river. Until this day, in the mountains of the Himālaya every forest fire however furious will be brought to a standstil in that famous place.

¹⁾ Lettre p. 206.

58. *The young quail stops the forest-fire*

This relief shews more a mountain- than a forest- landscape; the whole of the upper half is filled up with the usual conventional rocks, the trees are very sparsely planted among them. Neither is there much display of animals; a monkey is sitting above on the left and a deer is running away, while a couple more deer are seeking shelter in the righthand lower corner. There are many more birds, brothers of the Bodhisattva, flying off on all sides. The fire comes from the lefthand lower corner, where the flames are to be seen and close to them the Bodhisattva is sitting in a round nest, that is supported by the brushwood and in front of which is the dry grass the text speaks of. Unlike the other quails the Bodhisattva turns towards the fire, probably just speaking the decisive words ¹⁾).

XVII. The story of the jar
(text p. 100—105; trans. p. 141—148)

Although the Bodhisattva in his existence as Çakra, king of the gods, enjoyed to the full the pleasures of his rank, his mind nevertheless was filled with compassion for the world and he continually occupied himself with its welfare. Once when he was observing the human world, he noticed that a certain king, influenced by evil companions, had acquired the habit of drinking intoxicating liquors and his subjects followed the bad example. Seeing that the king did not consider this as a sin, and knowing that in reality it was a very great sin, Çakra devised a means of bringing the people back to virtuous ways and decided that if the king himself could be reformed, his subjects would then follow his good example. So the Great Being assumed the shape of a brahman, with matted hair, shirt made of fibre and deerskin and hung a jar with surā (an intoxicating drink) at his left side. In this form he appeared to the king who sat with his courtiers in the hall of audience, indulging in his bad habit. On the appearance of the brahman, the company rose and saluted him respectfully. Çakra began to speak, shewing them the jar, and asked who would buy this fine thing from him; it must be someone who was not afraid of misfortune in this world and suffering in the

¹⁾ The jātaka no. 35 will also be found at Sukhodaya (Fournereau l.i. pl. 21); along the bottom edge are the flames and above on the right is a bird in a large tree and on the left another bird opposite to it. The representation at Pagān (Grünwedel l.i. abb. 82, p. 102), is only a design consisting of a bird in a wreath of flames with three birds flying away on each side.

next. At the king's request the holy brahman told them what the jar contained and took the opportunity of explaining fully the effect surā had on people and how everyone who used it degraded himself and fell into the greatest misery. He spoke so eloquently that the king became convinced of the sinfulness of his habit. He threw off his desire for strong drink and announced his intention of altering his conduct on the spot, offering the visitor a magnificent present. "I desire no gifts", said Çakra, "know that I am king of the gods. He who gives wise counsel can only be honored by putting his advice into practice."

At this, the king of the gods vanished and from that hour the king and his people gave up the evil habit of drinking strong liquor.

59. *Çakra appears to the king*

The first is by far the most striking of the three reliefs given to this jā-taka and the only one that shews characteristics that would lead to its identification, even without any consecutive text. The king is sitting with a woman in a small pēndāpā, listening to the words of Çakra who stands next to him. By the gesture of the god's right hand we may say that it is Çakra who is speaking at the moment. In his left hand he holds the jar. Although his headdress has become rather indistinct, we can see by what is left, especially in the rest of his clothing, that the sculptor has not given us the brahman with the hermit's matted hair, bark-garment and deerskin, but with a much more wordly costume. Then the god is not standing on air, as we might expect, but only on the ground. The rest of the relief, that is most of it, is occupied by the king's riotous company, in whose behaviour the sculptor gives an awful warning of the effects of drunkenness. They are nearly all reverend brahmans with beards, which makes the orgy look still worse. They are standing, sitting and dancing, some of them in most extraordinary attitudes; most of them have wine-cups in their hands, either drinking themselves or offering it to another. One couple is fighting, another dancing, one of them waving a spoon and his partner with a dog or suchlike animal on his shoulder. The sculptor has succeeded perfectly in creating a scene of drunkenness that gives a vivid picture of its degrading effects on human beings without exhibiting anything coarse or indecent ¹⁾.

¹⁾ On two scenes of jātika no. 512 at Pagān (Grünwedel l.l. abb. 36 p. 31; Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. 1906—7 pl. 50) the moment is depicted, when Çakra comes flying through the air with the jar in his hand; on both the king is seated on the left with in one case the brandy-retort and on the other a large bottle in front of him.

60. *The sermon*

At the same time the sculptor thinks it necessary to give us some more reliable foundation for the king's conversion than the impression of the moment; so he shews us a following scene, where the monarch is seated beside his visitor listening to his discourse. The text does not mention this and only gives the conversation of the king with Çakra in the air, in the midst of the jovial company. It might be possible to ascribe this scene to the following jātaka, where also a conversation between a hermit and a man in worldly clothing takes place (the talk identified on No. 63) but in that case I do not know what to do with No. 61—63, which would have to be considered as another tale. Rather than that, I think the explanation will be that this tale is a bit lengthened and a second quiet conversation between the king and Çakra is depicted. The upper part of the relief has mostly disappeared, but the arrangement is still clear. To the right Çakra on a seat with a jar and a few flowers under it and the king sitting on a mat, surrounded by some attendants, one of whom makes a sēmbah; another seems to have carried the umbrella. The monarch has a flower-bud in his hand.

61. *The king after his conversion (?)*

Not much can be said about this badly damaged relief. On the left sits some eminent person with the left leg in the support and behind him sit a couple of men- or women-servants; on the right are two women standing. It would be easy to ascribe this scene to the hero of the next tale before his decision to become a hermit, but as his existence in the world seems also given on No. 62, it is perhaps more likely that No. 61 belongs to the story of the jar.

XVIII. The story of the childless one
(text p. 105—108; trans. p. 148—154)

The Bodhisattva was born into a rich family known for their virtuous life and excellent behaviour. They shared their possessions and store-houses with çramaṇa's and brahmans, distributed alms among the poor, protected artisans and received even the king as guest. The Bodhisattva grew up in these surroundings, studied diligently and enjoyed universal respect. Yet no one was more convinced of the difficulties that a householder's life brings and how it always hinders the exercise of religious

duties. He thus became used to the idea of renouncing the world and after the death of his parents he realized his intention. His house and goods he distributed among his friends, relations, the poor and the çramaṇa's and brahmans; then he departed and after wandering through many lands he settled on a wooded hillside near to a city. He soon attracted attention, not only by his serenity and wisdom and the remarkable way in which he moved his hearers, but also because they knew how he had resigned great riches and pleasures to become a wandering ascetic. Now there was an old friend of his father, who heard where he was living and came to the place to visit him. After exchanging the usual inquiries, the old man told him who he was and expressed his opinion that the young hermit had acted very irresponsibly in forsaking his family when he might have led such a useful life, and he advised him to return to his own home. With all respect to this well-meant advice, the Bodhisattva was not at all willing to follow it and in return explained to his visitor, how the life of the world in so many ways was an obstacle to real happiness and that his choice was the right one. The demonstration proved convincing and the visitor testified his deep respect for the Bodhisattva by entertaining him with a meal.

62. *The Bodhisattva as a charitable citizen*

On the very much damaged panel that introduces this tale, we see the Bodhisattva on a seat with a dish underneath it and a woman standing beside him. The right half shews four persons kneeling, whom at first sight we might take for the çramaṇa's mentioned in the text, if it were not for what we can see of their hairdress and the rosettes above the ears, the naked chest and shoulders and the rolled up loin cloth. Even if no monks are here intended, the relief at any rate gives the exercise of charity and the persons kneeling have already received gifts. The arms of the front one are knocked off, but the others have, consecutively, a money bag, a dish of food and a garment. The top part on the right of the relief has disappeared entirely.

63. *The interview with the old friend*

Still less remains of this relief, but it does not seem to have been a striking one. On the right we see with a piece of rock in the background, a portion of the Bodhisattva become hermit; to the left under a tree appears the upper part of the visitor's person, who holds a flower in his hand and has a companion with him.

As No. 64 is altogether missing, we may consider that it will have depicted the final scene, the offered banquet. This is not in itself such an important detail and as the following tale again shews us a person who renounces the world, and the sculptors always in this sort of tale first depict the hero so as he was living in society, it seems probable in my opinion that No. 64 represented some thing of that sort and so has belonged to the next jātaka.

XIX. The story of the lotus-stalks (text p. 108—115; trans. p. 154—164)

Again the Bodhisattva was born into a brahman family renowned for its virtue, and he had six younger brothers and a sister. After profound studies, he acquired a great reputation for learning, and it was he who instructed his brothers. In the course of time their parents died and some days later the Bodhisattva called his brothers together and informed them of his resolve to seek the way of salvation before the time came for him to die. He concluded with some words of good counsel for their moral behaviour. With tears in their eyes his brothers replied that they could not live without him and if his mind was fixed, they would follow his example and go with him. A friend, a maid and a man servant joined them and they set forth into the forest. On the shore of a large lotuspond of clear blue water, they built each a hut of branches at a short distance from one another. There they lived, devoting themselves to self-imposed vows and on every fifth day they gathered round the Bodhisattva to hear his preaching, which always made a deep impression on them. Now the maid-servant continued to wait on them in the forest; every day she collected edible lotus-stalks out of the pond and put ready equal portions for them all on lotusleaves along the shore and each in turn fetched his share and partook of it in his own hut. In this way they avoided the sight of one another except at the fifthday sermon. Their manner of life and irreproachable behaviour made them famous everywhere, till Çakra heard of it and decided to put them to the proof. He watched the time when their servant had placed the portions of lotus-stalk ready and having announced the dinner hour by beating two blocks of wood together, had retired. He then took away the first portion. The Bodhisattva came out and went to the first portion, but saw that the stalks had been removed from the leaf, and he thought "someone has taken away my share"; without taking any more notice, he went back to his meditation. The others coming later naturally thought that he had taken his portion,

and noticed nothing unusual. For five days Çakra did the same, but without any result; the Bodhisattva preserved his composure as always. On the fifth day they assembled for the preaching at his hut and were shocked by his emaciated and exhausted appearance. The Bodhisattva told them the reason; none of them could imagine who could have done the evil deed. The elder brother protested his innocence by saying: "May he who has taken away the stalks be cursed with a luxurious house, a beloved wife and children and grandchildren", the others made similar protestations calling curses on the evildoer such as would bring happiness to an ordinary mortal but were abhorred by the true hermit. The friend, the servant, the sister and the maidservant all testified the same, as well as three creatures of the forest who had come to hear the preaching, a yakṣa, an elephant and a monkey. On hearing these remarkable protestations of innocence, Çakra appeared in his divine glory and declared that he himself had taken the stalks which he hereby returned. But the Bodhisattva reproved him for his undignified conduct. "We are not your friends nor your buffoons, o king of the gods! It does not become you to make sport of ṛṣi's in such a manner." The god quickly removed his divine radiance and bowing before the Bodhisattva, reverently begged his forgiveness.

64. *Missing*

As mentioned at the end of the last story, I consider this relief will have depicted the brothers before their vows.

65—66. *The Bodhisattva and his brothers as hermits*

As all the hermits are here shewn together, this must represent one of the fifth-day preachings, not in the hut but out of doors, as we see by the trees in the background. They all wear the ordinary hermit costume, hair high up and twisted in a loop, necklace and loincloth. The Bodhisattva in addition has a wide band over his left shoulder and a rosary in his right hand; he is sitting on the extreme right on an eminence, preaching. The others sit on the ground listening, three on No. 66, the other three on No. 65. The one most to the left, sitting behind, is the sister, not the maid; she wears the hermits dress and the servant is shewn on the next relief in her ordinary clothing.

67. *The servant puts ready the portions of food*

The scene is now on the shore of the pond that occupies the upper half

of the relief and is fitted with lotuses, flowers and leaves, among which are a couple of waterfowl. The lower part shews us the shore, where the servant is setting out the food. Six of the portions wrapped in large leaves are placed on the left, to the right of them sits the servantmaid who, as noticed in the last relief, is not wearing hermit dress. Behind her sits the yakṣa who plays a part in the rest of the tale, the only one of the three forest-dwellers represented by the sculptor, who quite forgets to put them into the next scene, where we naturally expect to see them.

68. *Çakra and the hermits*

The king of the gods stands on the right with his usual companion Airāvata, who is rather damaged; the elephant trunk in his headdress is still distinct, and he holds the angkuṣa in his hand. Çakra is stretching out his hands over the portions of food on the ground in front of him, evidently just giving them back. The text is here not followed exactly; to begin with the portions are laid on the leaves though we are told that Çakra each time took away the stalks and left the leaves, and then seven portions are here laid out, though he only stole five times. To the left of the food the Bodhisattva and his brothers are sitting inside the hut, as is shewn by the roof above their heads. They wear of course the same dress as on the first relief, only now a couple of the brothers can be seen wearing the broad band over the left shoulder. The same as on No. 65—66 there are altogether seven persons: the Bodhisattva, five brothers and the sister, who of course again sits behind ¹).

XX. The story of the treasurer (text p. 116—121; trans. p. 164—172)

Once the Bodhisattva was a royal treasurer, famous for his learning and virtuous conduct and his great benevolence. One day while he was occupied at the palace, his wife received a visit from her mother who anxiously inquired of her daughter, whether her husband paid her every possible attention, to which she replied by declaring that even the behaviour of a mendicant, who had renounced the world, could not be more

¹) At Bharhut (Cunningham l.l. pl. 48) a somewhat different version of the tale has evidently been given. The ascetic sits before his hut and in front of him we see the ape, the elephant and a female figure (servant or sister), all probably testifying that they are not the thief, and then a man in worldly dress who has a bundle of lotus-stalks. We cannot be sure if this is Çakra giving back the stalks, or the tree-god who plays a part in the Pāli-jātaka (no. 488). In any case the other brothers are not there.

virtuous than that of the noble treasurer. The old lady who was just a bit deaf and stupid, did not understand this rightly and hearing the words 'mendicant who renounces the world', got hold of the idea that her son-in-law had become a wandering monk. She immediately began to weep and wail and her daughter, as is usual with women, was quite overcome and began to think that her husband had really forsaken the world and that her mother hearing of it, had come to console her. She began to wail with her mother and fell into a swoon. Other members of the family and servants of the household hearing the sounds of woe, joined in, and the chorus soon attracted a large crowd of neighbours, friends and other citizens round the house. On returning home to his dwelling, the treasurer saw the gathering and heard this woeful concert; he dispatched a servant to inquire about it and was told that the demonstration was caused by the news that he had become a hermit. When he heard this, the Bodhisattva felt rather ashamed; he was honored that people were ready to believe this of him and decided that it would not be possible for him to continue his worldly life any longer; so he would at once adopt the holy life of which the people considered him worthy. He returned immediately to the palace and asked the king to grant him permission to become a religious mendicant. The king tried to persuade him to change his mind, but the treasurer remained firm. He then prepared to depart, while a great crowd of friends and relations assembled and with tears besought him not to forsake the world for the hardships of a hermit's life and reminded him that he thereby neglected his family duties. It was of no avail, the holy man knew that his friends were not able to judge between the evils of the worldly life and the benefits of renunciation and assuring them that nothing could alter his decision, he departed.

69. *Conversation of the two women*

The first relief gives us the talk between the wife and mother-in-law. The mother is sitting left, on a cushion with a back to it; her daughter, attended by two maids, is seated on the ground, to the right. In the background can be seen the roof and pillars of a house, outside which the conversation is taking place; they are evidently sitting in the grounds in front of the dwelling.

70. *The treasurer hears the news*

Although we are told in the text that the treasurer sends off a servant to his house while he is at some distance, and on receiving the

news hastens back to the palace, we find him here on the relief surrounded by several persons, two of whom are making a *sēmbah*. We might almost think this was the attempt made by his friends and relations to change his mind, but as the treasurer does not appear with the king until No. 71, we are obliged to consider that either the Bodhisattva received the news in some other kind of way, or the sculptor has mixed up two scenes. The two *sēmbah*-makers are quite on the left, one kneeling, the other standing. The treasurer stands in front of them attended by two persons; the front one holds a blue lotus with a long stalk in his hand, the other wears a beard and is perhaps a brahman. Two more men plainly-dressed are squatting on the ground, to the right. The Bodhisattva is not speaking, but listens to what they tell him.

71. *The treasurer with the king*

The king is sitting on a throne to the right with two women; there is a dish underneath it. The treasurer with an attendant is seated on the ground making a *sēmbah*. The gesture of the royal right hand indicates argument; he is trying to persuade his valued servant to alter his decision. In the background stand three members of the household, bearded brahmans with a wreath on their heads.

72. *Not identified*

It is quite impossible to place this relief with this tale or the following, though we might expect the scene of the treasurer and his persuasive friends, or some introductory scene to the next tale. Two figures in royal robes are approaching, one of whom wears a broad band over his left shoulder. Both hold a lotus stalk in the left hand, one with a small bud on it and the other with a large *padma*. Each of these royal persons has an umbrella-bearer at his right side, and in the background two other attendants are standing. On the right of the relief we see four persons who are doing homage to this procession; two kneel, the first making a *sēmbah* and the other holding up a garment (or a book) with both hands; the two standing are perhaps brahmans, the left one also making a *sēmbah*, the other holding up some indistinct object. The one kneeling furthest away is possibly a *yakṣa* with large round earrings, but his hair that might have identified him, has disappeared. Some trees behind these figures shew that the scene is out-of-doors. ,

XXI. The story of Cuḍḍabodhi
(text p. 121—127; trans. p. 172—180)

The Bodhisattva grew up in a noble brahman family and became famous for his learning, but he gradually absorbed the idea of renouncing the world and grew dissatisfied with his home. Convinced that the pleasures of the world are evil and sinful, he shaved off his hair and beard, put on the russet monk's garment and began the life of a hermit. His wife, who was deeply attached to him, also cut off her hair, covered her beautiful person with the same penitential dress and followed her husband. When he was aware of her intention, he explained the dangers of life in the forest and tried to persuade his wife to alter her decision or at least to retire into a convent. But with tears in her eyes she protested that she could never live without him, so he made no further objection and she accompanied him in his wanderings through town and country. One day they sat meditating in a lonely part of the forest and in the afternoon he began to sew some rags together for a garment. It was spring; the trees were putting forth leaves, bees hummed and there was a gentle breeze. The king of the country appeared, he had come out to enjoy the delights of the season. He greeted the Bodhisattva respectfully, but when he set eyes on the charming apparition who was his companion, his heart took flame and he began to devise a plan for getting possession of her. He knew well that some of these holy men possessed supernatural powers and determined to prove beforehand to what degree the Bodhisattva might be gifted; should he prove still to cherish any passionate attachment for his wife, then he could not yet have attained much sanctity; if he were indifferent to her fate, then it would be well to be cautious. The monarch began by asking what the hermit would do, if any one tried to rob him of his wife. At once came the reply: "I should not give way to the man with whom I had to do." This was enough for the king, and he ordered the woman to be taken, and brought to his harem. It was done and however loud she cried, she was put into a chariot and carried off. Though this took place before the eyes of the hermit, he went on with his sewing quite calmly. This seemed strange and the king asked the holy man how it was that he did not fulfil his threat. To this the hermit replied that he had certainly done as he intended, and explained: "the one with whom I had to struggle in this case, was no other than my own anger and that I have subdued entirely". Then the king perceived how he had misunderstood the magnanimity of the holy man; he ordered the woman to be

returned to him, threw himself at the feet of the Bodhisattva and offered to serve him.

73. *The king and the hermits*

For want of space, the Bodhisattva and his wife are placed one above the other on the left of the relief; he sits above and by his gesture seems to be speaking, but there is no sign of the needlework mentioned in the text. The woman sits below with the waterjug. They both look like bhikṣu's, not hermits as we see elsewhere with plaited hair and little clothing. The sculptor has kept to the text that expressly mentions the shaving of hair and beard and putting on the russet garment, evidently describing the type of a Buddhist monk and nun. On the right against the background, where a couple of trees indicate the forest, the king is sitting on a low stool with three attendants round him who hold respectively the folded bowl, the umbrella and a bow and arrows. The last-mentioned seem rather out of place on a pleasure trip, but as seen in the relief following, they play a part in the version of the tale here used.

74. *The king with bow and arrows*

It is not possible to explain the meaning of this scene either by Āura's text or the Pāli-jātaka (no. 443) that corresponds to it¹). The king stands here with an arrow in his right and a large bow in his left hand; behind him are three attendants, two of whom also carry bow and arrows. On the left in the background is a man with his arms crossed and the same style of hairdressing as the king's attendants, he probably therefore belongs to their party; in the lower corner, besides the umbrella-bearer, a plainly-dressed bearded man is kneeling, making a sēmbah to the king. What it all represents is a mystery.

75. *The wife is carried off*

The bhikṣuṇī is taken away, not in a cart but a very simple kind of palanquin made out of a carpet fastened to a couple of bamboo poles. Two bearers in front and two at the back hold the poles on their shoulders; all four are poor folk from the desa, not royal servants. We can imagine that some of the country-people round-about were pressed into the royal service. A couple of trees in the background here too shew

¹) Another Pāli-version, Cariyāpiṭaka II, 4 is of no use either.

us the forest. Under the palanquin but not mentioned in the text, we see the crouching figure of a *rākṣasa*, with the usual unkempt hair and large earrings; he has a club in the left hand. In this too the sculptor's text deviates from ours.

76. *The king sends back the wife*

The same with this final scene. In the text the king changes his mind while still in the forest with the monk, and there sends for the wife to be brought back; here on the relief we see him with the *bhikṣuṇī* at court. He sits adorned with a halo on the right with two women, under the roof of a *pēṇḍāpā* on a dais, his right leg is crossed over the left that hangs down and he seems to be thinking and hesitating about something. It is quite plain that some request is being made by the women sitting beside him as well as the group of subjects on the left, who are sitting and standing, some in courtiers and some in brahman dress. Many of them make a *sēmbah*, all seem to be doing their best to persuade the king. In the centre of this group stands the wife of the holy man, her hands crossed on her breast and next to her someone sits with hair twisted up in a knot just as on No. 74 among the royal attendants; he rests his head on his hand and like the nun takes no part in the discussion. The course of the story must be here a little different; the wife has arrived at the court with the king and there he decides to send her back, perhaps at the request of his anxious subjects or something of that kind. Notice the king's halo, to which only *Bodhisattva*'s or gods have a right; no reason is apparent for it being given to the king, so it is possibly due only to the sculptor's carelessness.

XXII. The story of the swans

(text p. 127—142; trans. p. 181—200)

The *Bodhisattva* was once king of the swans and lived in lake *Mānasa* with hundred thousands of subjects. He was assisted in his rule by the chief of his army, *Sumukha*, a wise and noble bird. United by mutual respect, they together instructed the tribe of swans in all things pertaining to the benefit of living beings. Thus the community lived in great prosperity and the virtues of the king and *Sumukha*, who in appearance shone like pure gold, were praised by gods and saints until their fame spread far and wide. In this way the king of Benares hearing of them, was seized with a desire to meet them face to face. His council-

lors advised him to endeavour to attract the swans by making a much finer lake than the one, where they now lived, and promising safety to all birds who should come there. The king followed this advice and soon there was a beautiful lake of clear water, full of lotuses and water-lillies and surrounded by trees. By chance a pair of the Bodhisattva's swans came into that land and were delighted with what they saw, all of which they described to the other swans of Mānasa on their return. The whole community longed to see the wonder for themselves and although neither the Bodhisattva nor Sumukha saw any advantage therein, they consented at last to go there to amuse themselves. When the king of Benares heard from the guards of their arrival, he gave orders to a skillful fowler to capture the two gold-colored swans. Snares were fixed at various points and it was not long before the Bodhisattva, who trusted entirely in the protection offered, became entangled with his leg in one of these traps. He at once uttered a warning cry and all the other swans flew up into the air, all but one, for Sumukha would not move from his master's side and however much the king urged him to escape, the faithful creature was resolved to share his master's fate. The bird-snarer approached and when he saw that only one of the two swans was caught and the other stayed of his own accord, he was very much surprised. With the voice of a human being, Sumukha then declared that the love which bound him to his master was stronger than the bonds of the snare and seeing this made some impression on the fowler, he begged as a favor that he might be taken instead of the king. Overcome by admiration and compassion, the fowler prepared to set both birds free. But they did not wish to get him into trouble, and suggested that he should take them with him to Benares quite free and unfettered, so that the king's desire might be satisfied and he himself richly rewarded. So the two swans came to the court, where the fowler related the moving story to the king. The human king, delighted and full of admiration, offered the king of the swans a golden throne and Sumukha a ministers seat and they discoursed together for a while; after that the Bodhisattva and his friend flew up into the air and rejoined his subjects. Later on he returned with his swans to the king of Benares and discussed with him the law of righteous behaviour.

77. *The swans in the lake of Mānasa*

The whole relief is filled up with lotus plants and flowers and the swans who live on the lake. The large bird perched above on the left,

separated a little from the others, is certainly the Bodhisattva and opposite him a little lower sits Sumukha.

78. The king of Benares and his advisers

The king sits on a dais against a cushion on the right, he is talking with his councillors who are on the left, discussing the plan for getting sight of the famous swans. There are four ministers, two sitting and two standing. The one sitting furthest back has very large earrings, the front one standing is a bearded old brahman, the second wears a sword and has a military air, he is probably captain of the guard. The face of the king as well as that of the front seated councillor has been knocked off.

79. The swans and the fowler

Another pond with lotuses. The upper half of the relief is taken up by the swans in flight, the chief persons are below. The fowler is sitting in the right hand corner and the two swans stand on the left, one with outstretched wings on a large padma, the other near him on the ground, with its head towards its companion. Neither of them have any snare round the leg, so this will be the moment when the Bodhisattva has been freed. The gesture of the fowler confirms this; he is not doing anything to capture the birds but seems to shew his admiration of them.

80. The two swans at court

This relief is badly damaged; of the Bodhisattva nothing is left but a piece of his back. The two swans are given the place of honor on the right of the scene; the Bodhisattva has been standing on a high pedestal surrounded by banners. Next to him, nearer to the spectator, is the faithful Sumukha on a lower pedestal; in front of him as mark of honor are placed an incense-stand, and a jug with a spout and a lotus. More to the left, just in front of the swans, kneels an umbrella-bearer and behind him kneels the king, or rather he has been kneeling, so little remains of him. The monarch holds an incense-burner in his hand. Behind him are attendants more or less visible, kneeling and sitting, among whom are two women in the foreground, one making a *sēmbah*, the other with a flower in her hand. Then still more to the left some servants standing, among them a waiting-maid with fly-whisk and a servant with a dish are uninjured.

At Ajaṇṭā the *Hamṣa-jātaka* has evidently followed much the same

version in two of the caves. In Cave II we find ¹⁾ round a doorway, first on the left a lotus pond with swans and next to it a king seated with his queen. On the right at the side of a pond are two swans and two men in the water, next to that a man carrying away the two birds. Above the door much has been damaged, but we can still see a swan on a throne and a respectful audience. It is thus evident that the preaching as well as the capture are represented, with two fowlers instead of one. The lefthand scene as on Barabudur No. 77 and 78 may be the swans before their capture and the king making his plans, or is possibly a final scene of the king of the swans with his subjects visiting the king of Benares. Cave XVII gives the tale a second time ²⁾; a lotus pond with swans, then a man carrying two of the birds and finally a court-scene with two swans on thrones. The Jātakamālā version has certainly been followed in the principal details ³⁾.

XXIII. The story of Mahābodhi

(text p. 142—155; trans. p. 200—218)

Once the Bodhisattva was a wandering ascetic named Mahābodhi, very learned in the books of the law. His knowledge and wisdom made him a welcome guest everywhere he came on his travels, his only aim being the welfare of his fellow creatures. In this way he arrived in the country of a king, who rejoicing over the coming of the great man announced long beforehand, had prepared a dwelling for him in his own park. The Bodhisattva, who was received with great honor, went to live there and rewarded his host with daily discourse on religious matters. The king's ministers grew envious of the great honor shewn to Mahābodhi and began to insinuate to the king that he was a spy belonging to an enemy nation. At last their evil suggestions influenced the king's mind and he began to neglect the holy man. At first Mahābodhi did not notice this, but when he saw that the courtiers shewed him no more attentions and that it was evidently intentional, he took up his staff and his waterpot and made ready to depart. Partly out of politeness, partly from some remnant of attachment, the king came to the monk and asked him to alter his decision; but Mahābodhi reminded him of his changed behaviour that was proved even by his dog, who now barked angrily at him, while he used to be friendly like its master; it was better to go away like

¹⁾ Burgess, Notes p. 32, Herringham Frescoes pl. XXXIII, 36.

²⁾ Burgess p. 65 sq., in reversed sequence; Foucher, Lettre, p. 214 etc., with reference to Griffiths, pl. 64, 2 and Herringham, pl. XXV, 27 and XLI, 54.

³⁾ A fragment with geese has also been preserved at Bharhut, see Cunningham l.l. pl. 27.

this than to stay and possibly in the end be sent off. Although the king begged his pardon, Mahābodhi departed, promising to return if there were any reason to do so. The reason became evident when living in the forest, the ascetic saw by the power of his spirit how several of the king's councillors were striving to draw him away after their respective false doctrines. Mahābodhi determined to save his former friend from the error of these false creeds.

By his magic arts he created a large monkey with whose skin he appeared at the royal palace. In the presence of the king he sat down on it and the monarch asked many questions as to how he had procured the monkey skin. He replied that he had killed the animal so as to get something soft to sit and sleep on. As was to be expected, much discussion began among the converts of the false doctrines, which gave Mahābodhi the opportunity to prove convincingly that according to the tenets they advocated, no blame could be thrown upon him for killing an animal. Proving in this manner their theories to be untenable, he turned to the king and declared that in reality he had never killed any living creature and only brought the skin as a proof of his argument; to shew this he caused the skin to disappear by the same magic. Then followed a preaching of the true creed; the king returned from the error of his ways into the path of true doctrine, and honored by them all Mahābodhi rose into the air and flew off into his dwelling in the forest.

81. *The king is informed of Mahābodhi's expected arrival*

A very dilapidated relief like the next one. Left, on a seat with a dish and box underneath it, sits the king under a canopy that has been supported by columns, with two maids-in-waiting holding fly-whisks; his majesty has lost his head and upper part of the body and nothing is left of one maid but her one arm. Sitting on the ground on the right with a couple of trees in the background, are four men also very much damaged; the front one is giving information to the king, which must be of course about the arrival of the famous hermit. The upper part and right side of the relief have disappeared.

82. *Arrival of Mahābodhi*

Still less remains of this relief. The hermit is approaching from the right, with beard and moustache, hair done up in a knot and necklace, all as might be expected. To the left are the people who receive him and bring the king's invitation; all that can be said is that there were four of them,

two kneeling and two standing. The first two we can see belonged to the ordinary sort of courtiers; the others we cannot identify as their heads and the upper part of the body have disappeared.

83. *Mahābodhi honored at court*

Quite on the right of this double panel, the holy man is sitting comfortably under a penthouse, the dwelling prepared for him by the king in his park. Every one appears to be paying him attention, his clothes look well cared-for, and the fine headdress seems much more suitable for a court-chaplain than a wandering monk. There is a large dish (of food?) in front of him, a disciple — for such we may perhaps consider the figure with the hair twisted in a knot, even if the rest of him looks like a courtier — is busy fanning him. The five other persons are in any case people of the king's household; one with a jug is still on the right half of the panel, the others are sitting under a roof on the left, two of them presenting gifts to the visitor and two listening reverently to his discourse. Notice the curious animal under the seat, with a big tail and long hind legs, that looks like a kangaroo. Can this be the king's dog the text speaks of in a later episode? At any rate the animal does not appear on the relief where it belongs, No. 84, in the conversation between the king and the hermit. If this is meant for a dog, the sculptor has certainly not been very successful.

84. *Conversation between the king and Mahābodhi*

The ascetic is still sitting under his now rather dilapidated penthouse on the right, the king, accompanied by two women, sits on the left discoursing with him; this is certainly the conversation before Mahābodhi's first departure. Under the monk's seat is a dish as usual, but also on a stone to the left of that is a large dish between two pedestals under the place where the king sits. That this very much damaged block is really in its original position we can see by its fitting into the stones above it; all the same it is a fact that this dish does not seem to belong there and there is no dog ¹⁾).

¹⁾ If the medallion at Bharhut (reproduced on pl. 27, 14 by Cunningham) represents this same jātaka, there the dog plays his part. The hermit is approaching on one side, an umbrella in his right hand and his bundle on his staff over the left shoulder. Opposite to him we see first the dog and then a man and woman in robes of ceremony, probably the king and queen. It is of course possible that here the jātaka found in the Pāli collection as no. 528 is represented, where a dog barks to warn the ascetic of approaching danger. Compare Hultszsch in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1912, p. 399—402.

85. *The discussion on the monkey-skin*

Although a large slice of Mahābodhi sitting on the right, is missing, the most important part is still there: near his right knee the ape's head can be seen on the skin the holy man was seated on. The hermit, whom the sculptor has carelessly deprived of the beard he has been wearing on all the previous reliefs, is holding his discourse, seated on the right under a canopy supported by columns. In front of him is a shell on a pedestal, next to that a dish of flowers, while a similar dish is held by a servant. On the left in a pēṇḍāpā the king and his heretic councillors sit listening to the sermon.

XXIV. The story of the great ape (text p. 155—162; trans. p. 218—227)

In a salubrious district on the slopes of the Himālaya, the Bodhisattva lived once as a large ape; he lived quite alone but in this condition was still conscious of the Dharma and retained his sense of compassion. One day a man wandered into that part of the forest looking for a stray cow, then he lost his way and grew hungry and thirsty. He found some fruit on the ground but not enough to satisfy his hunger, so when it was eaten he looked about to see where it had come from. It was from a tree growing on the side of a waterfall, he climbed into it, but the branch he was in broke off and he fell with it into a precipice. He was not injured, for the branch had protected him, but looking round he could see no chance of getting out of the abyss. He lingered helpless and miserable for some days, living on water and the fallen fruit until the Bodhisattva heard his cries. He climbed down to the man asking in a human voice, what was the matter and filled with compassion kept him alive with fruit, then he exercised himself everyday in climbing with a stone of the same weight as the man until he felt able to carry him away. As soon as he could do this, he took the unfortunate man on his back and brought him up into safety. The ape was so exhausted that he lay down immediately to rest and asked the man to keep guard. This was promised, but as soon as his companion was asleep, evil desires laid hold of the man; this vegetarian food was not enough to restore his strength, he must have meat and the ape lying beside him would provide that. Forgetting all gratitude the scoundrel took up a heavy stone and dropped it on to the ape's head to kill him, but his hand shook and the stone only bruised the victim and woke him up. The Bodhisattva saw the guilty man confused and ashamed before him and understood what had happened; he felt no anger, only

compassion for the evildoer, who had injured his own happiness in such a way. Explaining the harm he had done to himself, he led the man out of the forest and took leave of him at the edge of the inhabited world. Then remorse began to prey on the wicked man's mind and in his misery he became infected with leprosy. Everywhere he came, people were terrified of him and hunted him away as if he were a devil. At last he wandered into a forest where he was found by the king out hunting, who spoke to him and heard his story, how he suffered for his treachery to his benefactor.

86. *The ape and the rescued man*

A great deal of this relief is missing. There have been a couple of trees with a squirrel climbing in one; the ape has been saved and is sitting on the left; on the right, to be seen by his hand, the man was seated. The incident might just as well be the finding of the unfortunate one as the attack he makes later on. The ape sits curled up and seems to be asleep, so this looks like the attempted murder; the thing the hand is resting on might be a part of the stone, only that this oblong object looks so little like a stone. As the hand and this fragment of an object are all that is left of the man, it is quite impossible to identify anything more of the picture.

87. *The rescued man is led out of the forest*

The whole middle part of this relief has disappeared, and we can only conjecture the remainder of the scene. Two trees, in one of which are a peacock and a dove, shew us the forest. The man is walking towards the right; the ape, nothing of whom is left but his arms and legs, follows him. Evidently they are in company and the man is being escorted to the edge of the forest; he has a stick in his left hand, probably the handle of an umbrella the remains of which can be seen above his head.

88. *The meeting with the king*

The evildoer sits in a dejected attitude in the lefthand corner, his hair in the same fashion as on the last relief, twisted into a knot at the back of his head, and he is making a sēmbah to the king who stands in front of him, holding his right hand above the man's head. There are three attendants, one with a bow and arrows and another carrying a well-filled quiver.

89. *The king and his courtiers*

It is impossible to decide whether this scene belongs to this or the following jātaka; at any rate it does not represent anything that is actually described in the text. A king with a halo is sitting on the right on a throne under a canopy with two ladies, one of whom makes a *sembah* and seems to be asking something. On the left are the courtiers in a standing and a sitting row. Among the seated ones is a bearded brahman; the last of those standing wears a sword of ceremony, the nearest one has a bow. This is just as appropriate to this tale, where the king is returning from the chase, as to the next one where he goes out hunting. If the scene belongs to the story of the ape, then it might depict how the king on his return to the court relates his adventure and is sure to add a moral discourse. But this is not confirmed by the beseeching attitude of one of the queens or the pose of the monarch himself, that looks much more like considering about a petition than making a speech. It seems more probable that this relief belongs to the next tale and in connection with that I shall discuss it.

The Mahākapi-jātaka is also found in Cave XVII at Ajanṭā ¹⁾, and takes much the same course, though one scene is doubtful. Four scenes are shewn. First the man holding a heavy stone above the ape. Then the ape, sitting up and looking round with the stone next to him and the man opposite. This is quite in agreement with the Jātakamālā. The third scene is the doubtful one: "beneath the sleeping monkey is another, stretching up his hands and a man near him" is the only description Burgess gives of it; but in any case it is a scene of the ape and the evildoer. The final scene is quite clear, a large ape walking with a man following him; here just the same as No. 87 on the Barabūḍur, the rescued man is being escorted out of the forest back to the civilized world. The first portion of the tale has been preserved at Bharhut ²⁾: on the much damaged left half of the relief the ape is seen looking down into the water; next to that he is climbing up with the man on his back; quite to the right the man is holding up the stone with both hands above the head of the ape to kill his benefactor. There is not much at Bharhut to correspond with the Barabūḍur scene ³⁾.

¹⁾ Burgess, Notes p. 67.

²⁾ Cunningham I.I. pl. 33, 5; Hultsch, Jatakas at Bharaut, I.I. p. 402—404. Compare Foucher, Lettre p. 207.

³⁾ It is of course quite possible that the story told at Bharhut ended with the ape being killed by the stone without the continuation it has at Ajanṭā and Barabūḍur.

XXV. The story of the *ṣarabha*
(text p. 162—167; trans. p. 227—233)

The Bodhisattva was once a *ṣarabha*¹⁾ in a lonely part of the forest; he was strong, swift and kindly disposed towards all living creatures. Now it happened once upon a time that the king of that country went a-hunting. Mounted on his steed with bow and arrow in his hand, he galloped away far from his attendants and when he saw the *ṣarabha* he determined to kill it. The Bodhisattva took flight, not because he was afraid to attack his pursuer but because he hated deeds of violence. All at once he jumped quickly over a chasm in the ground, and when the king's horse came to the same spot it stopped suddenly in fear, so that the king lost his balance and was thrown into the chasm. The Bodhisattva heard directly that the sound of the horse's hoofs had ceased, he looked back and saw it standing riderless at the edge of the cleft. He at once understood what had happened and was filled with compassion for the unfortunate man. He ran back and saw his enemy lying below, bruised and battered. With friendly words he offered his help which the king, full of remorse, gratefully accepted. After practising first with a stone of a man's weight, he requested the king to climb on to his back and brought him safely out of the chasm; he then fetched the horse and shewed him the way to the city. Full of gratitude the king embraced his rescuer, placed all he possessed at his service and besought him to be his guest in the capital. Although the Bodhisattva declined this invitation as unsuitable for a wild animal, he shewed the king how to please him in another way by never hunting any more and performing other good deeds. He then took leave and returned to his life in the forest.

89. *Introductory scene* (?)

This relief has been described in the last tale; it only remains to shew how it might fit into the story of the *ṣarabha*. It is not unlikely that in some other version this tale might have begun in the style of our next story: a queen who sees in a dream the desired animal and persuades her husband to try and capture it. In that case the attitude of the king and one of the women on this relief is accounted for. But it is not impossible that some mistake was made in dividing the reliefs and that this scene

¹⁾ Speyer observes (p. 227) that it seems as if not the ordinary deer of that name is meant, but the fabulous *ṣarabha* that has eight legs and is able to fight lions and elephants. The reliefs shew that the Barabudur sculptors too intended it to be the fabulous creature with eight legs, not an ordinary deer, as at Ajanta.

should have been placed several numbers further on, in the next jātaka. Of course this is mere guess-work, and we must not forget that the relief, as it is, cannot be identified by Cūra's text.

90. *The king goes hunting*

The king rides into the forest that is indicated by a tree on conventional rocks. He has the reins in his left hand and in the right something broken-off, probably an arrow. At any rate the first of the three attendants walking behind him carries a bow. The two others have long club-shaped things on their shoulders, perhaps they are bearers for the dead game or maybe only quivers are meant. The king's right foot has accidentally been given six toes and the sculptor had tried to remove one.

91. *The king in the chasm*

Want of space and perspective has made this relief rather primitive-looking. The groundwork is outlined with rocks, all over; in the middle a small hollow has been made to represent the chasm, the sides of which are continued upwards in rocks. The king is concealed in this up to his waist, lifting his hands imploringly to the *ṣarabha*, who stands on the edge at the right, but very little higher than his majesty, who to judge by the relief would have little trouble in getting himself out of the shallow ditch on to level ground. The *ṣarabha* is carved in such a way that his extra four legs are growing on his back, so that when his natural limbs are fatigued, he can easily turn over and proceed belly-upwards on the supernatural ones. On this relief the fabulous legs are not so distinct as on the two following. On the other side of the cleft, the horse stands with saddle and collar of bells but no stirrups. In the background some trees indicate the forest; notice the peacock craning its neck to see what is going on.

92. *The rescue*

The king is now mounted on the *ṣarabha*, holding on to its spare legs. The animal has all its legs off the ground, just making the jump out of the cleft on the lefthand into safety. Here too we see the rocky ground with trees at the back; on the right a small deer or similar creature is looking on.

93. *The ṣarabha's farewell*

The *ṣarabha* is standing on a rocky slope on the left with trees and

a serpent's hole. He is talking to the king who stands respectfully on the right, probably making a sēmbah, but his hands have been knocked off. The king has not only recovered his horse but his retinue, not mentioned in the text, as well for behind him kneels the umbrella-bearer, then two attendants sitting, and beyond them is the horse. A couple of trees and some rocks are also put on this side of the relief. This jātaka is probably found at Ajaṇṭā too¹⁾.

XXVI. The story of the ruru-deer
(text p. 167—175; trans. p. 234—244)

In a remote part of the wilderness, thickly planted with trees and inhabited by many kinds of wild animals, deer, elephants, buffaloes, wild boars and others, the Bodhisattva lived as a ruru-deer with a skin like pure gold, spotted as if with precious stones. Knowing that his body was a great attraction for human beings, he avoided as much as possible, places where they lived and warned the other animals to do the same. Once however he suddenly heard cries for help; a man who had fallen into the river was being swept away in its rapid current. The Bodhisattva hastened to the scene of the accident and did not hesitate to rescue the victim at the risk of his own life; he went into the water, put himself in front of the drowning man, told him to climb on to his back and brought him to the bank with great exertion; there he restored him with the warmth of his own body. The rescued man, filled with gratitude, asked what he could do for his rescuer; then the ruru-deer begged him never to tell anyone that he had met with such a miraculous creature. Some time later, the queen of that country, who had the power of dreaming true dreams, dreamt that she saw a ruru-deer, a shining apparition, seated on a throne and expounding the Law to the king in a human voice. She told her husband this dream and the king issued a proclamation that whoever could shew him such a wonderful animal, should be rewarded with a village and ten wives. This prospect proved irresistible to the man once rescued by that creature, for he was now living in great poverty, and, though not without some struggle, he ignored the duty of gratitude and revealed to the king where the ruru-deer was to be found. The king went with him and after causing the forest to be surrounded, he and his guide went on alone to the place. Unaware of any danger, there stood the Bodhisattva. "That is that wonderful deer",

¹⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 210.

said the traitor, pointing it out to the king, and at the same moment his hand fell to the ground as if suddenly cut off by a sword. The king had his bow and arrow ready and went forward to shoot the deer, but the animal, realizing that flight was impossible, spoke in a human voice and asked how he had discovered the place. The king pointed to his guide and the Bodhisattva expressed his disapproval of such base ingratitude and at the king's request related what had taken place. The evil-doer confessed his guilt and only at the request of the Bodhisattva the king refrained from putting an arrow through the wicked man's heart; the noble creature even begged his majesty to give him all the same the promised reward. The king was moved to agree to this and besought the Bodhisattva to return with him to the court. The ruru-deer was escorted into the city in the royal carriage, received in the palace as an honored guest and expounded the Law from the royal throne, setting forth the duty of mercy towards all creatures.

94. *The king orders the deer to be sought for*

The sculptor has somewhat altered the sequence and begins with a relief shewing the king and his court, before he gives us the rescue out of the river; we must therefore suppose either that the rescue is considered to have taken place after the king's proclamation, or that some other version has been followed in which the dream etc. comes first, and the episode in the river is afterwards spoken of as the reason why the man who offers himself as guide, knows of the existence and dwelling-place of the ruru-deer. On the right on a seat beneath a canopy, with some dishes under it, a very much damaged group is sitting, the king with two ladies; it is not possible to see exactly what the king is doing, but evidently he is not listening to one of the women, so at any rate this is not the telling of the dream. He appears to be turning to the people sitting left on the ground with a cocoa-tree and another tree behind them. As the front one of these has his arms crossed over his breast and is not making a *sēmbah*, he cannot be intended for the ungrateful man offering his services as guide. The only possibility in my opinion is, that the king is discussing with his courtiers in general, the reward to be offered for the discovery of the miraculous apparition the queen dreamt of.

95—96. *The rescue from the river*

The left of these two reliefs is not of much importance; it only gives some more details of the surroundings. Both shew by the trees in the

background that the scene is now in the forest, there are all sorts of birds in the trees, particularly peacocks and doves and an occasional squirrel. On the left some more rocks and several animals, witnesses of the mighty deed, an elephant, a deer, a buffalo and a wildboar. On the right hand relief the river is seen down on the left with some fishes swimming in it; the rescue has just been accomplished, because on the other side on the rocky bank couches the ruru-deer and opposite to it, rather lower, the rescued man is making a *sēmbah* in gratitude and giving the promise he is so soon to break.

97. *The king is brought to the deer*

On a rocky eminence to the left with a couple of trees in the background, the Bodhisattva is sitting with his head turned away; below in the foreground a hind is running off. The king stands on the right, pushed up against the deer for want of space; he has the bow in his left and an arrow in his right hand. Beside him kneels the traitor and behind is a servant with a quiver. Of course nothing is to be seen of the struck-off hand. The king seems to be hesitating, probably he has just heard what the deer has to tell.

98. *The Bodhisattva preaches at court*

The throne offered to the Bodhisattva consists of a very high pedestal with a canopy supported by columns. The deer is seated there on a cushion; an incense-burner is placed below in front of him. The king is sitting on a low dais just to the right with one of his wives, of course the queen who had the wonderful dream; he is lifting his right hand and she makes a *sēmbah*. The rest of the space is occupied by the court. On the right, a row of standing women and kneeling and sitting men; some are bringing dishes and the usual gifts of honor. On the left, under the throne, some more listeners are sitting, by their dress of a different rank to those on the right. The front one of the women holds a fly-fan, two of the men have lotuses in their hand.

There is a medallion at Bharhut of this same story¹⁾. Below in the river the deer is swimming with the man on his back. Above, the rest of the tale appears; the deer is sitting with several more deer behind him, evidently as leader of a herd; opposite, the king is depicted twice; once on the point of shooting when the traitor shews him the deer, and again

¹⁾ Cunningham I.I. pl. 25, 1.

in a respectful attitude listening to the animal's words. Also in Cave II at Ajañṭā ¹⁾ the rescue itself is to be found; first we see the deer on the bank of the river and again swimming in the stream with the man on its back. What was depicted above cannot be identified; only the deer is to be seen again, possibly in the episode with the king.

XXVII. The story of the great monkey
(text p. 175—181; trans. p. 244—252)

In a certain forest on the banks of a river the Bodhisattva once lived as the leader of a troupe of monkeys, an example of all the virtues even in this state of life. They lived in an large banyan-tree that was laden with excellent and particularly luscious fruit. One of the branches of this tree hung over the river flowing near, and the Bodhisattva commanded that no fruit should grow on that branch. But once they overlooked a small fruit that was hidden under a leaf, it grew and ripened there unnoticed and then fell into the water. The fig was carried along by the stream until it came against some net-work that the king had caused to be stretched across to make a bathing-place and where at that moment he was disporting himself with his wives. The delicious smell of the fruit attracted the women's attention, they saw it and told the king what they had found. He tasted it, its exquisite flavor made him long to find out where it came from and he understood that he must trace it up-stream. He then set out with a guard of soldiers and came at last to the Bodhisattva's tree, where the delicious odour revealed the object of their quest. When they came up to the tree, they saw hundreds of monkeys eating the fruit and the king angrily ordered the beasts to be attacked and destroyed; so the soldiers immediately began to shoot with arrows and throw sticks and spears at them. When the Bodhisattva saw this, he thought of a way to save his subjects. He climbed into the top of the tree and from there jumped on to the top of an adjacent hill, a distance beyond the reach of the other apes, but just possible for himself. There he found a long cane, fastened that to his hind legs and jumped back into his tree, just able to lay hold of one of its branches. He then signed to his people to climb along his back and the cane and escape to the hill top, which they did in a wild rush to safety. The king watched this in the greatest astonishment as well as admiration. He could see that the king of the

¹⁾ Burgess, Notes p. 38; Foucher, Lettre p. 208. C mp. the jāṭaka there given as No. 23 on p. 216.

monkeys was too exhausted to release himself from his dangerous position; so he ordered a canopy to be held under the branch that the ape was holding on to, and the branch and the cane to be shot through at the same time. This was done; the ape fell unconscious on to the cloth and was laid on a soft bed and rubbed with salve. He gradually recovered and was able to answer the king's questions, then he discoursed to the reverently listening king on the powers of virtue and vice. Thereupon he expired, and was carried up to heaven.

99—100. *The king eats the fig*

On the right hand one of these reliefs, the king sits in the midst of his wives. He is on a bench underneath which there is a dish, and has his right arm round the neck of the woman seated beside him; his left hand rests open on his knee. A second and third woman stand to the right and a fourth is sitting on the floor holding a shut-up box. One of the two standing women is holding the fig on her two open hands and the king seems to be debating whether he shall eat it or not. The left-hand relief shews the royal retinue, among them the umbrella-bearer and two guards armed with swords. In the background we see the head of an elephant with outstretched trunk.

101. *The king on his way*

The king is going to the right with a bow in one hand, an arrow in the other and followed by three attendants, two of whom carry an arrow over the left shoulder. There being only one arrow instead of the quiverful that might be expected and the way of carrying it on the shoulder, makes it possible, that these may be spears that have turned out too short, though for this kind of scene arrows seem always to be chosen. On the extreme right there are two more persons, one standing, making a *sēmbah* to the king, and one squatting, holding up his hands imploringly. It is difficult to conjecture what these people are up to. Perhaps, in a case where the text says nothing about it, no further notice need be taken of them and the sculptor only intended to represent the respectful greeting given to the king on his journey; if this is all, then this relief again is a proof of the dangers of explanation where there is no text as guide. The first glance at this scene would make anyone think the king was being petitioned about something.

102. *The escape of the monkeys*

Want of space has here prevented the sculptor from giving reality to

this otherwise clearly-represented scene. The tree of the monkeys is quite on the right, another tree that takes the place of the mountain given by the text is on the extreme left. The Bodhisattva is clinging with all four limbs to the foliage of the first tree; tied to his middle (not to his hind legs) and resting on his outstretched tail, the cane reaches to the other tree and along this bridge the monkeys are escaping. The space between the two trees is occupied by the assailants who are much too large in proportion and are attacking in the distance the animals they could, as here depicted, capture by hand. The king sits on a little eminence to the left and is lifting his left hand as if to stop the attack and save the ape; the umbrella-bearer and another attendant are beside him while the others are all busy with their bows and arrows, blowpipes and spears. A little more to the right, one of them already holds up the cloth into which the Bodhisattva is to fall and last of all at the foot of the tree sits a figure quietly leaning his head on his hand. The text tells us nothing about this person.

On the medallion at Bharhut¹⁾ as well, we find the escape of the monkeys from one tree to another, not to a mountain; the Barabaḍur sculptor may therefore have followed an existing tradition and not his own fancy. The king of the apes here too has hold of the first tree with his front limbs and a stick or rope tied to his hind legs makes the rest of the bridge. The small space between makes the whole incident look impossible, though the sculptor has done his best to give the impression of distance by putting a river with fish in it between the two trees. No shooting is going on; two attendants stand ready with the spread-out cloth. Below in the foreground the king sits talking to the ape, he is sitting on a stool and the monkey on another one; this is evidently a separate episode of the conversation between king and ape after the latter has been dropped out of the tree. According to Foucher this jātika is also found at Ajaṇṭā in Cave XVII²⁾.

XXVIII. The story of Kṣāntivādin

(text p. 181—192; trans. p. 253—268)

Once upon a time the Bodhisattva was an hermit who had renounced the world; he had gradually come to the conclusion that domestic life gives but little opportunity for the practice of righteousness. He preached most of all the virtue of forbearance, to the people who visited him in his

¹⁾ Cunningham, I.I., pl. 33, 4.

²⁾ Lettre, p. 206.

pleasant dwelling-place situated in a forest beautiful as a park, with flowers and a clear lotus pond. One warm summer day the king of that country took a fancy to disport himself with his wives in the lake so they came there and amused themselves. At last becoming tired and sleepy, he lay down on a couch to rest. When his wives saw that, they took the opportunity of exploring the forest and wandered about in groups, gathering all the flowers as they went along. At last they came near to Kṣāntivādin's retreat and went inside, for the guards of the harem did not dare to prevent them for fear of displeasing them and losing the king's favor at the same time. As soon as they caught sight of the holy man sitting under a tree with legs crossed, like the embodied Dharma, their frivolity was changed into reverent worship. They seated themselves round him in a circle and listened to what he preached to them about forbearance. Meantime the king awoke, eager to amuse himself again. Not seeing his wives, he was told by the slaves that they had strolled further into the forest; he set out in search of them, easily tracing their steps by the broken flowers and bushes. Thus he arrived at the hermitage and to his anger saw the young women sitting round the ascetic, listening attentively. In a rage of jealousy he rushed forward with a sword to attack the hermit, though his harem-guards tried to prevent him. When the ladies also tried to calm his violence, their attempt to save the hermit made him only more furious and the guards quickly took the females out of the way. Only the Great Being preserved his calmness and warned the king to think of his own salvation, but giving no heed to these words, the monarch struck off the holy man's uplifted hand with his sword and then when he offered no resistance, the other hand, both arms, ears, nose and feet. The hermit did not trouble about his own pains but only grieved at the king's fall from the ways of righteousness. As the king was leaving the place, the earth suddenly opened and swallowed him, a terrible noise was heard and flames burst out. In fear and trembling the councillors hastened to the hermit to whose wrath they ascribed this dreadful occurrence. He assured them that vengeance was far from his thoughts. And after once more preaching the duty of forbearance, the holy man departed from this earth.

103. *The king asleep*

Resting his head on his right hand, the king lies asleep on a couch, a female slave is kneeling beside him. A couple of dishes are underneath and a smaller one is just in front of him on the couch; a roof

resting on columns protects the sleeper from the sun, four parrots are perched on it. The slave is massaging him; we can see how unnaturally her legs are placed, there being so little room for the sculptor to get them in just about the same height as the royal legs. In accordance with the rule on this monument that every indecorous sight must be avoided, there is no representation given of the king disporting himself with his wives, or the terrible vengeance of the jealous monarch.

104. *The king goes in search of the women*

A double panel, with nothing else on it but the king with his attendants walking to the right. The king goes in front, foremost among the retinue is the umbrella-bearer, some of the others carry bow and arrows, here again one arrow at a time on the right shoulder. While in the text first the expedition made by the wives and then that of the king is given, the only way when following the course of the tale, the sculptor has altered the sequence of both scenes. The reason in my opinion is that as they are all going to the right, we can here actually see the king following the ladies. This may make it more comprehensible, but the reality of the scene is not improved, for when the king set out, the women of course were already at the hermits cell.

105—106. *The wives wandering in the forest*

On No. 106, the top edge of which is missing, we see the ladies walking to the right, most of them carrying the flowers they have gathered. There is no sign of the gaiety the text speaks of; they move as soberly as if it were a procession. One of them loiters behind on No. 105 and there too is another sitting under a tree that indicates the forest. No. 105 could easily have been omitted as regards both the tale and the representation.

107. *Kṣāntivādin preaching*

As already stated, the melodramatic behaviour of the king in his rage is not depicted and the hermit's sermon is given as closing scene. The relief is very much damaged; the hermit, at the right, has lost his head, but his lifted right hand shews at any rate that he is preaching. A dish containing something unrecognisable is placed beside him. In the middle of the scene the women sit turning towards the holy man, the front one is making a *sēmbah*; behind on the left of the relief are the harem-

guard and other attendants, a couple of them armed with swords. Trees in the background.

As I have mentioned (p. 335), there is a representation of this jātaka according to the text of the Jātakamālā to be found in Cave II at Ajaṇṭā, on the back wall to the right of the door, in the same lefthand outer-room where the story of king Maitrībala is depicted. First we see a man in sādhu- or brahman-dress seated on a footstool (in bhadraśana) with a person sitting opposite to him. Below that we find again a brahman or paṇḍita in plain clothes on a footstool with a rudrākṣa-rosary round his neck. Opposite stands another man and between them sits a woman, her hands clasped towards the first one, and speaking to the second man ¹⁾. The first scene bears the name *Kṣāntivādīh*. It is Lüders who discovered verses from our Čūra in the inscription ²⁾ and he certainly identifies the scenes correctly, by judging the seated figure to be a woman and the first scene the preaching; while in the second scene we have the king with the hermit facing him and the woman imploring her husband to spare the holy man. The first thus corresponds with No. 107 on the Barabaḍur, and according to the other, Ajaṇṭā sculptors had no scruples like their fellow-artists in Java, about bringing the raging king and the saint face to face.

XXIX. The story of the inhabitant of the Brahmaloḥa (text p. 192—200; trans. p. 268—280)

In consequence of his accumulated virtue, the Bodhisattva was born into the Brahma-heaven, but this blissful existence did not lessen his zeal for striving to procure the welfare of others. He therefore turned his attention to this world, so much in need of compassion, and saw how the king of Videha was being led away from the true faith by evil thoughts and bad companions. This monarch was convinced that there was no life after this and therefore no result of good or evil deeds and this made him neglect his religious duties and put no value on good behaviour or charity. This sad state of things roused the devaṛṣi's pity, so he descended from above and appeared to the king in all his heavenly glory, when the monarch was sitting in a lonely arbour. At the sight of this radiant being, the king rose from his seat and greeted him respectfully,

¹⁾ Burgess, Notes p. 81.

²⁾ Lüders in the article quoted on page 335, p. 758—761. Comp. Foucher, Lettre, p. 205.

offered the water for guests and begged him to relate how he had been able to achieve such superhuman power. The reply was that this was the result of meditation, virtuous conduct and control of the senses in former lives. This led of course to inquiries about the life hereafter, the reality of which the Bodhisattva proved with powerful arguments. The king was still sceptical. "If that world exists", he said, "just lend me five hundred gold pieces and I'll pay you back a thousand in the next life." But the devarṣi argued that it was no use lending money to a man who led an evil life and would certainly be precipitated into hell, where he would not be able to pay back anything. A vivid description of the horrors that awaited unbelievers in hell then followed and at last the king was subdued, owned himself in the wrong and begged the saint to help him to return to the paths of virtue. The Bodhisattva gladly furnished him with rules for the good conduct that leads to happiness, and having thus achieved his task, he ascended again into heaven. The king remained on earth and with his ministers and all his subjects, passed the time in practising charity and self-control.

108. *The Bodhisattva descends as an inhabitant of the Brahmaloḥa*

This is merely the descent; in this way the sculptor stretches out this simple tale that could have been done in one, into three scenes. The devarṣi is descending on a cloud in the attitude of flying, and with clouds at his back, his left hand is raised. The righthand and all the top of the relief on the left, has disappeared. His dress is much like that of earthly ṛṣi's, but with more adornment of head-band, necklace and girdle; his hair however is fastened in the usual way high up in a knot and hangs in locks at the back of the head.

109—110. *His visit to the king*

On the left hand relief, the upper part of which with all the heads of those present is missing, we see the Bodhisattva approaching on the left; his hands are raised in greeting and he wears the traditional broad band. The king sits with two women on a seat of which there is not much left but the usual dish under it. The right-hand relief shews the king's retinue with umbrella and peacock-feather fan; one of the attendants makes a sēmbah, another holds a flower.

111. *The preaching*

The last relief gave the conversation on the devarṣi's arrival before

the king was convinced by the Bodhisattva; this one shews him after his conversion, as we see by his humble attitude. The heavenly being, who all at once here seems to be more plainly dressed (it may be only that his elegance is worn away), is seated on a slight eminence, preaching. The rest of the relief is a pēṇḍāpā, where the king, his hands folded respectfully, sits listening with his retinue. These are not ordinary servants and none of them carry any of the royal insignia; they look much more like the king's councillors, officials, and important citizens, who according to the text also needed conversion. The king and the listeners sitting on the left, are carefully finished off, but those behind, the sculptor has only put in roughly without any attempt at completion, or may be this impression is also the result of time's ravages ¹⁾).

XXX. The story of the elephant

(text p. 200—207; trans. p. 281—291)

Once upon a time the Bodhisattva was a great elephant and lived in a forest. There were mountain-crags in it and a deep lake and it was surrounded by an extensive desert. Human beings never came there and the elephant lived a quiet though lonely life. Once, when the Great Being was strolling near the border of the forest, he heard sounds coming from the desert, not joyful sounds, but cries of distress and he knew that people must have lost their way or have been banished into the wilderness. Full of compassion, he hastened to the spot from which the sounds came. There he saw a crowd of men calling for help, seven hundred in all, exhausted by hunger, thirst and fatigue. When they saw the elephant rushing towards them, they thought themselves lost and had not the strength to run away. Seeing their terror, the Bodhisattva called out to them from the distance not to be afraid and as he came up inquired how they had come to the place. Amazed to hear an elephant speaking with a human voice, they bowed themselves respectfully before him and said they had been banished from their own country and three hundred of them had already died of privation; they were quite helpless and begged him to assist them. The Bodhisattva saw that without the necessary food they would never be able to reach the other side of the desert, and as the forest did not furnish suitable nourishment, the only way for him to help them was to sacrifice his own body; this the noble animal decided to do without hesitating. So he shewed them the mountain, on the other side of

¹⁾ Foucher, *Lettre* p. 219, thinks it probable that this jātaṅga is also to be found at Ajaṇṭā.

which they would be able to escape out of the desert, and told them how at the foot of the mountain they would find a lake of pure water to quench their thirst. Not far from there they would see the body of a dead elephant, whose flesh they must take with them for food and use the entrails for water skins; in this way they would be able to get out of the desert. They went on to the place he told them of, but the Bodhisattva went by another way and got there before them; he climbed up and threw himself off the top of the rock, wishing in his heart that this deed might make him worthy to become the saviour of the world and free mankind from the eternal circle of existence. When the men reached this spot, they found the lake and also the dead elephant, whose striking likeness to their kind rescuer caused them to realize the great sacrifice he had made for them. Some of them thought they ought not to use his flesh for food, but burn it and do it honor, but others judged rightly that in such a way his noble deed would prove useless and its aim be frustrated; after their escape they could perform the funeral rites to honor his remains. Sustained by the flesh of the Bodhisattva they came safely out of the desert.

112. *The elephant meets the exiles*

The sculptor has found room for only one of the banished seven-hundred; he considers that the best place must be given to the Bodhisattva. The Great Being therefore is placed in evidence, taking up most of the relief. On the right there is just room for one tree and the single representative of the banished ones kneels under it in front of the elephant.

113. *The wanderers on their way*

The banished men, now seven of them, are following the elephant's advice and walking to the right. They are all poorly dressed in the style of the lowest class. Some carry an umbrella over their heads, others a bundle on a strap over the shoulder. One has a food-bowl, another a bag hanging in their right hand.

114. *The elephant goes to the rock*

Another simple scene. The elephant, whose quick pace can be seen by the action of the limbs, is coming rapidly from the left with trunk uplifted. Some trees in the background indicate the forest, and in the right-

hand lower corner are a couple of hinds, probably to shew the rocky nature of the scenery.

115. *Funeral ceremonies in honor of the elephant*

We are aware of course that the sculptor is not permitted to shew us the death of the elephant, or the way in which the wanderers make use of his body ¹⁾, so there was nothing much left for a closing scene but the last honors paid to the memory of their rescuer.

In the text we are told beforehand of the plan for honoring the elephant as soon as they have reached safety, so here we might expect to find the exiles arrived at their destination — if only we did not see below on the right a lotus pond and above on the left a big rock. This surely seems to indicate that the travellers are still at the same place in the wilderness, on the side of the lake, near the rock from which the Bodhisattva hurls himself. Must we think that the grateful exiles are here carrying out their first idea of cremating their benefactor instead of using him for food? Not at all in my opinion; for, as the others say in the text, the sacrifice would be useless. I consider that the sculptor has made a compromise that enables him to shew the celebrating of the last honors, and at the same time the scene where the great deed took place. We must imagine that the exiles have followed the Bodhisattva's advice and used his flesh and entrails as he directed, but nevertheless felt impelled to cremate the remains, bones etc. and do them honor. On the right we see the stūpa that contains the ashes, standing on a pedestal and crowned by an umbrella; below it, in rather small size, the pond filled with lotuses has been placed.

On the left are the exiles, now much better dressed; a brahman stands ready with a vase of water and sprinkler for the consecration, the rest are kneeling, the front one holding a censer and a fan, the next one a shell and one of the others a round-shaped object. There are trees in the background and quite to the left a large rock, that surely represents the one on which the Great Being sacrificed himself.

XXXI. The story of Sutasoma
(text p. 207—224; trans. p. 291—313)

As the son and crownprince of the reigning king of the Kaurava-race the Bodhisattva led a virtuous and blameless life, He bore the name of

¹⁾ At Ajatā, on the contrary, according to Foucher, *Lettre* p. 215, the elephant can be seen lying on his side just expiring, surrounded by the rescued exiles. *

Sutasoma and his thirst for knowledge made him eager after religious sentences. It happened once that in the spring when he was staying in the country with his wives, a brahman came towards him to bring him such wise sayings, but before he could utter a word, a terrible tumult was heard and news was brought to the prince that the cannibal Kalmāṣa-pāda was coming and the army had already fled before him. The prince inquired who the cannibal was, although he knew about him already, and was told he was the son of a king and a lioness, who had inherited the thirst for blood from his mother. He had begun by devouring his own subjects, but as they were preparing to kill him, he had offered to give the demons a hundred princes if they would save him from this danger. Now was he coming to fetch prince Sutasoma. The prince was convinced that there must be a chance of bringing this evildoer again into the path of virtuous behaviour, so he gave orders not to offer any further resistance and went courageously to meet him. With soiled clothes disordered hair and beard, and armed with sword and shield, the ogre rushed into sight; as soon as he saw the prince, he took him up on his shoulder and carried him off to his den, that dripped with blood and was filled with the bodies of his victims. When he looked at his last capture, he saw the prince had tears in his eyes and in answer to his inquiries was told that he was not weeping for himself but out of pity for the brahman, who would have to go away unsatisfied. Then Sutasoma requested to be allowed to return to his home for a short time to hear the gāthā's and reward the brahman; he promised faithfully to return into his enemy's power. The man-eater, who had already collected the number of victims required, consented to the proposal just to test the prince's love of truth and justice. The prince was allowed to go back, listened to the brahman and rewarded him generously; then he returned in spite of the persuasions of his father, who advised him either not to go back at all or, if he was determined to keep his promise, to take a strong army with him. Extremely surprised to see him come back, the man-eater prepared the fire for his victim and while waiting till it became less smoky, he made inquiries about the gāthā's the brahman had preached. Before telling him these, the Bodhisattva explained to the monster the excellence of righteousness, and made him understand that as the result of virtuous conduct he himself had no cause to fear death. The cruel man was moved to tears and saw the error of his ways; then treating his victim as an honored guest he covered a stone with his garment and so prepared a seat for him. He then placed himself at the Bodhisattva's feet and entreated him to expound the

Law. After hearing the four gāthā's, he promised the preacher four things, and these were: the vow of truthfulness, never more to injure any living being, to release his prisoners, and to give up eating human flesh. He naturally at first made some objection to this last clause, but finally gave way. Together they went and freed the imprisoned princes and accompanied by them and his new-made convert, Sutasoma returned to his own country and later on restored the princes to their thrones ¹).

116. *The brahman comes to Sutasoma*

The prince is sitting with a woman in a seat with back, on the left side of the relief, a couple of dishes underneath it. He beckons with his right hand to the brahman, who sits on the ground to the right and holds his hands in sēmbah. His face has been knocked off. There are no further indications of where the scene is taking place.

117. *Sutasoma is carried off*

The scene is very awkwardly designed. The ogre on the right, kneeling on his right knee and with his right hand raised, holds the leg of the prince who is sitting on the back of his neck. There is no reason for him to kneel, but the sculptor could not get both the man-eater and the prince into the limited height of his relief in any other way. Kalmāṣapāda has the large eyes, dishevelled hair and round earrings of the rākṣasa's, but not the beard spoken of in the text. His sword and shield have also been omitted, probably because he could not very well hold them as well as his victim; but that is no reason for leaving out his beard. On the left stands a person in fashionable dress, not at all like the brahman, with his right hand on his breast, watching the kidnapping of the prince apparently without paying any attention to what goes on. Perhaps he is a member of the prince's suite, but why is he put here?

¹) The story of Sutasoma, that has no special importance on the monument, some centuries later inspired a Javanese poet to make an elaborate poem, the *Puruṣādaçāntaka* of Tantular, in the reign of king Hayam Wuruk. For this poem see Kern in *Veral. Meded. Kon. Acad. v. Wet. Afd. Lett. 3rd series*, 5 (1888), p. 8—43 (*Verspr. Geschr.* IV, 1916, p. 149—177) and for the date, Brandes, *Pararaton* (1920) p. 161—163, and the author in *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 57 (1916) p. 520. For the Sutasoma story in general, see Watanabe, *The story of Kalmāṣapāda and its evolution in Indian literature*, *Journ. Pāli Text Soc.* 1909 p. 236—305 and Kern's article *Kalmāṣapāda and Sutasoma*, in *Veral. Med. 4th series*, 11 (1912) p. 170—208 (*Verspr. Geschr.* III, 1915, p. 121—151).

118. *The prince hears the gāthā's*

The brahman on the right is seated in a chair with back on a thick cushion; his hand is lifted in argument, so he is expounding the maxims. Two dishes are on pedestals beside him, there is another under his chair. Sutasoma kneels on the left, making a *sēmbah*. Three attendants are also enjoying the discourse, one kneeling behind his master; the two others, evidently brahmans as well, stand at the back.

119. *Sutasoma preaches to the man-eater*

This scene is in the wilderness; to shew this, on the wide edge at the bottom of the relief there is a den on each side; on the right it has jackals or tigers in it, on the left two gazelles (?); then outlines of rocks and in a cleft in the midst of them, a snake. Above this belt, the real actors of the episode are seated against a background of trees.

On the right, on the top of a stone which does not seem to have any garment spread on it, Sutasoma sits preaching, his right hand lifted warningly; just in front of him on the ground the monster is seated, holding his hands respectfully in *sēmbah*; the same *rākṣasa*-type as before and beardless. Some more people sit listening behind him; they are very poorly dressed, therefore more likely to be *Kalmāṣapāda*'s servants than, for instance, the captured princes; but these, even if their royal garments were removed during their imprisonment, were not present at the preaching. The furthest of these persons sits against a niche-shaped opening in the rock, possibly the entrance to the monster's den or perhaps the prison, here rather appropriate ¹⁾.

XXXII. The story of Ayoḡṛha (text p. 324—232; trans. p. 314—324)

The Bodhisattva was born again into a renowned race of kings. The birth of the young prince was celebrated amid the loud rejoicings of the whole population. Until this time, all sons born to the king had died soon after birth and this was ascribed to the influence of evil spirits. For this reason the king had a building made on purpose for the

¹⁾ In the representation at Paḡān of Jātaka No. 537 (Grünwedel I.I. abb. 39 p. 56), the discourse between the Bodhisattva and the man-eater, kneeling in front of him, takes place near a tree on which the monster's victims are hung up by the hands. At Ajaṇṭā too the story has now been found with the prelude (Foucher, *Lettre* p. 213 etc.); there too we see the meeting with the brahman, the capture of Sutasoma and the conversion of *Kalmāṣapāda*.

child to live in till it should be grown-up; it was built of iron but of course splendidly decorated. In this the prescribed rites for keeping off evil spirits were performed, and the prince grew up after he had been subjected to the various rites, jātakarman etc., according to custom, at the times ordained for them. When he was old enough, he received instruction from excellent teachers and distinguished himself in the various branches of knowledge, moreover his charming manners made him the darling of the whole nation. It happened once on the occasion of the Kaumudī-festival, that he was seized with a desire to look at the decorated streets of the city, so he stepped into the royal chariot with its swift horses and made the tour of the city. But the sight of all this merry-making only made him still more convinced of the instability of all earthly things. How soon the glory of this world will pass away! Sick-ness, age and death are always ready to destroy human beings; not only the life of man, but the most wonderful phenomena of nature are transitory. Moved by such thoughts, he could take no pleasure in the festivities and returning to the palace, he came to the conclusion that there was no other remedy than a life of virtuous seclusion. On the first opportunity that occurred, he begged his father to allow him to retire into the forest for the exercise of penance. The king embraced his son and asked if there was any special reason for this request, or if he had anything to complain of. The prince denied this and said that he had arrived at his decision by thinking of the overwhelming power of death and how nothing but a life of self-denial and righteousness would achieve peace of mind sufficient to face the enemy without fear. In this manner the Great Being was able to gain his father's consent and laying aside all the splendors of royalty he settled down in the forest, where after a life of meditation he died and ascended into the Brahma-heaven.

120. *The Bodhisattva is born a prince*

It looks as if the sculptor when he reached this tale, was seized with fright when he saw, how many reliefs would have to be filled to keep up with the division of the tales over the whole series, which naturally was roughly planned beforehand. Otherwise it is very difficult here to make out, why this quite unimportant tale has been given no less than eight scenes. As by the end of this tale we have reached to about one third of the reliefs available of the whole series and at the same time one third of the above (pag. 315) supposed number of hundred jātaka's, we might conjecture that relief No. 128 was intended for the one that begins the

second third of the tales and where perhaps another sculptor had begun the work assigned to him ¹⁾. In this way we can understand why this tale is so spun out, evidently to fill up space. Naturally this is mere supposition, but this kind of conjecture is not altogether unimportant, where it may be of use for discovering the entirely unknown method of work followed by the Barabuḍur sculptors.

On this first relief the Bodhisattva is being shewn to his father as an infant. The king sits on the left on a large cushion, with his left leg in the support; the nurse with the child on her knee is on the right, the infant appears to be holding a spoon or a rattle. Two servants are in the background, one with a blue lotus in the hand; all these persons are sitting on the same wide seat with a couple of dishes under it. There is no sign of the iron house on this or the next relief.

121. *The prince*

The prince is here a little bigger than on the last relief and is wearing the double necklace over the breast and the crescent-shaped ornament at the back of the neck; the first of these was certainly not depicted on the preceding relief and the other is not to be distinguished. He is still on the nurse's knee and she kneels on a low seat. Behind her three other women are standing, the middle one with a fly-fan, the other two with bowls, in one of which flowers are to be seen. On the extreme left, in front of the prince and turning towards the child, stands a brahman, undoubtedly the purohita, with hand uplifted, probably performing some rite.

122. *The prince and the king*

It is not quite clear what this scene is intended to represent in connection with the text; if something was wanted to fill up another relief, we should sooner have expected to see the prince being educated. It is not a brahman teaching, but the king himself sitting with a woman on a seat to the left, with a dish as usual under it; by the gesture of the right hand he seems to be telling something to his son, who sits on the ground to the right with a woman behind him and is making a respectful sēmbah to his royal father. There is a tree in the background.

¹⁾ It is also remarkable as regards the division, that relief 93 just completes jāataka no. 25 at one fourth of the space available, and at the same time at one quarter of the supposed 100 tales of the whole series.

123. *The prince goes to see the festival*

The sculptor has not exerted himself very much for this relief. In the first place he shews nothing of the decorated town and nearly nothing of the festive citizens, but only gives us the prince's procession; and here he has not kept to the text and put the prince into a carriage with fine horses, but has actually placed him in the palanquin that is so much easier to depict. The procession moves to the right. First comes an escort of soldiers, three lines of them, armed with bow and arrows as well as sword and shield. Next comes, after the umbrella-bearer, the palanquin carried by eight servants, in which the prince is seated on a cushion against a back, he has a headdress adorned with rosettes and large round earrings and holds an utpala with a long stalk in his hand. Another umbrella-bearer follows. Two figures are walking under the vehicle, that is of course beside it, and one of these is holding a bowl to his mouth. Maybe these persons are to represent the rejoicing populace, whose jollity is expressed in this low kind of way.

124. *The prince decides to become a hermit*

The prince sits to the left on a seat, looking rather thoughtful and dejected. Three ladies, two of them seated beside him, the third standing on the right, are trying in vain to attract his attention; he only waves them off with his left hand and stares in front of him. The sculptor has really given us a figure that expresses trouble of mind. To the right of the seat is an attendant (brahman?) and a second can be seen underneath, which of course means in front of it; the position forces him to make himself very small indeed.

125. *The prince asks permission to depart*

On this corner-panel we see, on the left half, the king sitting with two women on a seat with the usual dish under it. The king's figure is rather bent backwards, he lifts his right hand and seems to be quite astonished at what his son is saying; the prince stands on the extreme right on the other half of the relief. The strange part of this scene, that is not accounted for by the text, is the female figure that kneels between the king and the prince making a sēmbah to the latter, who stretches out his right hand towards her. We must think that she is entreating him to alter his decision. It is therefore possible there was another version of the tale in which the Bodhisattva's wife added her persuasions to those of his father.

126. *The prince on his way to the forest*

In this scene too we might think the sculptor has had a somewhat different text. The prince is going to the right, and as we see by the tree on a rock in the righthand bottom corner, is on the way to the forest where he is to do penance. Two women are walking behind him. The text says nothing about them, does not even mention the journey to the forest at all; he ought of course to go alone. It seems as if we might connect these ladies with the one imploring him in the scene before and suppose some slightly differing version has been followed.

127. *The prince as hermit*

This damaged relief shews us as closing scene the prince as a hermit, but the females in the scene before have not taken the vows as well, like the wife of Cuḍḍabodhi did. He is sitting on a block of stone in the middle of the relief in dhyāna-mudrā with a necklace and wide shoulder belt; his face has disappeared but of course his hair was done in the usual hermit-style. Trees are growing on low rocks to right and left and in the middle of the left part a water-jug is placed. The righthand top part of the relief is gone.

XXXIII. The story of the buffalo
(text p. 232—235; trans. p. 324—329)

The Bodhisattva lived in the forest as a wild buffalo of terrible aspect but noble disposition, continually occupied in the practice of virtue. There was a wicked ape who took advantage of these magnanimous qualities and knowing that the buffalo would never give way to anger, he teased the Great Being in all sorts of ways. Sometimes, when the buffalo was asleep, the ape suddenly jumped on him, another time he swung on his horns, got in his way while he was grazing or climbed on to his head and put his paws over the animal's eyes when he wanted to bathe in the river; often he mounted on the buffalo's back and rode about with a stick in his paw, like Yama. The Bodhisattva endured all these disagreeable pranks without shewing the least annoyance or losing his temper. Now there was a yakṣa who was very much annoyed at the ape's bad behaviour and once, when the monkey was seated on the back of his victim, he stood in their way and asked the buffalo what possessed him to allow himself to be tormented in that fashion. It would be easy enough to get rid of the ape for good by just making use of his horns or

hoofs. But the Bodhisattva answered that there was no virtue in shewing patience towards one stronger than ourselves, but to endure the insults of our inferiors gives us the opportunity of exercising virtue. No, he had more reason to be grateful for having the chance of practising the divine virtue of patience and therefore used forbearance against the monkey, who did not realize the injury he was doing to his own soul by such misconduct. "But in this way how can the wickedness of such an evildoer ever be punished?", asked the yakṣa. The buffalo replied that by persevering in patience he might perhaps awaken the monkey's conscience and if not, perhaps it would begin to tease someone of more irascible temper, who would teach him not to do it. Filled with admiration and respect, the yakṣa praised the buffalo's sentiments and before withdrawing himself, he knocked the monkey off the Bodhisattva's back teaching him a charm that would prevent any further torments.

128. *The buffalo in the forest*

Very little is left of this much-damaged relief and unfortunately of the middle piece, where the chief actors are sure to be, only the lower part has been left. On this bit we can see the legs of the buffalo, so that here in any case the Bodhisattva was represented, with several other quadrupeds. On both sides the upper portion of the relief is still there, with trees, especially fruit-trees, and low rocks well-peopled with various creatures; on the right, two monkeys in a tree, underneath on a branch three little birds, lower down a couple of wild boars, then on the left as well some pig-like animals, a pair of squirrels and a peacock. This is undoubtedly a picture of the buffalo in the forest, possibly his tormentor was here too though not on the ground; perhaps up a tree in the middle or on his victim's back.

129. *The ape torments the buffalo*

A couple of trees in the background indicate the forest. The buffalo stands on the left, the ape is sitting up on a rock; he has his left paw on the buffalo's neck and holds a branch of the tree behind him with his right. Though we cannot quite imagine what he is up to, this is evidently meant to shew his pranks. •

130. *The yakṣa speaks to the buffalo*

On the right stands the yakṣa, who judging by his right hand is speaking; he has the usual wild hair and moustache and the large round

earrings but no beard; so he follows what is called the *rākṣasa*-type. The buffalo, in proportion rather a small one, is on the left and according to the text the ape is on its back with a stick in his hand. Behind them is a tree.

131. *The buffalo and the monkey*

Why the ape and the buffalo are depicted a second time is not to be explained by the text, unless we accept it as a kind of illustration to what the buffalo tells the *yakṣa* about the ape's tricks. Again the buffalo is on the left and the monkey sits on the right with a background of trees. The buffalo bends his head forward while the ape puts both paws over its eyes. This is one of the tricks spoken of in the text, though we are not shewn that the ape jumped on the animal's head at the same time, just when it wanted to take a bath. Anyhow this scene would have been better placed before the *yakṣa* appears.

132. *The yakṣa honors the buffalo*

The scene with trees and rocky ground is still in the forest. The ape has disappeared altogether, so this is after the *yakṣa* has sent him off. The buffalo stands on the left, the *yakṣa* sits on the right, making a *sēmbah*. Perhaps he is busy repeating the charm, but it looks more like simply doing homage. Between the two figures a squirrel is climbing in a tree.

The *Mahiṣa-jātaka* is also represented at Ajanṭā in Cave XVII, in two scenes ¹⁾. On the first the ape is sitting on the ground opposite the buffalo, in the second scene it is on the animal's back, covering the victim's eyes with its paws. Here too the last trick has been chosen and without shewing the jumping on the buffalo's head ²⁾. It is of course impossible to make out if the sculptor has used the *Jātakamālā* version of the tale, at any rate there is nothing to be said against this conjecture, which is not improbable on comparing this with other representations.

¹⁾ Burgess, Notes p. 71. A reproduction taken from fig. 27 p. 13 of Griffiths is found in the Journ. of Ind. Art and Ind. 8 (1898) fig. 18 p. 15. Comp. Foucher, Lettre p. 207, where it is stated that the ape is finally killed by another buffalo.

²⁾ There is a curious mistake made by the artist of the representation at Paḡān of *Jātaka* no. 278 (Grünwedel l.l. abb. 40 p. 57), where the monkey is riding on the buffalo between two palmtrees, holding on to its horn with one hand, but in the other holding its own tail instead of the buffalo's!

XXXIV. The story of the woodpecker (text p. 225—239; trans. p. 329—335)

In the shape of a woodpecker of beautiful plumage, the Bodhisattva once lived in the forest; he did not practice the habits of his carnivorous kind, but endeavoured with all his power to help others and instruct them in the principles of virtue. Once as he was flitting through the forest, he saw a lion lying in great pain as if struck by a poisoned arrow. Filled with compassion the woodpecker inquired what was the matter and heard that a piece of bone had stuck in the lion's throat, so that he could neither swallow it nor spit it out and it caused him great suffering. The Bodhisattva's intelligence soon devised a way of help. He asked the lion to open his jaws as wide as possible and fixed a piece of wood between its teeth thick enough to keep them open. Then he got inside and with his beak carefully worked the bone loose, till it came out and he carried it out of the lion's mouth and removed the piece of wood. He was as delighted at his performance as the lion, who was now freed from pain. The animal then thanked him warmly for his assistance and they parted. Some time later the woodpecker was unable to find suitable food anywhere and became exhausted with hunger. Then he noticed the same lion making a good meal of a newly-killed antelope. Although the woodpecker was the lion's benefactor, he hesitated to ask him at once for food; so he walked about where the lion could see him, but the beast never offered him a share of his meal. He does not recognise me, thought the Bodhisattva, so he came nearer and uttering a blessing, asked for a little food. But the lion glared at him furiously and said: "you may be thankful to be still alive after being once in the jaws of a beast like me; it is only an insult to interfere with me again." At this very unkind refusal the Bodhisattva was filled with shame for the lion and flew straight up to heaven. A wood-god who had overheard this, also flew up and asked the woodpecker why he did not punish the lion, when he could so easily have suddenly made him blind or taken away his food. But the Bodhisattva replied that he had no reason to feel anger; a good deed must be performed for the sake of compassion, and not for your own benefit, for virtue is its own reward. Ingratitude shewn by the receiver of kindness should no further be punished than by leaving the ungrateful one to himself. The god praised the woodpecker for these words, did him homage and then withdrew. ¹⁾

¹⁾ This tale is known in Java in the Tantri, see van der Tuuk's *Kawi-Balineseesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* IV (1912), p. 241 s.v. palatuk.

133. *The lion and the woodpecker*

In a forest indicated by trees and rocks, the lion is busy devouring his prey; he is seen on the left with his claws in the back of the antelope that lies with its head turned away. A hind on the right is about to run off, but does not seem to shew the least sign of fear. The woodpecker is flying down, head forward. Though in the text the lion appears first in a pitiable condition, unable to feed at all, we see him here in all his strength and can only suppose that we are here first shewn the actors in their ordinary way of life, before the real drama begins. We may also conjecture the possibility of a mistake in placing the reliefs, seeing that the last relief of the story is here the removal of the bone and no closing scene is given. This scene would fit in very well as the end of the tale and would then represent how the recovered lion kills the antelope as the text relates, and the woodpecker comes flying in the hope of the lion giving him something to eat.

134. *The lion with the bone in his throat*

Trees and rocks give the same scenery as on the last and the following relief. Now the lion is sitting on his hind quarters on the left of the relief; he holds up his left forepaw as if in pain and his jaws are wide open. To shew that he is not dangerous, a couple of hinds are standing quietly near him. The woodpecker comes flying towards him.

135. *The woodpecker removes the bone*

The lion is now on his feet and holds his jaws wide open into which the woodpecker is just going to fly; but the bird is too large in proportion and will never be able to get inside. In front of the lion sits a jackal, whose presence might cause some different explanation, for which see the following story. On the rock to the extreme right, a couple of longtailed quadrupeds are looking on.

CHAPTER VI

THE AVADĀNA'S AND JĀTAKA'S (continuation and conclusion)

(First gallery, balustrade, top series, second part; lowest series; second gallery, balustrade)

The Jātakamālā has come to an end; but the text represented on the monument is not finished. A new jātaka follows without any sort of transition, which has been identified by van Erp as the Sigāla-jātaka (No. 152 of the Pāli-collection) ¹⁾. As I have previously stated (p. 314), we must not consider this as the first of a new set, but as no. XXXV of the large collection of tales that were to be represented by the Barabudhur sculptors on this series of reliefs. So our first task is to discover, if we possibly can, something about the probable contents of the rest of this large collection.

I have already referred to the remarkable statement made by Tāranātha, that the Jātakamālā consisted of the first thirty-four tales from a collection of one hundred and have called attention to the circumstance that if some such collection of 100 tales is depicted on the top row of the 1st balustrade, this seems to be confirmed by the space occupied by the Jātakamālā tales: 135 reliefs are allotted to these 34 jātaka's, therefore, roughly reckoned, it would require about 372 reliefs for the 100 tales. We know nothing more about the collection Tāranātha speaks of, only that the Jātakamālā is the beginning of it and that the hundred tales of the whole collection relate how the Buddha attained the ten pāramitā's.

The number 100, ten times ten, is therefore probably not accidental. In any case, even if this information gives us some indication of the nature of the tales, we remain utterly ignorant of the contents of the 66 tales that should follow at the end of the Jātakamālā. It is not even

¹⁾ Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 52 (1910) p. 85-88.

stated in words that this collection of 100 actually existed, only that Çūra, who intended to versify a hundred tales, completed 34 of them, and though we are inclined to believe, on the strength of Tāranātha's mention of a hundred, that such a collection really existed, he does not make any positive statement about it.

As regards this, it is of great importance that we have evidence from another source that a collection of this sort did actually exist. Its number of tales however is not a hundred but 101; an unimportant difference compared to the striking coincidence that No. 1—34 are positively the jātakas of the Jātakamālā in the same sequence. This is the Tibetan collection made known by Ivanovski in his article above noted ¹⁾ in the Proceedings of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society.

The collection Ivanovski has brought to light being the only one that can give us positive data for the explanation of the reliefs, let us first consider one argument regarding the question of in how far the newly-discovered collection may be the same as the one Tāranātha refers to; a question the solution of which is of no direct use for the explanation of the reliefs, but might throw some light on the scenes that are represented on the Barabuður. It depends partly on the fact whether the difference in number 100 or 101 is of any importance. It might be argued as follows. On the Barabuður there is one tale not identified which is to be found in the Ivanovski collection (the story of the brahman, Jātakam. XII, see above p. 343); evidently there existed a version of the Jātakamālā with and one without that tale; this may also have been the case with the complete collection; then Tāranātha was acquainted with the version that does not include the tale and Ivanovski has discovered the one where it does appear; the difference in number is thus accounted for and there is no reason to think they are not the same collection. Apart from the fact, that the tale referred to may not have been missing after all, — for at the very spot where we should expect it there is actually one relief missing —, this argument will not hold because if it were true, then the Jātakamālā known to Tāranātha would only consist of 33 tales, while according to his own words this was not the case, for he tells us that Çūra had completed just 34 of the 100. We see therefore that in case of comparing the two collections, the inclusion or exclusion of Jātakam. XII on the Barabuður is of no importance whatever.

Let us now examine the contents of the collection discovered by

¹⁾ Page 315, note 2.

Ivanovski with more attention to see if it shews any resemblance to the reliefs. This is no very easy task, for the author only gives the titles of the tales ¹⁾ and among them are a number where the Tibetan title had to be accompanied by a mark of interrogation and a great many others where the Tibetan word was translateable, but only with such a general meaning that it gives no clear idea about the tale, or is evidently nothing more than the name of the chief person. Fortunately there are enough left that are sufficiently reliable to support my argument.

The first impression we get is that there are actually points of resemblance between Ivanovski's list of contents and the reliefs. The first scene that follows on the Jātakamālā reliefs seems to shew connection; there is a lion and tale No. 35 of the Tibetan collection, according to the title, has to do with a "king of the lions". Among the titles we find twice (58 and 60) a nāga-king and in three different tales on the series of reliefs nāga's also appear (No. 169; 187—190; 273). Then there is one of the jātaka's entitled "Indra" (No. 64), the god who constantly appears on the reliefs (211—212; 230—232; 248—253). Bhikṣu's, brahmans, ascetics, appear in the scenes on the monument as well as in the titles of the list of contents. But with this superficial resemblance all connection ends and on closer examination I am obliged to state that not only the points of resemblance mentioned are far too weak to support any theory of connection, but there are even data that refute the possibility of identity between the Tibetan collection and the text followed on the monument. To make sure of this we must not rely on what is represented on the reliefs, to judge if their scenes are reflected in the titles of the tales; we know well enough how misleading the titles of the jātaka's often are, so that the absence of any indication in the title of some important point in a certain tale, does not prove that the important point is left out of the tale itself. The jātaka may perhaps be called by the name of its chief person. To give an exemple from the Jātakamālā: we see on some relief yakṣa's and cattle (relief No. 31 and following) but notice nothing of them in the list of titles, where that jātaka is simply called "the story of Maitrībala". Only when we begin with the titles, it is of course quite a different matter. The meaningless ones and those with only a name as title, we leave as they are, but those that give an actual indication of the contents *must*, if the text of the tales belonging to the titles and that followed on the reliefs is really the same, shew resemblance some way or other: when we find such titles as "the

¹⁾ Page 288—292 of his article.

story of the Garuḍa" or "the story of the shipwreck" then we ought to see on the reliefs a Garuḍa or a shipwreck (or at any rate a ship!) in order to prove the resemblance between the two texts. If we set to work in this way with the titles of the Tibetan collection, then we continually find that there is not the slightest trace on the monument of what is mentioned in the titles. The most distinct examples are those in which animals appear; they at any rate should be unmistakeable on the relief, while the chance of being wrong about persons is very great indeed. For instance, the title of No. 86 in the collection is "the lion" and whatever the rest of the tale may be, we can surely expect to see a lion somewhere on the reliefs. However, no lion appears after the already-mentioned No. 136! No. 96 of the titles is "the camel", but there is no such animal to be found on the reliefs. What seems conclusive is, — for in the cases just mentioned there is always the possibility that a man who is called the "Lion" or "Camel" is meant —, the case of No. 75, "the elephant with the six tusks" the famous Śaḍdanta-jātaka. This story is known to us and whatever version might be followed, we can be sure that the Bodhisattva in the form of an elephant must appear on the scene. As there is no elephant to be found anywhere (except quite at the beginning on relief No. 139, which of course can have no possible connection with story No. 75), in my opinion it can be considered proved that the Śaḍdanta-jātaka is not represented at the place Ivanovski's list would lead us to expect it — there are no gaps in that part, so that the tale can not have disappeared — this fact, added to other similar indications, confirms my impression that the text followed on the Barabaḍur is not the same as the Tibetan collection of 101 jātaka's discovered by Ivanovski. Apart from this, the absence of the Śaḍdanta-jātaka is in itself a matter for consideration, for it is not to be found in any other of the series of reliefs representing the jātaka's, and this seems a very remarkable omission considering the great popularity this jātaka enjoys in Buddhist literature ¹⁾).

It thus appears that we must give up hope of explaining the reliefs that follow after the Jātakamālā series, by any known text. So we only can attempt to consider what is here represented as a whole and in how far it can be identified by the help of tales from all sorts of other sources. As already mentioned, the first tale that follows is in no way

¹⁾ See Foucher, *Essai de classement chronologique des diverses versions du Śaḍdanta-jātaka*, in *Mélanges d'Indianisme offerts à M. Sylvain Lévi* (1911).

separated from the last of the Jātakamālā scenes and the others follow in the same way. As regards this generally unbroken sequence it is worth while to notice, that in two different places a separation seems to be made. On No. 214 and 371 a whole relief is filled up with a wishing-tree, designed in the wellknown style with an umbrella above, jewel-pots round its trunk and kinnara's on each side. As far as any conclusion can be drawn from the adjacent reliefs without any knowledge of the text followed, I should say that these reliefs have nothing to do with the wishing-trees, that give the impression of being placed there as an actual partition, that is a division between one series of tales and another. It appears plainly that they are in no way part of the architectural design, which might be the case if these wishing-tree reliefs were placed in symmetrical position, in a corner for instance or in the centre of a part of the relief series. As their place in the architecture is quite casual, the separation can only indicate something in connection with the text, it may be that a new, connected set of tales begins, or that in the whole collection of the series some portion ends and another begins, in any case it is most probably the indication of a new text or another chapter. If this may be true — we must of course include the possibility that the trees may represent some heaven mentioned in the jātaka there depicted — there is perhaps more chance of it being a separation of texts rather than of parts of a text, at least as regards No. 371. Only one follows on this relief and it seems just as improbable that after two portions of text consisting of more than 150 scenes the third should be only one short tale, as that this one relief should be the first of the tales on another series of reliefs: this last arrangement would shew too little care in the division of the texts on the space available. It is then simpler to consider that with No. 370 a certain group of tales comes to an end and that it was decided to use the open space left for one short separate tale that was worth depicting. Meanwhile it is not impossible that with No. 370 only the second portion of the text ended, and that the third part begins on a new series of reliefs. In this case as well No. 372 might be considered as an independant scene.

In whatever way we may take the relation of that one separate scene at the end of the series to the rest of the reliefs, No. 214 can at any rate have separated two equally important texts or portions of texts from one another. It is therefore remarkable that the tales preceding the No. 214 mentioned, shew a somewhat different style to those that follow it. The first series as regards their subject, resemble in every respect the tales of the Jātakamālā. There are stories in which animals play a chief

part as well as tales about people, on the other hand the Buddha himself does not appear anywhere. On the series that comes after No. 214 this is quite different; though from time to time some or other animal appears, there are no more real animal-fables given at all, while it is just only in this second part that the Buddha himself is depicted. Perhaps we ought to say "a" Buddha considering the possibility that Buddha's before the time of Çākyaṃuni or even Pratyekabuddha's may be meant. This fact of the appearance of a Buddha is something that distinguishes the series of reliefs mentioned not only from those before, but at the same time from all the other series that are given to jātaka's and avadāna's. As regards this point it has a quite individual character. Besides we do not find the Buddha's appearance spread over the whole portion of reliefs but in three consecutive groups reaching from No. 234 to 265, from 301 to 329 and from 342 to 364, where in contrast to the adjacent portion, actual Buddha tales seem to be depicted. In the first of these groups Çakra, king of the gods, appears in the same tale with the Buddha.

Let us now examine the contents of both portions of the reliefs more carefully. The first, which as I have explained before does not start something new but is a continuation of the Jātakamālā-tales, begins, as mentioned on p. 396, with the story of the jackal and the lions, to be found in Jātaka no. 152 of the Pāli-collection. Only one relief, no. 136, has been given to this tale; no. 137 shews another animal fable. This panel is rather damaged, but we can still discern that the chief creatures, a monkey, a bird and a jackal are in a forest; the other birds in the trees are probably only put there as decoration. The monkey appears to be holding the bird by its tail; there is no tale known to us in which these three creatures appear together. No. 138 is still more damaged, it shews again birds in the trees and a river with fish in it flowing between the rocks. As regards no. 139 I feel justified in making some suggestion. In the midst of a forest there are two elephants, a small one walking in front with a larger one, following it. This way of walking, the older behind the younger one, makes me think that this must be the tale a later version of which remains in the 32d tale of the Bhadrakalpāvadāna¹), and is found in a more elaborate form in Jātaka no. 455, the Mātiposaka-jātaka; Hiuen Tsiang also mentions it²). The tale begins by relating how the Bodhisattva as a young white elephant took care of his blind

¹) List of contents in Rājendralāla Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (1882) p. 46.

²) Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World II* (1884) p. 138 sq. Also, *Romantic Legend* (1875) p. 366—368, in which the animal takes care of both parents, and Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes III* (1911) p. 13.

mother. The rest of the tale (described below in explanation of the reliefs) must have been depicted on the following reliefs now missing. No. 140—142 as well as no. 144 have disappeared, while no. 143 shews only the spectators of what was happening on no. 142.

What follows next may probably be identified when the text can be found, but at present the meaning is not clear. The subject of no. 145 is a woman of rank with her attendants, one of whom holds a child on her knee; on the next panel we see probably the same child, now grown older, on his nurse's knee with some brahmans, evidently speaking to him. Then comes No. 147, very indistinct, with four men standing, one of whom has a curious flower in his hand. No. 148 gives us for the third time a child, now an infant; behind the women to whom it belongs is a lotus-pond with a duck swimming on it, and the whole group is separated by a palissade from two brahmans standing on the left, one of whom holds out his hand to receive something, while the other carries a long flower-bud. On no. 149 two brahmans, probably the same of the scene before, sit talking together under the trees; then on no. 151 we get a whole group of brahmans giving their attention to a richly-dressed man who sits in a small *pēṇḍāpā* with his attendants on no. 150. He looks quite young, so do his three companions, but this may only be accidental and may be owing to the sculptor's manner of working.

The next, very curious no. 152 and no. 153 require a little more attention. Both are more or less worn-away and damaged; therefore less comprehensible. No. 152 is quite filled with a crowd of people. The chief figure is an eminent man from under whose tiara a great mass of hair sticks out on both sides. In the middle of the scene we see some people, who wear their hair in short curls, wrestling with one another; more to the right a couple of dancers are displaying their art. This is evidently a gala-performance for some high and mighty spectator. No. 153 is not so full, although to get in all the figures they have been placed in two rows one above the other. Above we see a man with a sword and a number of women, one of them with a child on her knee; a person in the background seems to be offering the man with the sword a very queer-looking object, that looks like two balls fastened together, the front one having eyes and nose like a face, perhaps some kind of a monster. The bottom row consists of a couple of men and an ox. Everything is rather worn and indistinct.

Nos. 154 and 155 certainly belong together and make one scene, a number of poorly-dressed men journeying towards the right, some of those in the middle carrying a large tray of lotuses; the presence of some

people with an adse or some tool of that kind makes it look as if the tray of lotuses may have something to do with their work. On 156 we probably see the person to whom the procession is on its way.

The two next scenes are very expressive and offer various points for identification with a text. To begin with, we find on no. 157 a man and a woman going towards a tree, at the foot of which are some pots of valuables with three guards sitting round. On no. 158, also rather damaged, the whole background is clouds, and the scene is in the air. A flying figure is bearing off on his shoulders a man and a woman magnificently dressed. What then follows I think can be identified. No. 159 takes place in the forest; beneath the trees lies a man in splendid vestments, while two pairs of deer are couched in the foreground on the rocky ground. Not much is left of no. 160; quite to the left is a mass of rock on which a bird perches, then comes a piece of a human figure with its hand near the bird's head and then the foot of a second person. More than half of this relief is missing. Both these reliefs I ascribe to no. 34 of the *Avadānaçataka*, in which king Çivi offers himself up first to the mosquitoes and then to a vulture.

After no. 160 too it seems possible to find some connection in the scenes, at least the same chief person holds the stage up to No. 168 and he is a man in official robes with a halo behind his head, therefore a god or the Bodhisattva. The rest of what is depicted is too meaningless to be understood without the help of the text. We find the chief person consecutively, surrounded by persons of importance and *nāga*'s (161), in front of a plainly-dressed man and woman (162), with a man who seems to be offering him something and two women (163), then again with a man who makes a *sēmbah* (164), and finally in conversation with a woman holding her hands in *sēmbah* (165). The last three 166—168 belong together; the chief person is sitting on a lion-throne in the middle, on the right and left are two standards and two persons sitting who listen to him. We see on the left (on no. 166) a standard with a shell, next to which sits a man in ceremonial robes, and a standard with a bird, next to which a *Garuḍa* is seated. This seems to indicate, but of course it cannot be proved, that the ceremonial figure next to the *çangkhastambha* and in front of the *Garuḍa* is the god *Viṣṇu*. On the right (on no. 168) both standards bear a jewel; here too nearest to the chief person sits a man in robes of ceremony, but the second, who makes a *sēmbah*, has had his head knocked off, so there is no chance of finding out if he had some special characteristic that might indicate the identity of the first and in this way affirm or dispute our conjectures about what is represented on the left side.

In any case no. 169 does not appear to belong to those before it but shews us another story¹⁾. Here we see a nāga king with his retinue and a pēṇḍāpā behind them; he is making signs of greeting to a human being standing before him with a horse and a servant. This is something that reminds us of the tale that forms the introduction to the Campeyya-jātaka, no. 506 of the Pāli collection; the story of the king conquered in battle, who springs on horseback into the river and is there hospitably entertained by the nāga-king and afterwards with his help overcomes his enemies. Only this prelude to the Campeyya-jātaka is represented on the monument; it really is a tale by itself only slightly connected with the rest. The version followed on the Barabudur differs in so far from the Pāli-version that the king is evidently joined by a servant in his jump into the water, though it is quite possible, just as we noticed in the Sudhanakumāravadāna²⁾, that the presence of the servant is due only to the fancy of the sculptor.

In any case what follows on the monument does not take place in the nāga-world. The three reliefs 170—172 belong together; on the first we see a man and woman of high rank both having a halo sitting on a bench, while another highborn lady kneels before them, behind whom on each of the two following reliefs, we see three well-dressed women. The presence of these seven women might lead us to look for points of resemblance to the story of the seven princesses, the Saptakumārikāvadāna, but in the versions of this tale that remain to us³⁾ they are at any rate not princesses at the beginning of the story and as we are not able to follow their adventures because no. 173 and 174 are missing, our search for resemblance is likely to be a vain one.

Next we find on no. 175 a man in robes of ceremony in conversation, and in the background a standard with a little box on top and then come some scenes of a story about a yakṣa. On no. 176 a well-dressed man and woman are standing before him; the first has a halo and is probably the Bodhisattva, he holds a sitting child in his arms which he appears

¹⁾ The fact of there being a Garuḍa among the listeners in the scene before and that the nāga-world appears on 169 may remind us of the Vidhurapaṇḍita-jātaka, no. 545 of the Pāli-collection. In that tale Vidhura, the wise man, gives judgment in the presence of the kings of the gods, garuḍa's and nāga's and because the nāga queen wishes to hear him, he is afterwards taken by a yakṣa to the nāga-kingdom. The scenes 166—168 might represent this (Vidhura is then not shewn as a paṇḍita and the right hand figure on 168 would be a nāga) and 169 be the arrival of Vidhura and his escort (here not a yakṣa) among the nāga's. As will be seen, everything is very doubtful, and at any rate the further exciting course of the story in the jātaka is wanting. Comp. Vogel in Versl. Cong. Oost. Gen. 1925 p. 37.

²⁾ See p. 252.

³⁾ In the Aṣokāvadānamālā and as a separate text, Rājendralāla Mitra l.l. p. 12 and 221.

to be offering to the yakṣa. No. 177 shews the retinue of these persons. On no. 178 the yakṣa is conversing with the Bodhisattva, who makes a sēmbah and listens attentively. It is curious that the yakṣa as well as the Bodhisattva do not correspond with their figures on no. 176, for the yakṣa now has a beard and the Bodhisattva has another sort of tiara and ornaments. The question is: is this intentional on the sculptor's part to shew that we here have to do with another yakṣa and another eminent person with a halo, or is it merely the result of carelessness that gives us another instance, here a very extreme one, of the liberties the sculptors took with the persons they depicted? In my opinion the latter is what has happened, because I consider this tale is to be found in no. 35 of the Avadānaçataka; then relief no. 175 will belong to it as well and the royal person there is the same Bodhisattva, although the sculptor has not allowed him a halo. Further details will be found in the description below.

Now follow some scenes the meaning of which I must leave unexplained. On no. 179 the chief person holds a branch with three buds in his hand, the attribute belonging specially to the Bodhisattva, who figures as principal character on the chief wall of the 4th gallery and whom I consider may be recognised as Samantabhadra (see Chapt. VIII). What the special meaning of this branch may be here is not clear. The next scene gives a conversation between a monk and two laymen. No. 181 although in itself rather inexpressive, only shewing some conversation between an eminent man with a halo and two ordinary men, might be connected with no. 182, which may easily belong to the same tale even if the chief figure now wears no halo. Surrounded by his court, this king sits with a small round object in his hand, while on the left a brahman holds up both hands with something unrecognisable in them. The king's courtiers appear to be begging him to alter some royal decision. If this is so, we are reminded of the story of the king who in the time of famine gives his own food to Çakra in the shape of a brahman, who has come to put his benevolence to the proof, a tale to be found in the version nearest to that on the relief, as the 32nd story of the Avadānaçataka ¹⁾. At the same time there is the difficulty that both

¹⁾ Though it seems to me there is not sufficient reason for taking this tale as foundation for the identification of the relief, I will give the story in short: — During the reign of a just and mighty king, a great famine fell on the land and his subjects implored his help. The monarch commanded the keeper of his stores to appear and examine the amount of their provision. It appeared that if every one took one mouthful a day and the king two, there would be enough to go round. In this way the food-question was settled; but a brahman appeared who had been overlooked when the census was taken, so the king gave him his

the king and the brahman on the relief are holding something in their hands; so I must restrict myself to speaking of it as a *possibility* that this tale may be the subject of these scenes.

Then again we get three scenes whose connection is doubtful, a haloed king with his retinue on no. 183 and next a man of high rank with a man before him, who is perhaps a monk, for he has the shaved head of the bhikṣu's and what is to be seen of his body wears no ornaments. An important part of no. 185 has also disappeared, we can still see under a roof on a large couch a man or woman — the dress and style of hair look female and the flat breast like a male — lying on the knee of a seated figure. No. 186 has probably been removed to Bangkok ¹⁾, it shews a number of women walking who are looking at some indistinct object in the right hand lower corner. Perhaps they are nāgi's and this scene belongs to those following.

No. 187 certainly depicts a nāga story. The scenes are not inexpressive, but I have found no text to describe them. No. 187 shews us a river with a nāga king sitting in the water and in front of him some of his subjects, all men except the second who is a nāgi. The scene is next moved to earth; on no. 188 a nāga is sitting in dhyāna-mudrā under the trees, while two brahmanas are coming towards him; then on 189 we see a nāga and nāgi on a dais, with a brahman holding his hands in sēmbah looking on and on no. 190 the actors are again only nāga's, one of whom has a small round object in his hand. On no. 191 there are no nāga's to be seen, perhaps this does not belong to the last one, but on the other hand it seems still more difficult to connect with no. 192. A man in robes of ceremony is sitting on a richly-ornemented couch; he has a halo behind his head and a vessel with a spout, with a large lotus-flower sticking out of it, placed next to him, he is talking to a man and woman who are in full-dress.

Nos. 192—195 give us the tale of the Bodhisattva as a tortoise, that was already identified by Oldenburg in his article before mentioned (p. 239) by the help of the Kacchapāvadāna from Kṣemendra's Bodhi-

second mouthful and received himself the same ration as his subjects. In order to test the king's virtue, Čakra appeared as a brahman and complaining of hunger asked for the royal portion. The king gave it to him and went without any food that day. This went on for six days. Then convinced of the king's fortitude and greatness of soul, Čakra resumed his divine form, did homage to the noble monarch, advised him to sow corn and promised to send a copious rainfall after seven days. The king followed the instructions, the rain fell and prosperity returned to the country.

¹⁾ See above p. 42. It is given as plate 5 in Van Erp's article in Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 79 (1923) p. 504—507.

sattvāvadānakalpalatā¹⁾; since which this avadāna has been found also in the Chinese Tripiṭaka²⁾. Next comes on 196—200 the story of the ape who with his brother sacrifices himself for their blind mother, identified by Van Erp with Pāli-jātaka no. 222, the Cūlanandiya jātaka³⁾, at least as regards the chief points, for the version of the Southern Church differs in some details from that followed on the monument. Only the left hand part of no. 200 in my opinion belongs to this story; the warriors and courtiers seated on the right, about whom Van Erp had already remarked that the Pāli jātaka gives no account, have I think nothing more to do with it and are only the retinue of the king, who on no. 201 is sitting on a bench, speaking to an attendant seated before him in sēmbah.

The scenes now following, very meaningless ones, I shall only just mention. On no. 202 a king is going round distributing alms to brahmans and other needy persons, the front ones of whom are on the same relief, others on no. 203 and the rest on the left of no. 204; these last are separated by a tree from some attendants, who sit turned to the right, and belong to a king who is the chief person of the relief following, himself seated on no. 205. As we shall see more often later on, the division of the scenes is not always the same as that of the reliefs but here and there, persons belonging to the same scene are distributed over two or more reliefs and then casually separated in some place or other by a tree or suchlike or simply by placing the figures back to back, from those who belong to the next scene. What we see on no. 205 is the same sort as on no. 201; on no. 206 the chief person is speaking to a couple of brahmans and there is a standard with a triṣūla to be seen. Then on no. 207 the same or another man in robes of ceremony is sitting with his hands on his knees staring in front of him, with his retinue stretching out on to the following relief.

No. 209 gives another scene of the same kind, the chief person with a halo, in conversation with two plainly-dressed persons. On no. 210 is a man with right hand outstretched in front of some women who, part of them kneeling and part standing, seem to be entreating him for something; this man has no halo and wears a lower tiara, though he may quite well be the same as on the last relief, especially as the want of space is enough to account for the tiara being lower. At any rate on no. 211 he gets his halo back again, where two men both in full-dress and both

¹⁾ According to the list of contents in Rājendralāla Mitra, p. 75.

²⁾ Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes III* (1911) no. 402, p. 29.

³⁾ *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 52 (1910) p. 93—96.

with a woman behind them, are sitting on a couch talking together. Under the bench are some servants, the one furthest to the right has lost his head, but seems to me to hold an angkuṣa in his left hand: so this might be Airāvata and his master Çakra, king of the gods. My impression gains ground because they must be the same men who, though without haloes and without heads, are walking together on no. 212, one with an utpala, the other with a padma in his hand. They are followed by a person carrying the umbrella, who has a worn out elephant's trunk in his headdress but very distinct elephant's ears; this in any case proves with certainty that one of them must be Çakra accompanied by his faithful Airāvata ¹⁾. The whole situation of some king on terms of equality with Çakra reminds us of the story found on the chief wall of this gallery, the tale of Māndhātara, though there are no other points of resemblance but this one episode. It is perhaps more like the Sādhina-jātaka, no. 494 of the large Pāli-collection. The fame of the virtuous and benevolent king of Mithilā spread to the heavens so that the gods desired to set eyes on him. Therefore Çakra ordered his charioteer to fetch the king for them to look at. After welcoming him, Çakra gave him half of the city of the gods and his palace and Sādhina lived with the divine ones until he began to long for the earth again. He was then taken back to the park of his own palace, where it appeared he had been away for 700 years and his seventh successor was already on the throne. After receiving homage from the reigning monarch, Sādhina distributed alms for seven days and then died. Nos. 211 and 212 fit easily into this tale but there is no picture of the journey to heaven in the chariot or of the return or the interview with his descendant. Still less does this look like king Nimi, the hero of Jātaka no. 541, who was taken through hells and heavens in Çakra's chariot, or Guttila the luteplayer, who played before the king of the gods in heaven (Jāt. no. 243). Māndhātara, Sādhina, Nimi and Guttila were the four mortals who were privileged to enter heaven and they are specially mentioned in the Milinda-paṃṣa, in two places ²⁾, as the only persons, to whom such happiness was given. If none of these is meant in the tale on the monument, then we can certainly consider that the scene is not in heaven but on the earth. On no. 213 there is no more sign of the king of the gods; a king in royal robes sits talking with three men in the dress of courtiers. Finally on no. 214 we get the

¹⁾ The same as on reliefs 230, 232, 248, 249 and 253 indicated by Jochim, *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 55 (1913) p. 206 sq., partly in the steps of IJzerman in *Tijdschr. Aardr. Gen.* 2d series, 16 (1899).

²⁾ IV, 1, 37 and 8, 7.

above-mentioned wishing-tree with kinnara's, which possibly forms the division between two texts or represents a heaven.

The first scenes of the next set of tales are not very expressive. A man sitting in full dress, surrounded by courtiers, we see on no. 215; on the next relief is a royal personage evidently musing over something in the company of women and brahmans; one of the latter stands ready to perform some ceremony, with a brush in one hand and a bowl in the other. It may also be a brahman, with whom the lady of rank on her throne is in conversation on no. 217. In front of the throne, a seated waiting-woman is holding ready a vase with a spout, it may be for an oblation or perhaps for the guests. On no. 218 a man is approaching holding up a vase with a foot to it; in front of him a number of men are kneeling and standing, the front ones of whom hold out their hands to receive something. The same sort of people appear on no. 219 before a man in robes of ceremony, who has a piece of cloth in his hands; it is not easy to see if he is only shewing it or if he is going to present it to the others or if they have just given it to him. The way in which the front one is kneeling and holding up his hands makes it look as if he might be just going to receive something. On no. 220 again we have some eminent man in converse with a number of brahmans.

The story of a benevolent snake is depicted on no. 221. In the middle of the scene stands a large stone basin with lotus-plants in it, very likely intended for a lotus-pond, and the head of a snake appears from among the lotus plants. The whole space next to and round the pond is occupied by a crowd of village people, men, women and children, even infants, who come to fetch water out of the pond with pots and jugs of every shape and size. It is thus probable that the snake has endowed the water with some special healthgiving qualities. A text of this kind is not known to us except in quite another connection, and the adjacent reliefs shew nothing of the snake or the water. The three next reliefs belong together and represent *one* scene; in the middle is a man with a halo, a god or a Bodhisattva, between two women and on both sides two men turning towards him, also in full dress, with trees in the background. On the left (no. 222), the front one carries a bow and arrow, the one behind a cloth or strip of cloth, on the right (no. 224) the first has a flower, the second a sickle-shaped object. Perhaps they are the same men who appear on no. 225; here there are again four men in full dress, who sit on the ground in conversation with a fifth. The four having nothing in their hand and the fifth being without a halo is of course no reason for them not being the same persons. It may be doubtful if

no. 226 belongs to those before; the man in robes of ceremony with a halo who is chief figure, turns his head in the direction of no. 225. He is in the company of two brahmans who are either asking or telling him something. His attitude of turning away can also be explained by his refusal to listen to the brahmans; this will only become clear by the help of a text.

Next come a couple of more characteristic scenes which, if they belong to the same story, ought to be of great use for its identification. On no. 227 are two heavenly beings flying through the air; the last one has an upturned pot in his arms, from which all kinds of valuables are falling. On the ground below, men and women are kneeling and gathering up the treasures, and part of them are put away into a vase. The front angel too has something in his hand, probably intending to throw it down, but it has become too indistinct for us to see what it is. No. 228 is quite different; here the Bodhisattva with halo and ūṛṇā is lying on the ground in a forest. It is an extremely stiff figure that looks as if a standing figure had just been laid on its side, so that the legs stick up in a most unnatural manner and the hem of the garment is turned stiffly to one side. The forest scene is as usual enlivened with animals which seem only intended for decoration.

A group of men standing on no. 229, all turned rather to the right, are probably meant to be the public that belongs to no. 230, and if we notice the number of people in robes of ceremony and the attitude of the king of the gods on the next relief, this is probably an assemblage of the gods. No. 230 shews two men in godlike or royal robes, one with and one without a halo, the latter offering the other one an egg-shaped object on an oblong cushion, perhaps a jewel. Behind the one who receives the offering kneels his umbrella-bearer, no other than Airāvata with the elephant's tusk in his headdress and his elephant's ears, so that his master must be Çakra. The chief person with a halo is seen again on no. 231 on a seat between two women, also here attended by Airāvata as umbrella-bearer. The king of the gods is doing homage with an incense-burner to the Bodhisattva seated on the preceding relief.

Relief no. 233, fitted into one of the actual corners of the monument, consists (as mentioned before on p. 343) of two quite independent scenes. The first is a dancing-party in a pēṇḍāpā; and no. 233b, very much damaged, shews a vase on a huge pedestal in the middle with a canopy over it, supported by two columns and bearing the figure of a large cakra. On the lefthand we see some worshippers; to the right, first the remains of a child's figure holding on to one of the pillars and standing

on the pedestal, then three men in ceremonial robes kneeling with their back to the vase; what they are actually worshipping cannot be seen, for there is nothing left of the righthand side of the relief but the lower parts of standards and part of a small human figure turned towards them. If it were not for this last figure, we might think that these worshippers belong to the seated audience of the Buddha on no. 234. We can now only consider that something, that they are adoring, has disappeared. Judging by the pieces left along the top-edge of the relief, the whole must have been covered by a large number of umbrellas.

No. 234 gives the first scene in which the Buddha himself takes part. Here more than elsewhere the sculptor has given more reliefs to one scene for the purpose of placing the Master alone, or nearly alone in the middle, with his audience grouped around him. In these scenes of preaching it is especially in the arrangement of the audience, that we may find an indication of the particular episode of the Buddha's career that is meant. It is very possible when a text can be compared, that clear and unmistakable points of identification will be found; but without that it is impossible to distinguish among all the monks and laymen who sit at the Master's feet listening to his words, to which of the numerous tales describing some preaching or discourse of the Buddha each relief may belong. We know the endless series of episodes all resembling one another, that appear in the tradition of the Northern as well as the Southern Church, in which an attentive audience is gathered round the Buddha, then on account of some incident or the visit of some king or god, merchant or monk, a question is asked which the Master answers, incidents that make this part of the Buddhist literature so monotonous. Perhaps we need not despair, as soon as the guiding thread has been found, of being able to discover actual episodes from church history, but in the absence of such proof we must not forget that we may find tales not of the historic Buddha but of one of his predecessors, in which a later Buddha may be playing the secondary part of a Bodhisattva. Though in the latter case I should have expected, more than is here apparent, that one of those present would have been brought to the front so that the spectator could easily distinguish him as the Bodhisattva; according to the manner of representation, these scenes where continually the Buddha is the chief person, and very seldom (for instance no. 244) any one in the Buddha's surrounding is distinguished by any special mark or sign or occupies a special place among the audience, may probably depict incidents in the story of Śākyamuni himself.

On the first of these scenes, that takes up no. 234—236, the Buddha

sits in vitarka-mudrā, while on each side of him a heavenly being is bringing homage. The audience on the left (no. 234) are some monks and a couple of men in the dress of well-to-do citizens, courtiers etc.; on the right (no. 236) five persons, three of whom, perhaps four, are in full-dress and judging by the umbrellas behind them, of royal blood. Behind, sits someone with short hair curled at the ends, like a yakṣa's, but not shewing the other characteristics of these creatures. The rest of the people belonging to this group are standing on the badly-damaged no. 237, that contains figures belonging to two scenes, standing back to back but not separated by anything.

Which is now the actual relief that joins on to this is not certain; the panels had slipped from their place and so we find two scenes, each consisting of three reliefs, of which we cannot be sure which belonged to the right or left. Though they are numbered as no. 238—240 and 242—244 we must keep in mind the possibility of their being mixed up; no. 241 in any case has disappeared. On the very much damaged scene 238—240 the Buddha again appears; the audience on the left (238) are all bhikṣu's; on the right (240) only the front one, who probably wore a high tiara, and fragments of the others are to be seen. The other scene shews again the Buddha and as in the former group, those seated on the left (242) are all monks. On the right (244) there is something more than only listeners; a large dish on a pedestal with something round on it is placed on the left and covered by a flower; next to it sits a man in robes of ceremony between two women, he has a halo and is probably a god or Bodhisattva.

Very little is left of no. 245, just enough to shew that there was a procession going to the left, among which a person in royal robes with attendants, including armed guards. A piece of no. 246 is also missing; men sitting and standing, who appear to be the retinue of the king, are turning towards the right and witness what happens on no. 247, where not the Buddha, but a figure in monk's dress plays the chief part. As this same figure appears on the two next scenes at the same time as Çakra, and as the king of the gods also puts in an appearance on the third scene among the Buddha's audience, we may conclude all these scenes belong to the same tale. The monk on no. 247 is sitting in converse with a grandly-dressed man and woman. Above their heads another monk is depicted, now with the hem of his garment in both hands, flying through the air towards the right. It is of course quite possible this is another monk, but more likely he is the same one flying away after the interview. On no. 248 he continues his journey still to the right. Below on a

seat in the company of a woman, Çakra is making him a sēmbah; the presence of Airāvata with elephant's trunk in his headdress and big elephant's ears proves Çakra's identity. A fourth man is there sitting behind Airāvata, in worldly dress with a medium-high tiara, from under which locks of hair are hanging ¹⁾. As far as we can discover from the few reliefs without any text, the course of the tale seems to shew that the king of the gods with his retinue, decide to accompany the monk on his journey; on no. 249 we see them all flying through the air together, the monk ahead, then Çakra with his halo round his head and the goddess and below, Airāvata and the second attendant. Only about the latter we might hesitate, for he now has no tiara at all, only short hair with curly ends brushed back under a head band. In spite of this difference in portraiture, he is surely meant for the same person on the last relief. Three men in grand dress, probably gods, are witnessing the journey on no. 250, they are kneeling and make their sēmbah to the left in the direction of the scene just discussed. The other persons on this relief belong to another scene, the preaching scene that now follows. As Çakra with the goddess is now sitting among the Buddha's audience, attended by Airāvata, it looks as if the journey had been taken to visit the Master and the presence of Çakra makes it probable that the men kneeling to the right on no. 250 are a company of gods; they wear ceremonial robes. The scene reaches from 250 and into 254; the Buddha is again seated in the middle, on no. 252; the audience on the left are monks on 251 and the gods already mentioned on no. 250; on the right sit to begin with, the goddess, Çakra and Airāvata on no. 253 and beyond a number of men in the dress of courtiers, some with shields and swords, as well as a couple of brahmans in the background on the left half of no. 254. The right half belongs to the next scene, also a preaching, that reaches from no. 254 to 258. On both sides of the Buddha (256) the two heavenly beings, up to now depicted as hermits with beards, are here dressed as bhikṣu's. The listeners on the left (254 and 255) are monks and laymen with medium-sized tiara's; on the right a king with his retinue (257—258).

Next come four reliefs that form a whole of quite a different sort. We now see a miraculous shower of valuables. This appears to be caused by the royal personage who as Kuvera, lord of riches, is sitting on a throne with a woman on no. 260; jewelpots are in front and next to him, and he has put his foot on one that is overturned; he holds a standard crowned with

¹⁾ Of course also this fourth person might be Çakra.

a gem in his hand and round flat objects, gold-pieces probably, are falling all round him. In both top-corners, an up-turned pot on a cloud showers down chains of jewels, while the rest of these reliefs is filled with people picking up the treasures, all in the dress of plain citizens, men and women. Notice the person standing on no. 261 who holds up a crescent on the palm of his hand ¹⁾).

Another preaching of the Buddha follows on no. 263—265, the last for a time. The heavenly beings are now four, two as before, the other two in the adjacent corners of the reliefs at the side. On the left (263) sit two monks and a king, behind them two attendants and an umbrella; on the right (265) a king and queen attended by an umbrella-bearer and an armed guard. It is not possible to decide if what is depicted on no. 266 actually belongs to the one before it; though it is noticeable that the people who are here walking, move towards the left, therefore going back according to the sequence of the reliefs, towards the preceding scene. Although this relief is rather damaged, it is plain enough that it represents the festive procession of a large richly decorated chest, covered by two small stūpa's and carried on the shoulders of many bearers. Then follow some people with banners, next a group of important people, among whom a king in royal robes and a brahman can be discerned, finally a band of musicians with two drummers and someone with cymbals. This must mean that the chest is being escorted by a king with attendants, banners and music.

No. 267 has large pots of valuables placed on the right; some yakṣa's are standing and sitting beside them and there are a number of men in full-dress present, very much like the company of gods recognised on earlier reliefs. On no. 268, which forms one scene with the last relief, sits a Bodhisattva or god with a halo, towards whom the yakṣa's are looking and who also turns towards them, while in the midst of his servants a vase with a spout is held up.

The five or six reliefs now following each represent a separate scene of the same tale, whose hero is a monk. On no. 269 he is sitting with his hands folded in front of him under a tree, separated by a large vase with a spout from two well-dressed men turning towards him, or possibly — for this corner-relief is not so very distinct in the photograph — a man and a woman. At any rate on no. 270 it is a well-dressed man and

¹⁾ The round flat discs that are falling on the next relief are sometimes meant for stars; here because of the marks we might rather consider them coins. Compare the nine different miraculous showers of which the Upaliṣutta-commentary speaks (Feer, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 13, (1886) p. 81) where there is a shower of small coins as well as of kārṣāpapa's.

woman with whom the chief person is conversing. On the so much damaged no. 271, the upper part of which is missing, the monk does not appear; a conversation between two laymen, as we see by their dress, is going on next to a building surrounded by a palissade; the building itself has disappeared, and we can only see that some small steps or a ladder gives entrance to it. On the next two scenes the monk reappears; on no. 272 he is seated on a bench with a large dish before him, while opposite a hermit kneels with hands in *sēmbah* and a woman with the same style of hair stands in the background. Finally on no. 273 the monk is discoursing with a *nāga* and *nāgī* crouching beside him. No. 274 might be the honoring of the ashes of the holy man; a couple of eminent persons are making a *sēmbah* before a small *stūpa*.

The next reliefs bring us into royal company. A king is sitting in the middle of no. 275, between a female attendant and a brahman, who holds the brush and bowl ready for a consecration ceremony; servants are kneeling on both sides of this group, one of whom brings a tiara that always plays a part in a consecration. No. 276—279 again make one scene, a conversation between two kings, one making a *sēmbah* to the other. Next, on no. 280—281 we find a distinguished man, with a halo and a royal retinue, while by way of pendant no. 282—283 gives a lady of high rank, also attended by a large number of servants.

On no. 284—287 appears more clearly the meaning of what is depicted, for we see the *saptaratnāni*, at least five of the royal jewels. No. 284 shews only the retinue; the king himself sits on a dais in no. 285, which dais, according to the sculptor, is suspended in the air and it is difficult for us to discover whether it is really meant to be so. Nor can we make sure if the person, who is making a *sēmbah* towards him in the left hand top corner, is hovering in mid air or only placed a bit higher than his majesty. The king holds a vase with a spout in his hand ready to pour out for the brahman — at least if this dilapidated figure is really a brahman —, who kneels before him. Above the latter hovers a disc on a lotuscushion shaded with an umbrella. On no. 286, also in the air, sits the queen on a lotuscushion and behind her we see the gem; the rest of this relief is filled up with her waiting-women. The male jewels belonging to the *saptaratnāni* are not separately depicted, unless we are to consider the kneeling brahman as the "minister" and the figure hovering behind the king as the "head of a family", but this hardly seems likely. The horse and the elephant at any rate are depicted on no. 287, but they are turned away from the rest of the scene towards the right, though of course they belong to the other gems, not to no. 288 which is only a conversation between a

king and two or more distinguished visitors; the right side of it is missing. On the scene no. 289—291 the saptaratnāni are travelling through the air. Disc, gem, elephant and horse are in front on no. 291, then comes on no. 290, a king and queen in a four-wheeled carriage that goes through space self-impelled, and behind it three men in full-dress; underneath them on the ground are an incense-burner, a dish with a lid and a shell on a pedestal. On no. 289 the same objects on the ground are repeated, while four men in ceremonial dress, possibly gods or heavenly beings hover above them. In the next panel we see where the procession is going to; four men grandly-dressed and turning to the left are ready to receive them; they hold in their hands respectively, a small box, a stem with three buds on it, an oblong thick round object and a bowl with something like beads in it, perhaps precious stones. These four men are sitting on no. 292 and the left part of no. 293 shews too a large company of sitting and standing people; those sitting are certainly attendants, but among the standing ones are some in full-dress, even one with an umbrella-bearer, so that it is more likely a group of more or less eminent persons present at the reception, than the retinue of the four sitting in front. The right part with attendants seated and an elephant, belongs to the next scene that reaches into no. 297. The centre point of this is a king in royal vestments more splendid than usual, seated in the midst of a very elaborate court, some of whom are remarkably well-dressed. The right side of no. 297 with 298 gives a lady of high rank with her attendants. She is probably the same woman adorned with a halo and also surrounded by waiting-women, who sits on no. 299 watching the dancing performance that is displayed on no. 300. The female attendants belonging to this lady are sitting and standing on no. 301.

On the other side of that relief, a preaching scene begins again, up to no. 304. The Buddha sits as we have seen him so often in vitarka-mudrā with two heavenly beings offering homage in the top corners. On the left sit a couple of monks and persons in so-called dress of attendants (302) and then again some bhikṣu's and laymen of the same kind, the latter unfinished (301). On the other side (304) are two men in full-dress, both making a sēmbah, and with attendants. Then again, two men grandly-dressed, probably the same, though differing in some details and with a larger retinue, are sitting on no. 305—307 conversing with another eminent man. No. 308 gives us four plainly-dressed men; the righthand upper part of the relief is unfinished. On no. 309 we have a company of men going to the right who probably belong to the preaching scene 310—312, where the Buddha, in the same place and pose of hands as

usual, is turned towards a couple of distinguished men and beyond them to an audience of only monks with the exception of one person in ordinary dress, seated behind on the left. The homage-giving angels here, are three. After the altogether-missing no. 313 comes the greatly-damaged no. 314 with men walking to the right, then no. 315—317 gives us the first scene where the Buddha is not preaching. The Master, who approaches from the left with a lotuscushion under his feet and the almsbowl in his hand, followed by a company of his monks also carrying almsbowls, is meeting with a woman who kneels before him and lays her hands in front of her on a cushion-shaped mound; a second woman with flowers in her hand stands behind and more are looking on, seated in an unfinished house to the right. It all looks like one of the homage-offerings that the Buddha so often received from pious women, as known from the 8th decade of the Avadānaçataka or, as regards the Southern Church, from the Therīgāthā-commentary ¹⁾. No. 318 resembles 299—301; another lady of rank watching a display of dancing. Then come three elaborate scenes with the preaching Buddha, no. 319—322, 323—326a, and 326b—329. The usual pair of angels is increased to seven on the third, some of them female; all three scenes are the same in shewing first on the left, that is on the righthand of the Master, only monks listening to his words. The hearers on the other side, vary somewhat; on no. 321—322 is a high-born lady with a large company of female attendants; on no. 325—326 is also a woman of high rank with a retinue, but here she wears a halo and between her and the Buddha is a dish on a pedestal with something round in it; on no. 329 they are all nuns on that side of the Master. It seems likely that these bhikṣuṇī's may be the pious adorers of the previous scenes, here in the garb of nuns.

On the other hand, we might imagine the previous female chief-person to be the same as the eminent lady with a halo sitting on a richly-decorated throne among a crowd of waiting-women on no. 330. After this scene come two rather meaningless ones: on no. 331—332 a conversation between two men in full-dress, one with a halo, both having a retinue; on no. 333—334, is also a royal personage with female attendants and distinguished visitors or courtiers.

A monk is the hero of the four scenes from no. 335 to 338. On no. 335 he receives homage from some admirers, one of whom makes a sēmbah, while another brings a wellfilled dish. No. 336 shews us ploughing; two oxen are drawing a plough guided by a laborer. These animals seem to

¹⁾ For the latter see the edition E. Müller in the publications of the Pāli Text Society (1892).
Barabudur

play a part in the tale, for on no. 337 the plainly-dressed man who is sitting in front of a monk, makes a sēmbah and has an ox beside him; this may be the man who was ploughing, though he is here rather better-dressed. Finally, the monk again receives homage on no. 338, now in the presence of brahmans; he receives a gift, for one of the men opposite to him, the one in front, is going to pour water on his hands from a vase with a spout.

A man in ceremonial dress in converse with some women sitting in a pēndāpā on no. 339, a lady of rank giving orders to two servants on no. 340, and a conversation between a man in full-dress and a woman making a sēmbah before him on no. 341, are followed by another series of Buddha-tales. On no. 342 the Buddha sits on the right in vitarka-mudrā on a lotuscushion, his worshippers are on the left, a distinguished man who offers a dish, with some companions, one of whom holds ready a folded garment. No. 343 shews a space inside a palissade, where a man in official dress is sitting with a woman and a waitingmaid; outside, against the fence, a man in court-dress is kneeling and a brahman or lower-class man (it is not easy to decide which), is standing, both with hands raised in sēmbah, holding a bud or fruit and turning towards the Buddha who is approaching, together with a monk. Both carry an almsbowl, the master has his right hand raised. On no. 344—345 the Buddha is again seen walking, followed directly by a man dressed like a king and holding a filled-up almsbowl to him; four bhikṣu's follow, all with bowls and the last with a fly-whisk, while a poorly-dressed layman kneels in the corner. On no. 346 there is no human figure, only a temple building or a palace crowned with kēbēn and triṣūla ornaments.

On no. 347 the Buddha appears again standing in the company of a royal personage with a halo, god or Bodhisattva. Most of the relief is taken up by the worshippers. Above, there are a company of heavenly beings on clouds; below in the midst of a rocky wilderness, are animals, a monkey, a pair of birds in a tree and a deer, placed too much in the foreground to be intended for decoration; they are surely members of the audience; finally on level ground, some hermits and a yakṣa quite in the corner. The hermits do not wear their hair in the usual twisted-up knot, but have it brushed back smoothly and then fastened together. After no. 348, where a man in fulldress is talking to two women, we get the Buddha on no. 349 alone on the scene, seated on a lotuscushion but without any throne and quite surrounded by flames. Next to him, as shewn elsewhere, is a vase with a spout and lotuses in it and an incense-burner.

On no. 350 between two trees, a monk sits on a lotuscushion in dhyāna-mudrā; he has lost the top of his head, so we can not see if he wore a uṣṇīsa and is intended for a Buddha, but the outline where it is broken off looks as if there had been no uṣṇīsa and besides there is no halo. On both sides of him sits a hare, while more to the right is a water jug and left an incense-burner. Monks appear on no. 351 sitting on an elevation; the right side of this relief with whatever was opposite to them has disappeared. The next relief is perhaps not in its right place; no. 355 is certainly correctly placed, but possibly what is now numbered as no. 352—354 ought to be 356—358, and then no. 356—357 would be really 352—353; in this case no. 354 is missing so as now no. 358 is supposed to be. If the sequence here given prove correct, then the very much damaged no. 352—353 shews a Buddha who is walking to the right, followed by a man in full-dress with a flower in his hand and a company of bhikṣu's; on no. 354—355 we see a couple of brahmans talking to a king. No. 356—358 is a preaching-scene, the Buddha seated in his usual manner; among the audience on the left, who were sitting in a pēṇḍāpā or some small building, only the front one, a monk, is left visible and those on the right have quite disappeared. No. 359, also damaged, gives a procession of men and women going to the right, preceded by a dwarf-like standard-bearer; they probably belong to no. 360, where men in so-called court-dress, standing and sitting, are doing homage to a wishing-tree with an umbrella above it, or it may be, to the Buddha in the next scene. Then comes the last preaching, reaching from no. 361 to 364; here the Buddha's angels are missing. The hearers on the left (361) are again monks, those on the right an eminent man kneeling with women and a large retinue; this reaches to half no. 364, where it is separated from the next scene by a wishingtree with a yakṣa under it. Next (no. 364—365) is a man in full-dress with a halo in the company of some women and attendants; overhead on a sort of shelf are piled-up treasures.

Next comes another stūpa-worship. The unadorned monument is seen on no. 366 with a man and woman standing next to it, the first of whom is pouring out of a vase with a spout over the small building. Male attendants are sitting on no. 367; female ones stand on the left part of no. 368. The right hand of this belongs to the last of these scenes, no. 368—370, some royal personage with his court.

We have now come to no. 371, the relief discussed above representing only a wishing-tree with jewel pots and kinnara's. It may be important that a tiara is placed on the lotus which rises straight up out of the tree-

trunk and is shaded by an umbrella. However, exactly the same is to be found on the purely-decorative panels on the 2nd balustrade; so it is better not to give too much value to this. On no. 372 we get a rock and forest scene once more, with a hermit sitting in front of four animals, a dove, a deer, a raven and a snake. A story in which these four animals and a hermit appear, is found in the Chinese Fa-kiu-pi-yu-king and has been related by Stanislas Julien¹). It is undoubtedly the one here depicted; the animals tell each other what they consider is the greatest cause of suffering and the hermit then gives them the right answer²).

Now comes the description of the reliefs that have been identified.

The story of the jackal (Jātaka no. 152)

Once upon a time the Bodhisattva appeared in the world as a young lion, and lived in the neighbourhood of the Himālaya; he had six younger brothers and one sister, they all lived together in a golden cave. Near to them was a silver hill with a crystal cave, where a jackal lived. After the death of their parents, the lion-brothers used to go out hunting for food, leaving the sister behind in the cave and bringing food to her. Now the jackal had seen the young lioness and fallen in love with her; as long as the parents were alive he dared not approach her, but when the seven brothers were out hunting, he quickly seized the opportunity, and pressed his suit with the most flattering words. The lioness was highly indignant that such a contemptible creature had the impertinence to address her in such terms, and she determined not to survive the shame of it. She decided to inform her brothers and then put an end to her life. The jackal, receiving no answer, understood that he was despised, went home and sorrowfully lay down in his crystal cave. After some time one of the brothers came back with his prey and offered a share of it to his sister; but she refused and related to him what had happened. "Where is that jackal?" roared the lion, and she shewed him the miscreant lying on the silver hill, in the open air as she thought, for she did not know that he really lived in a cave of crystal. Nor did the lion either, he sprang at the jackal to kill him, but hurled himself to death against the crystal rock. The same happened to the other five

¹) Contes et apologues indiens I (1860) p. 37.

²) The same or a similar tale seems to be alluded to in the Sūtrāṅkāra no. 52 (p. 213 of Huber's translation) where we are told of five ṛṣi's reborn as birds and quadrupeds; one of them, a raven, describes thirst as the worst suffering. Further details are wanting.

brothers. At last came the Bodhisattva and also heard the tale. But he was able to see that the jackal could not be lying out of doors and suspected it was a cave made of crystal. When he saw the bodies of his brothers lying at the foot of the hill, he decided to make some other kind of attack. He went and stood in the path made by the jackal to his den and roared three times in a voice so terrible that heaven and earth resounded therewith. The jackal was seized with such a fit of terror that he was paralysed by the shock and died on the spot.

136. *The jackal, the roaring lion and the lioness*

The scene shews a rocky place with only one tree. Right and left there are caves, in the one on the right is the lioness, on the left, which is much smoother, of course to shew in some way that it is not rock but crystal, sits the jackal. Between the two and turning towards the jackal the lion stands roaring and lashing his tail. To enliven the scene, some birds are put in; a peacock on the left, a pair of doves on the right and in the middle, just above the lion, with its head lowered, a small bird rather like the woodpecker in the last tale. On the strength of this, Oldenburg in his often quoted article, assigned this relief to the last Jātaka-mālā tale. Van Erp very rightly observed that there is no reason for a lioness and jackal in that story, and gives the correct identity of this tale to the Sigāla-jātaka ¹⁾.

137 and 138 not identified ²⁾.

The story of Mātīposaka
(Jātaka no. 455)

The Bodhisattva once lived as a magnificent white elephant, the head of a herd; when he found luscious fruit he sent it to his old blind mother. It soon came to his knowledge that the carriers ate it all up themselves; therefore the Bodhisattva decided to leave the herd and devote himself entirely to his mother. One day he met a man in the forest who had lost his way and he brought him into the right direction. As they generally do in this sort of tale, the miscreant proceeded to betray his benefactor to the king, who was at that moment in need of a white elephant. The Bodhisattva, who never gave way to anger, allowed himself to be captured and led away. The king welcomed him hospitably

¹⁾ The same (l.i. p. 87 fol.) shews too that Groneman's curious description „the starving bird watching the lion who is devouring his prey" (Boeddhistische tempel-bouwvallen 1907 p. 62) must be founded on some mistake.

²⁾ Described in the Dutch edition p. 363.

and gave him all kinds of nice food to eat, but the noble animal, sad and anxious about the fate of his lonely mother, could not touch any of it. The king inquired the reason of his refusal and hearing what it was, he set the elephant free immediately, who rushed back at once to the forest, found his mother and brought her water to refresh herself. Both of them were filled with gratitude to the king, who treated them with great honor. After the death of his mother, the Bodhisattva retired to a monastery; the king caused an image to be made of him and paid homage to it every year with his subjects at an elephant-festival.

139. The elephant and his mother in the forest

In a forest, represented by rocks and trees, two elephants are coming from the right, a smaller one in front and a larger one following with uplifted trunk. The smaller animal, we may suppose, is the son, the larger one the mother whom he is guiding. There are a pair of birds perched in the trees. This jātaka is also found at Ajaṇṭā; it was identified there by Oldenburg ¹⁾.

140—142 and 144 are missing.

143 and 145—158 are not identified ²⁾.

The story of Çivi
(Avadānaçataka no. 34; I p. 182—186)

Once upon a time there lived a king called Çivi, who was remarkably charitable; he bestowed food, clothes, and money on all the poor and needy as well as his soldiers and other subjects. When he had given away all his possessions except one garment, he was tormented by the thought that though he had now provided for his people, he had done nothing for the small animals. Therefore he decided to sacrifice his own body to them. He made incisions in his flesh with a sharp instrument and went to a place frequented by mosquitoes, feeding these insects with his blood as if he were nourishing his own son. When Çakra, king of the gods, saw this, he wondered whether Çivi really did it all out of compassion for living beings, and he decided to put him to the proof. Assuming the shape of a dark-coloured vulture he came to the king and began to peck at him with his beak. The king never shrank away for a moment, with a glance of benevolence at the vulture he allowed him to pick off as much

¹⁾ In the article quoted above (p. 239); see further Foucher, *Lettre* p. 207; reproductions by Griffiths fig. 20, and Herringham, *Fresco's* pl. XVIII—XXI no. 20—23.

²⁾ Described in the Dutch edition p. 354—366.

flesh as he liked. Çakra was delighted and at once invented a second trial; in the form of a brahman, he asked the king to give him both his eyes, to which the monarch willingly agreed ¹⁾. The king of the gods then resumed his divine shape and did homage to the noble Çivi, predicting that he would soon attain his Buddha-ship.

159. *Çivi offering himself to the mosquitoes*

The king is lying stretched out on the rocky ground, leaning his head on the right arm. He is in full-dress, so the sculptor has not kept to the statement of his having only one garment left; either that fact was not recorded in the version he used, or he ignored it in order to make it plain to the spectator that this is actually Çivi. It being of course impossible to carve mosquitoes to scale, it would have been very difficult to find out why the king is reclining there, and if we took to guessing there is surely every chance of our being misled; we might so easily take the deer in the foreground for important actors in the scene. It is quite possible there are some points that might contradict my decision about this being the first scene of the Çivi-story. I give my opinion with some hesitation; it depends principally on the fact that in the scene following the king appears in the company of a large bird, apparently the vulture.

160. *Çivi and the vulture*

Not much remains of this relief, only the left half. There the vulture stands on a piece of rock, its body turned to the left, but the head looking round at the king, who is partly visible next to it, stretching out his right hand to the bird's head. Then there is just one foot of one of the royal attendants to be seen. If these figures really are the king and the vulture, then most probably the missing part of the relief was only filled up with some attendants so that it can much easier be missed than the left part would have been.

161—168 not identified ²⁾).

The story of Campeyya (Jātaka no. 506, beginning)

Between the kingdoms of Angga and Magadha flowed the river Campā, in which nāga's lived under the rule of the nāga-king Campeyya.

¹⁾ This second test that has also been represented in the Jātakamālā (p. 319) is not depicted on the monument, neither is the homage by Çakra.

²⁾ Described in the Dutch edition p. 367 and fol.

The kings of both these countries were at war, laying hands in turn on each other's possessions. Once a battle was fought in which the king of Magadha was beaten; he mounted his horse and escaped, pursued by his enemies. When he came to the river Campā, its stream was full, but the king who preferred death by drowning to dying by the hand of his enemy, sprang on horseback into the water. The jump brought him right into the middle of Campeyya's court. The nāga was moved to sympathy at the sight of the splendid king; he rose from his throne, offered his seat to the visitor and inquired about his circumstances. On hearing the facts, he said: "Fear not, great king, I will make thee monarch of both kingdoms." For seven days the king of Magadha was entertained in the nāga-palace, then he returned to the upper world. With Campeyya's help he conquered his rival Angga and reigned over both kingdoms. Since that time there was great friendship between him and the nāga-king; every year he caused a pavilion ornamented with jewels to be built on the banks of the river and placed gifts in it; then Campeyya came up with a large retinue and took them away.¹⁾

169. *The king of Magadha appears to the nāga's*

On the right, where we see in the background the outlines of a pēṇḍāpā as the reception-hall of the palace, the nāga-king is sitting with his court. Campeyya, who is larger than the others, sits in front holding his hands in sēmbah. Behind him are three female nāga's; above the sitting row, a standing one can be seen, some of whom hold the customary gifts of honour. Opposite the group of nāga's, to the left, stands the very much damaged king of Magadha, behind whom is a human servant squatting on the ground next to the horse that is saddled. The presence of the groom is not mentioned in the Pāli-version, but as already noticed (p. 404), it may easily be explained, for it is quite as possible that in some other version of the tale, a servant jumps into the river with his master as that the sculptor here follows his own fancy like elsewhere.

170—172 not identified²⁾.

173 and 174 are missing.

The story of Surūpa
(Avadānaçataka no. 35; I p. 187—192)

There once reigned in Benares a king named Surūpa, a mighty and

¹⁾ The rest of the tale is of no importance; as noticed on p. 404 only the prologue is given on the monument.

²⁾ Described in the Dutch edition p. 369.

devout monarch; he had a wife of surpassing beauty and a beloved only son. The king desired greatly to hear the Law; he therefore called his ministers together and ordered them to set about finding some one, who was able to expound the Law. His ministers declared that this would be very difficult to arrange seeing that the Law was only revealed after the appearance of a Buddha. Then the king ordered a basket of gold to be placed on a pedestal and proclamation to be made everywhere, that whoever should be able to expound the Law would receive the gold and very great honour as well. Years passed and the king pined away. Seeing this, Çakra thought he would test the quality of Surūpa's desire. He assumed the shape of a yakṣa, came to the king in the midst of his court and declared himself able to expound the Law. The king was delighted. Before beginning his discourse the yakṣa demanded food; he did not want ordinary food, only flesh and blood would satisfy him and he asked for the king's only son. The king was torn with doubts, but the prince himself fell at his father's feet and begged to be sacrificed to the yakṣa, who there before the father's eyes and in the presence of the court, tore the victim limb from limb and devoured him, drinking up his blood. This not having appeased his hunger, he demanded the beautiful spouse for a second course and she was given to him. Finally he requested the king to give him his own body. The monarch naturally inquired how in that case it would be possible for him to hear the Law after he had been eaten up, and suggested that he should first have the Law expounded and then give himself up to the monster. To this the yakṣa agreed, took his oath and began to explain the desired Law in a gāthā. On hearing the holy words, the king rejoiced and said: "Here is my body, do with it what you will". Çakra, touched by such magnanimity and fortitude, resumed his divine shape and coming back to Surūpa leading the son by one hand and the beautiful wife by the other, he did him homage and prophesied that he would soon attain the highest Wisdom.

175. The king gives command for a teacher of the Law to be found

On the cushions of a chair with a back the king is sitting with his leg supported in the band. He is speaking to the ministers, two of whom are seated on the ground to the right, their arms crossed over the breast, while a third, who is a brahman, stands behind with a bowl in his hand. In the background we see the pedestal with a box on it that the text speaks of, containing the gold to reward the man who fulfils the monarch's wishes. This coincidence in text and relief deserves notice; it

also identifies this otherwise not striking relief as certainly belonging to this tale.

176—177. *The king sacrifices his son and wife to the yakṣa*

The sculptor is not so elaborate as the writer of the text, for he fits the offer of both son and queen into the same scene. The son is represented very young, so that we cannot believe him capable of beseeching the hesitating father to let him be devoured, as stated in the text. Possibly this detail was not given in the version followed on the monument. The yakṣa is sitting quite to the left on a bench with a dish under it; he wears the traditional short thick hair with curled ends, large fierce eyes and round earrings of these wild creatures. He has no beard. The king approaches from the right, where there is a stand with an incense-burner on it, he has a halo behind the head as becomes the Bodhisattva. The child is sitting on his arm; it has no double necklace across the breast so often given to children, nor, as far as is discernible, the crescent-shaped ornament behind the neck. The queen in royal robes follows her spouse. Behind them on the extreme right, are the courtiers; in front, someone with a beard, who may perhaps be a brahman, but wears the headdress usual for courtiers. In the background is the royal umbrella.

178. *The yakṣa expounds the Law*

As it is proved by the text that the yakṣa on this relief must be the same as the one on the last scene, we here get a good opportunity, by comparing the two figures, of judging how far the sculptors dared to take liberties with the details of what they depicted. In both cases this is a yakṣa, but there the resemblance ends and it looks as if the sculptor of the yakṣa on no. 178 took absolutely no notice of what he or any one else has been doing on no. 176. Even in the details typical of yakṣa's there is divergence; the hair has thicker curls, the earrings are heavier. The headband, necklace, sling, arm and foot rings are all different. The chair is now one with a high back and solid seat, while on no. 176 the seat had legs. And most important of all, the yakṣa now wears a beard. All this confirms the impression I have noted elsewhere (p. 252 for instance), that the sculptors only received a general order for the figures that were to be carved on each relief and that if they fulfilled the prescribed instructions, they could further do very much what they liked with the rest of the details. We can quite imagine that the orders for no. 176 were something like this: "left, a yakṣa seated on

a chair, right, a king standing, with halo etc." and for no. 178 much the same: "left, yakṣa on a seat in attitude of preaching" etc. In both cases the yakṣa is actually seated there, but that is all. It looks just as if the carvers of the reliefs did not even know that the same yakṣa was meant, and have taken no trouble to prevent the spectator's ideas from going astray. It is no wonder that the explorers of modern times are faced with continual difficulties through this carelessness, in the very details that ought to supply the points for identification.

The yakṣa preaching is sitting on his chair. The king, here too with a halo, sits on a mat with hands in *sēmbah* on the right with three courtiers behind him. The monarch is in royal robes as in the last scene, but here also the sculptor has taken liberties with the shape of the king's tiara and ornaments.

178—191 not identified ¹⁾; 186 is missing.

The story of the tortoise (Kacchapāvadāna ²⁾).

Once upon a time, five hundred merchants on a voyage, were overwhelmed by shipwreck and found themselves left in the middle of the ocean in great peril. Then came the Bodhisattva to their rescue, in the shape of a great tortoise; he took the shipwrecked men on to his back and brought them to land, where he then fell asleep. The merchants, faint with hunger, were ready to kill him and feed on his flesh. The tortoise awoke and understood what their plan was, and moved by compassion for their hunger, he offered them his body for their nourishment and in this way himself attained the highest merit. ³⁾

192. *The tortoise in the sea*

In the midst of the waves we see a number of sea-creatures and among them, very large, so as to shew it is the chief figure of the tale, is the tortoise. A little tortoise is climbing on his back, the other creatures, fishes, tortoises and a shark, swim around him.

193. *The shipwreck*

The ship, owing to want of space, is not a large one, or elaborately

¹⁾ Described in the Dutch edition p. 371—373.

²⁾ According to Rājendralāla Mitra, p. 75.

³⁾ The Chinese version related by Chavannes (*Cinq cents contes* III p. 29) has a different ending; the tortoise is killed while asleep and the next night the merchants are trodden to death by elephants.

finished off. It has a large sail fastened to a bowsprit at the bottom; the helmsman stands on the high poop deck, where there is hardly room for him because, to shew something of the crew, the sculptor has made the sailors out of proportion to the vessel. The other passengers are clinging to the mast and ropes, one climbs up the side of the ship and is helped on deck by the others. The cause of the shipwreck is plainly the leviathan rushing in a sea full of fish towards the vessel with wide-open jaws; the monster is called in the texts "makara", but has little of the ornamental makara which appears on Hindu-Javan temples. It is much more like a shark.

194. *The tortoise rescues the shipwrecked men*

The tortoise is swimming to the right. He is now still larger than on no. 192 and is busy rescuing the unfortunate merchants who are sitting on his neck and back, clinging to his feet and holding on to one another. In this way we get a good impression that a great many people are being saved.

195. *The tortoise preaches to the rescued men*

In the righthand bottom corner, a bit of sea is visible with fishes in it; above this the tortoise is seated on the rocky shore, turning to the left. Opposite to him are the rescued men, a brahman in front, evidently expressing their gratitude in respectful attitude. Trees along the whole background shew that they have reached terra firma. If we are to see any significance in the fact, that the merchants, who were very plainly-dressed on the last relief, now wear fine clothes, some of them even medium-sized tiaras, it can only be that after getting on dry land they put on their best clothes to come and offer thanks to their benefactor. But we know only too well that no precision in such matters can be expected from the sculptors; therefore it is just as possible that the shipwrecked men just arrived on land, are on the point of accepting the offer of the tortoise and are going to make a meal of him. The scene of course does not shew us what the subject of conversation may be, so we must leave it undecided if the version of the tale followed on the monument, ended with an expression of gratitude or a banquet of tortoise-flesh.

The story of Cūla-Nandiya
(Jātaka no. 222)

The Bodhisattva once appeared in the world as a monkey named Nandiya; he lived with his blind mother and a younger brother in the

neighbourhood of the Himālaya; the two brothers were head of a large troop of monkeys, who all went out together in search of food. The mother stayed at home and messengers were sent to bring her all kinds of fruit for her food. But the messengers neglected to take it to her and the poor old mother-ape grew thinner and thinner. When the Bodhisattva made inquiries and discovered what had been done, he proposed to his brother that he should lead the troop alone, while he himself should take care of their mother. But the brother wanted to share this duty, so the three of them went together and settled in a tree near the edge of the forest. Now there was a brahman who had already been warned by his teacher against his instinctive cruelty, but who being unable to support himself in any other way, had become a hunter and lived on the animals he shot with bow and arrow. Once he was returning home without having secured any game and passed by the tree, where the three monkeys lived. The two brothers were just feeding their mother with fruit and they hid among the branches, hoping their poor old mother would be spared. When the hunter saw her, he was going to shoot her, though she was old and weak. To save his mother the Bodhisattva came down from the tree and offered himself in her stead. The hunter accepted this sacrifice, shot Nandiya dead and breaking his promise again took aim at the mother. Then the younger son followed his brother's example. He let himself be killed to save his mother; but the pitiless hunter after all killed the old monkey, hung the three victims on his carrying-pole and turned his steps towards his home. At that very moment the miscreant's house was struck by lightning and his wife and children were burnt to death. On entering the village the hunter heard the news of his loss; in despair he threw down his carrying-pole, his bow and his clothes and rushed home. At that very moment the ruins of the dwelling that were still standing fell in and smashed his head; the earth opened, the fires of hell flamed up and he was swallowed into its depth.

196. *The monkey collects fruit for his mother*

In the middle of the scene stands a large fruit-tree. On the left is a monkey who is gathering fruit and holds one in each hand; he is giving the one in his right hand to another monkey who kneels on the right holding up a full basket. If the version of the Pāli jāataka is being followed in these details — which as will be seen is not done in the rest of the tale — then the lefthand monkey who gathers the fruit is the Bodhisattva and the other is one of the faithless messengers; the basket is filled to be sent to the old mother, who never receives it.

197. *The monkeys gathering fruit*

On the right of this corner relief is a large tree which grows out of a rise in the ground; on and around this little hill is quite a lot of fruit. On the left part we see the three monkeys in the midst of other fruit-trees. One of them is on the back of another who walks on all fours and plucks a bunch of fruit from one of the trees, the third is behind, also busy gathering fruit. This scene Van Erp considers to represent the move from the Himālaya to their new neighbourhood, with the Bodhisattva carrying the old mother on his back ¹⁾, but I think the unmistakable act of plucking of the monkey, who would then be the blind one, is not in keeping with his explanation. In my opinion this scene is nothing but the gathering of fruit that is piled up under the tree on the right. If the sculptor here depicts some episode from his own version of the text that is unknown to us, of course must remain an open question, just as the point itself, as to whether this may or may not be Nandiya on hands and feet with the mother on his back.

198. *The Bodhisattva taking care of his mother*

Under the trees on the right the old monkey is sitting on a rise of ground with her right hand to her head. Her son kneels devotedly before her, holding one of her knees and a hindleg, while further proofs of his dutiful conduct are piled against her seat in the shape of bunches of bananas and other fruit. The scene is enlivened with other creatures, deer, squirrels and several birds.

199. *The hunters attack the monkeys*

The tale as here represented, differs from that of the Pāli-text in two important points, the presence of several hunters and a whole colony of monkeys. No less than three men are coming from the left, one just fixing an arrow to his bow and a second with his blow-pipe ready. On the right under the trees sit the monkeys. The two most to the right, placed rather higher than the others, are surely the Bodhisattva and his mother; he puts his arm round the old lady, looks round at the hunters and is sheltering her with his own body. The other monkeys who are sitting below the chief figures in the foreground more to the left, among them a female figure with a young one, as Van Erp observed, are carved by the hand of a master; an example of fine broad plastic treatment,

¹⁾ I.I. p. 95.

the expression of the animals so simple and true to nature. The only fault seems to be their indifference to the coming danger; they sit quite calmly, though the hunters are already close to them.

200 left. *The hunters punished by fire*

A large piece has disappeared from the part of the relief belonging to this tale, so that the action is indistinct. Flames in the left hand bottom corner shew at least that there was fire, if not the burning of the house; the flames coming from below give more the idea of its being the hell breaking open to overwhelm the evildoers. The three men rushing off to the right, one of whom holds a branch though we cannot see what he is doing with it, I do not consider to be armed villagers ¹⁾, but the cruel hunters themselves; that they here happen to be armed with knives is of little consequence. Though the absence of the upper part prevents us from knowing if the house was put in, I think that the version here followed did not include that fire, but the tale ended with the earth opening immediately after the crime and the miscreants being seized by the flames of hell and drawn into its jaws.

210 and following not identified, except the final scene ¹⁾; 241 and 313 are missing.

The story of the hermit, the dove, the raven, the
snake and the deer
(Fa-kiu-pi-yu-king ³⁾).

Vīryabala, the hermit, lived in a remote mountain district and sat beneath a tree absorbed in meditation. Four animals lived in the neighbourhood, a dove, a raven, a poisonous snake and a deer. In the daytime they went out in search of food; and in the evening returned to their dwelling. One night they consulted together as to what was the chief cause of suffering. The raven thought that it was hunger and thirst that makes you rush blindly into nets and neglect deadly weapons so that you get killed. The dove however thought it must be love, for when this feeling seizes us we are unreasonable and stop at nothing and often run into danger and death. According to the snake anger caused the most suffering; when frantic with rage, we might attack our own parents or lay hands on our own life. The deer was of opinion that fear caused

¹⁾ See Van Erp, l.l. p. 96.

²⁾ Described in the Dutch edition p. 376—394.

³⁾ St. Julien, Contes et apologues indiens I (1860) p. 37.

the worst suffering; she was always thinking she heard hunters or wolves and fear could make you spring down a precipice or even desert your own young ones. Then the hermit spoke and explained to them that all these were only results and they none of them had mentioned the real cause of suffering, it was the body. The burden of the body is the actual cause of suffering; that is the origin of all fear and pain.

372. *The hermit and the four animals*

The lonely mountain district is given as usual by conventionalized rocks and trees over the whole scene. In the midst of this the five actors are plainly visible. The hermit is sitting on the left; he wears the usual coarse necklace and ascetic hairdressing, twisted into a loop at the top of the head with loose locks hanging down. In spite of this part of the upper-edge being knocked off we can just distinguish the style of hair. The animals are standing and sitting in front of him, all looking at him; first, a little in the background perched on a bit of high rock, the dove, then the couching deer, next on another piece of rock, the raven, and finally, rolled up in coils, the snake just on the threshold of her den. The hermit, judging by the gesture of his hand, is discoursing, so this is the moment he explains the difficult point in question.

FIRST GALLERY, BALUSTRADE; LOWEST SERIES

This lowest row consists of one hundred and twenty-eight reliefs and there are seven, actually only seven, of them that have remained undamaged, but 'undamaged' only in so far that there are no pieces broken off, for several of the seven are worn-off and weather-beaten. Thirteen are entirely missing; the remaining hundred and eight all miss some more or less important piece, in some cases only a part of an upper corner, but of others nothing is left but the bottom edge with the legs of men and animals. The very sad condition of this series as a whole, makes the work of identification extremely difficult.

However there are enough left among the salvage, especially some very characteristic scenes, to keep us from giving up all hope of their identification. As will be seen later on, a number of striking reliefs depicting special events will afford clues to the search after the text represented, and when that text is found they will probably throw light on the intervening less-expressive scenes, the constantly repeated pictures of receptions and court-functions. If only we could make sure that the first indispensable data for identification are not lost; but at present

I am obliged to state that we have not yet reached that point. Even the groups of very comprehensible-looking reliefs that we should be inclined to explain at sight because the course of the tale seems to be so plain, are not to be identified from any of the stories in the literature known to us. The state of our knowledge is just the same as what we had for the second part of the top row; with the help of some of the avadāna's and jāataka's known to the Southern or Northern tradition, a few of the tales depicted have been recognised, but a connected text with the tales in the same sequence is not in our possession, therefore not only the intervening inexpressive scenes remain unexplained but also a number of the very typical stories are still unrecognised.

The first question that confronts us is this: are there really indications that some existing sequence of tales has here been used? Or may we consider that the sculptors have put together tales gathered from various sources?

There is a special reason for this supposition in the case of this lowest row of the first balustrade. In the top row it is obvious we should think that when the Jātakamālā text was followed in the first part of the row, the rest of the jāataka's and avadāna's might also coincide with some special text. But the case of the series now under discussion is somewhat different.

With reference to some of the photographs made by the Archaeological Commission of the decoration on Barabuḍur, Brandes in the Reports of this Commission in 1903 makes the following remarks about no. 401 and 402 ¹⁾:

"In the first gallery in the lower part of the balustrade, there is a series of reliefs *that did not belong to the original plan of the building*²⁾. Between the scenes we see decorated ornament constantly repeated, small panels with two or three standing figures as on 401 which at the same time shews a careless manner of work, for it has no right to appear in the place it occupies and makes a whole ornamental panel too many. The inferiority of the execution is also apparent in the pilasters in the corners of this relief-series on photo 402, for these pilasters are quite out of keeping with the style of decoration found all over the Barabuḍur. Everywhere else on the monument along the balustrades, the scenes continue over the re-entering angle forming a folded-panel."

¹⁾ See page 2.

²⁾ The italics are mine.

In this passage Brandes gives concisely his reasons for considering the series of reliefs on the lower part of the first balustrade to have been added at a later date and in another article, written probably about the same time, we find a much more detailed account of the same question. This article he did not publish but it was found among his papers and printed in the Reports of the Archaeological Dept. of 1913. His remarks referring to this matter ¹⁾ I quote in full, for it is of great importance to form a correct opinion of the question whether these reliefs belong to the original plan or not, in comparing them with the other series of jātaka's and avadāna's.

"The great monument Tjaṇḍi Barabuḍur so justly celebrated, has been adorned with a whole series of reliefs that are also a defacement.

"This series will be found on the first gallery below on the parapet wall into which they seem to be sunk, because these reliefs lie in the same plane as the farthest projecting line of its cornice.

"In the same way that much of the beauty of the base of the monument was withdrawn from sight by the embankment built up against it to support the building, the graceful line of the parapet on the inside, which was the same as that on the outside, has been sacrificed, for in Indian art a parapet or upstanding wall is nearly always given the same profile on both sides, at least at the top; this has been here ignored for the sake of putting in more decoration, thereby spoiling the grace of the line and detracting from the beauty of the building as a whole. But this is not all. The execution too is inferior. Only the long stretch of the passage and the great length of the gallery combined with the fact that, because the stones forming this row of reliefs were all placed loose against the masonry of the actual building, a great many of them had fallen off, so that the better-preserved and more beautiful sculpture of the upper row attract more of our attention, can account for the unsightly faults of this part of the Barabuḍur having till now escaped criticism.

"The first closer inspection of this series at once reveals how carelessly the ornament is executed.

"On both sides next to the gateway (thus on the inside of it) we see pieces rough-hewn, unchisled, without any apparent reason, for the ornament of the doorway has not touched these pieces or could have reached them.

"Then these blocks differ in length at each of the doorways with 9, 33, 68 and 85 c.M., no slight variation. The flat panels of which this series

¹⁾ Page 15—17 of the article referred to.

consists are 193 in number ¹⁾ (besides 8 pilasters to be described later on), so there is one too many; there should have been an equal number on either side of the monument, i. e. 48, or 24 + 24. The part on the North of the West doorway has 25.

"There we find one ornament-relief extra that spoils the symmetry and harmony of the whole. This can soon be noticed. As we walk through this gallery to examine the series of reliefs we see directly that the long pieces where they form a corner facing the spectator, should consist of two long pictorial panels, without any narrow ornamental panel between them such as elsewhere separates the scenes from one another on this part; thus, beginning at the doorways, first four pictorial panels including the corner one, with only two ornamental ones, six pictorial panels with only four ornamental ones and then again four pictorial panels with only two ornamental ones. We see how by such distribution each time there must be found two pictorial panels abutting one another. On the North of the West doorway the long row has three, that is, one too many.

"It is evident therefore that the length of the pictorial panels must also vary on the parts just as they do on account of the rough blocks being of different size; that is to say, we here see before us work unworthy of the builders and designer of the Tjaṇḍi Barabuḍur, who certainly possessed the sense of harmony and proportion; compared with their work, this may justly be called bad.

"This appears again with regard to other points in this series of reliefs. Another obvious characteristic in Indian art is the symmetry of their structures and the systematic balance and harmony in the arrangement of the decoration. In corresponding parts we always find the same kind of thing.

"What can be the meaning of what we see in this series, one, two, three, even four human figures put quite casually on the ornamental panels?

"The only explanation is that some inferior artist has inserted work, which proves to be far below the quality of the original design, where such faults are not to be found. Some meaner intelligence who attempted to imitate the great and splendid art before his eyes, but who was not capable of understanding its aim or execution, tried to do the same as the great master and failed utterly; not only by his carelessness, but also by sinning against design and decoration, and against the

¹⁾ Brandes of course means the 128 reliefs with scenes as well as the decorative ones.

laws of Indian art. For it was a sin to put pilasters in the chief corners of this series (alluded to above) in the N. West, N. East, S. East and S. West of the bottom-row on the balustrade of this gallery. The Barabūḍur itself could have taught him that a relief in a re-entering angle (facing the spectator) ought to continue, he has even done so elsewhere, but in these corners instead of a scene, he has placed carved pilasters that are entirely out of keeping with the whole, and his work condemns him. Neither the designer nor the decorator of the Barabūḍur are injured by it, on the contrary, their noble work only shews up the more, for after realizing these faults, the grand decorative insight of the real artist is only the more apparent."

These remarks of Dr. Brandes about the decoration belong to the architectural part of this monograph; nevertheless it was important to notice here what his reasons are for deciding that the bottom series of reliefs did not belong to the original plan of the building. If this conclusion is correct it becomes clear directly that this bottom series on the first balustrade may not have been included in the distribution of the texts to be illustrated in the spaces allotted by the original plan of the building, but was added at a later date. In that case it is quite possible that when the "bungler" afterwards decided to put in this row he looked about here and there for tales of all sorts to fill it up with and did not illustrate some existing collection that was already there in its traditional sequence; we can consider that the founders of the Barabūḍur would in their original plan have already portioned out the jātaka's and avadāna's included in the canonical sacred writings, and there would be no more orthodox texts available, which gave the new designer a more extensive choice than his predecessor. In deciding this question it must first be stated that Brandes' arguments are founded on the execution of the decoration and the neglect of architectural requirements, but not in any way touch what is represented on the reliefs. It can I think be stated to begin with, as regards the subject and manner of execution, that this coincides entirely with the top row of the same and with that of the second balustrade, where in the same way a large number of small tales follow each other on a few reliefs or even only on one. Putting aside the peculiar position and the carelessness noted by Brandes, there is not the slightest reason for considering or treating this series differently to the two just mentioned. Even the fact that some of the reliefs shew signs of being unfinished is not of much weight, for the same thing can be found once or twice in the two other series. It is quite probable that these edifying stories were considered of less

importance than the grand sacred texts on the chief walls and higher balustrades; the completion of the detail in this row of tales may have been left to the last and any trifle that was missing passed unnoticed. Whatever the explanation, the phenomenon appears in the other jāataka series mentioned and not only in the bottom row of the first balustrade.

Finally, to form some opinion of the character of these reliefs, I think we should try to find out what can have been the designer's reason for making this addition, although the attempt will remain for the most part conjecture. One conclusion would seem very obvious if it did not turn out to be untenable, that is, when the necessity appeared for banking up the base of the monument, a great number of subjects whose representation was included in the original design were withdrawn from sight and to bring these before the eye of the worshipper it would seem the most natural thing to have them depicted again elsewhere, for instance, in the bottom row of the first balustrade. However plausible this argument is theoretically, it will not hold, for what the series under discussion depicts has not the slightest resemblance to what we find on the covered base.

Was the reason for the addition what Brandes suggests "a desire to make the temple more richly adorned and therefore as they supposed, more beautiful?" I do not think so. The Hindu-Javanese designers, sculptors and decorators, in all they undertook shew such evident and continual proofs of their good taste that such a neglect of it cannot be ascribed to them. As much as we do, indeed far better, they must have seen that such an addition was anything but an improvement. It cannot be denied that all monuments shew signs of carelessness — Brandes gives some striking examples thereof in his article above referred to — but they are partly workmen's mistakes, partly iniquities of detail, arrangement of decoration and suchlike; this does not touch the design or plan of the Hindu-Javanese art of temple-building; and here we have to do with an offence against design.

Then besides the want of good taste, the insertion of this series of reliefs as Brandes has just explained, does violence to one of the fundamental ideas of all Indian art. I cannot believe that the designer in spite of all this, could have looked upon his contribution as an improvement, even if, among those who assisted at the erection of the monument, there was one whose ideas differed so much from those usually accepted, he would never have been allowed to do what he liked with this grand and important sanctuary. I do not in the least underestimate Brandes' opinion and quite agree that apart from the fact of the ad-

dition, the execution is inferior and that the mistake in number and the strange pilasters are all faults. But these shortcomings are not the chief thing; we can ignore them and imagine that everything was in order, but still the mere fact of inserting the row of reliefs is the worst of the whole business. I repeat that it is impossible to think that the artistic-minded Hindu-Javanese with their just sense of the beauty of their temples, would ever have conceived the idea of inserting this row of reliefs as an improvement to the building.

And yet they did put them there. They could not have been blind to their misdeed, I think it is more likely they were well aware of what they were doing, but resigned themselves to the inevitable. Without any desire to improve their sanctuary, it was a sacrifice of their sense of beauty and the tradition of their architecture to a higher claim.

Considered in this way, it stands clear what this claim must have been. Only two causes existed in my opinion that would justify such a sacrifice. First in case the whole temple was in danger, as was the reason for the covered base. We can imagine what it must have cost the builders to decide on the embankment by which not only a whole series of reliefs disappeared for ever but what was still worse and far more important than what happened to the balustrade of the first gallery, the original design of the stūpa-shape and the effect of the silhouette was damaged irretrievably. No choice was left; in spite of everything the order was given to use the only means of saving the monument. It is very evident that no such reason existed for spoiling the balustrade of the first gallery. The second possibility, and the only one that can be applied to the balustrade under discussion is in my opinion this: that for some reason or other it was considered necessary to picture some particular text for which they could only find room in this manner. The demands of good taste and architectural tradition everywhere and always so faithfully respected, were here set aside for the higher aims of religion. Looked at in this way, the strange treatment of this balustrade becomes comprehensible.

It is not of real importance to try and follow the details of this decision, but we must of course not imagine that those engaged in the work of depicting the edifying stories on the reliefs suddenly found out that they had not sufficient space and decided to put in a second row below that on the first balustrade. The design of the whole monument and the apportionment of the edifying tales to the walls and balustrades shews that the designers had more insight than to have allowed anything of that sort to be done. We might believe that to begin with, certain texts were assigned

to certain walls whereby the lower half of the chief wall of the 1st gallery and the balustrades of the same and of the 2nd gallery, were intended for the jātaka's and avadāna's and that when the available space came to be measured out for the separate tales it was found that they could not be squeezed in. Then the expedient might have been found in the double row on the first balustrade. This will at the same time explain why some of the tales seem to be unnecessarily spun out: by adding these 128 extra panels a little too much space was obtained. A certain number of tales were assigned to a part of the available space and it was left to the sculptors to fill it up. It is not impossible that in the original design a certain number of texts were included but afterwards it was decided to take up other texts; in this case we must assume that the addition was decided on before the execution of the other series of this kind of tales was arranged, so that the new lot could be more or less fitted in with the original ones, because the bottom row has no special character and shews traces of connection with those on the balustrade of the 2nd gallery, a fact I shall refer to in treating the latter series. However the addition may have come about, the new series at any rate is not a different kind but coincides with the whole collection of the jātaka and avadāna texts; they may be architecturally out-of-keeping with the original design but in subject and character they quite correspond. This appears not only in connection with what follows, but most plainly in the similar manner of depiction of details here and in the other series. The pictorial panels do not shew the same carelessness as the decorative ones, only the differences in measurement noticed by Brandes. They shew besides the same care in execution and the same method of work as those in the top row, so we must not consider them as 'inferior' panels that were added years later to the original beautiful ones. On the contrary, these reliefs are quite equal to the others in every respect, they must have been executed at the same time and by the same sculptors according to the same plan. To sum up: this series of reliefs does not belong to the original building design, but it is executed according to the same method of decoration in which the other series of edifying tales were designed.

The two questions under discussion point therefore in the same direction. The only acceptable explanation of the addition in my opinion, depends on the supposition that for whatever reason it may have been, a place had to be found for some text or part of a text. And the similarity between the relief-series in question and the others, makes it equally probable that here as elsewhere, an existing connected text was followed. If therefore these reliefs have been placed in a position where accord-

ing to the design of the building there should have been none, it does not in the least follow that they have no connection with the rest of the reliefs; on the contrary their appearance in this place just shews that it was only the necessity of continuing some text that could have justified the use of this space.

We must now see how this text fits into the surroundings. Does it seem to continue one of the other series or to be itself the beginning of something new? Can it be considered to be one whole or does it look like a chain of shorter tales?

The first of these questions is soon answered. Should this series of reliefs be connected with anything, it would probably be the top row of the same balustrade, but when the last scenes of that row are compared to the first scenes of the bottom row there is very little sign of any actual agreement to be found. Only one thing is rather remarkable; we have noticed that before the last scene of the separate tale of the hermit with the dove, raven, deer and snake, comes a panel with a wishing-tree that I have already stated may probably not belong to the tales but is only intended for a partition. Such wishing-trees, we shall see, appear several times in the series now under discussion. There is no other resemblance to be found between the end of the other and the beginning of this series; one of the last tales we could understand anything of was one in which the Buddha played chief part, but Buddha-stories do not appear at all in this bottom row. We need not think because there are no visible signs of connection that these two series had nothing at all to do with each other, for in the series where the *Jātakamālā* is represented, many quite different sort of tales were placed together just as in the text, one after another without any transition, their only connection being that they were found in the same order as in Čūra's collection. Just in the same way the last story in the upper row may have been next door to the first of this row in some or other collection of *jātaka*'s. But this at any rate is not apparent; how the case stands on comparing the end of this series with the beginning of what is represented on the balustrade of the 2nd gallery, I shall explain later on.

We now come to the wishing-tree and the second question of whether this row forms one whole or is a chain of shorter tales. Not only the wishing-trees can be looked upon as probable partitions, but the small buildings that occur here and there as well; the latter, especially in connection with the fact, as I shall explain later, that on one of the higher balustrades the same little buildings seem to be used as partitions. We might be inclined to think that this too was the case when examining a

relief like no. 41, that shews plainly as the only animal story among human scenes; this panel is preceded as well as followed by a building, so that it looks as if the sculptor meant to shew that one lot ended with no. 40, no. 41 being put in as a single tale and no. 42 was the first of a new lot of stories. But on closer examination it turns out to be nothing of the kind. To the left of the building, on no. 40, we have a procession, that is flying through the air, something far too important to be intended as mere decoration for the separating panel, thus plainly shewing that the building plays a part in the story. And on no. 42, as far as we can judge, the same people are sitting near the building who appear afterwards; so here too we seem to have the beginning of a new story. The same with the other little buildings; there are some which might at first be considered as partitions but looked at closer they appear to find a place in the story¹⁾. I only refer to this as a possibility, the question must be left still undecided. Now for the wishing-trees; there is only one like no. 371 of the top row that stands quite alone on a relief; all the others are next to or among other scenes. If the sculptor intended to use them as a partition, we might expect that he would have made a rule of it and not put them in sometimes as partitions and sometimes as part of the scenes. On no. 36 it certainly figures in the story; the tree stands in the centre of a panel that is surely one scene, between a kinnara-pond and the persons who are turned towards it. From this it would be easy to conclude that we need not consider these trees as a partition; yet how far can we depend on the sculptors for anything like consistency? As in the case of the reliefs on the covered base (p. 76) we might think that the wishing-trees here too are intended to signify that the scene is transferred from earth to heaven and in several places that may actually be the case. But the just-mentioned kinnara-pond would probably not be found in heaven and the further scenes of this tale do not agree with this possibility. It is certainly safer not to draw any conclusions about this but merely state that sometimes the kalpadruma seems to be intended as a partition but elsewhere quite the reverse, and that occasionally it might indicate heaven, especially where the tree as in the reliefs on the covered base, has a couple of kinnara's with it.

Let us now take a short survey of the subjects of these reliefs. We begin with an enigma. On relief no. 2, van Erp has discovered the Kañcanakkhandha-jātaka, no. 56 of the Pāli-collection²⁾ and the chief sub-

¹⁾ Only on no. 61 there seems to be no connection between the preceding or following one.

²⁾ L. I. p. 83 sq.

ject of monument and text is undoubtedly the same; a labourer who while he is ploughing, finds a treasure. Of course there is variation in the details, it was not to be expected that the Barabaður would follow just the same tradition as that of the Southern church. But the difference is not only in the details; quite to the left separated by a rock from the ploughman, stands a figure without head and shoulders but whose remains, if I am not mistaken, resemble a monk and there is no monk in the Pāli tale. Still stranger it is that we cannot tell what to do with no. 1. Here is a dancing-girl displaying her art to an interested spectator, a scene that can certainly have no connection with the man ploughing in the jātaka. Still less does it agree with the last scene of the preceding series, the one with the hermit and the four animals. Thus we are obliged to consider, either that this relief with the dancing-girl is a story by itself, — which is quite possible but rather unlikely with such a small scene and so ordinary a subject — or that this tale differs very much from the Pāli-version and resembles it only in the one remarkable point of the man ploughing who finds a treasure. If the figure on the left in no. 2 is really a bhikṣu, this might have something to do with scene 4 and following, where a monk also appears. The intermediate one is only a conversation between two eminent men.

The scenes 4—6 certainly belong together. The chief person is in monk's dress, and seeing he dwells in a forest not an ordinary monk from a monastery, but one who is living in retirement. We see him first absorbed in meditation, then again on the second part of no. 4, with his right hand touching the top of his head while some eminent person carrying a bow and arrow and attended by servants stands before him; apparently a king out hunting has discovered him. The third scene (no. 5) shews most likely the same persons, the monk preaching to the king who sits in front of him with hands in śambhā. Finally on no. 6, we get the monk again preaching, this time sitting under a penthouse; only the last of his four listeners is visible, who as the snake headdress shews, is a nāga and I think the same can be said of the other three. The tale as we see is not difficult to follow, but the actual meaning cannot be discovered without a text.

After two much-damaged reliefs, the first shewing a distribution and the second a procession with an elephant in the middle of it, comes no. 9, a little more striking; a man who has lost the upper part of his body, perhaps a monk, stands on the left, separated by a large square chest from the group on the right, a woman on a throne in the midst of her attendants. Connected probably with this, at any rate very remarkable,

is no. 10. A woman is sitting in a pēndāpā with several other women before her; between the first and last-mentioned group there is placed an object that seems to be a frame with legs to it and apparently a skein of threads wound round it; it may also be a table with a lontar-book on it. It would be foolish to waste time in guessing about this curiosity, for the object is so indistinct and can only be given its right name when the text tells us what it is meant for, but we can be sure it was not put there merely as decoration but seeing its position, has something to do with the story. The women are noticeable for wearing no ornaments but garments reaching to their ankles with the hem hanging over the left shoulder, they are probably nuns, but as none of them has a head to shew us if they were shorn or not, their identity remains doubtful. They might be the ladies of the preceding scene who have here taken the veil, but this idea is not confirmed by what follows where no more nuns appear, nothing but a couple of court scenes and then no. 12, an unfinished panel, where a square parcel twice wound round is being handed over.

On no. 13 a bhikṣu appears again or perhaps three are taking part in the scene, though quite possibly they are not three separate individuals but the same man in three moments. On the extreme left we see him in meditation. In the middle he sits next to two small stūpa's placed on a rock under a tree ¹⁾; a snake is coming out of a hole in the rock perhaps only meant to indicate the wilderness, but possibly of more importance when we see the large snake four reliefs further on, where it is certainly playing a part, though of course there it might be quite a different story. The monk, or whoever it is, — he has lost his head and been rather knocked about but certainly wears no ornaments and his right shoulder is bare, — holds a rather large flat object that is unrecognisable on the relief. Finally he appears again quite on the right, now kneeling with hands in sēmbah. Why he kneels there doing homage we can not see, there is only a mass of rock with a round stool with open work sides on top of it, the sort used by brahmans as a seat. On that is a square pedestal but unfortunately just above, a large piece of the relief is missing, so that we do not know what has been on the pedestal, but just see there was a tree. The tale seems to be continued on no. 14; here besides the bhikṣu, two other persons appear, a man with a beard and a woman. This scene too gives three episodes. First we have the two together seated under a penthouse that has disappeared, the man is making a sēmbah to the monk

¹⁾ The custom of making small stūpa's of sweet-scented material containing quotations from the sūtra's (sometimes a large number of these were enclosed in a large stūpa, see Hiuen Tsiang, Beal II p. 146) will not here be meant.

who is coming with his almsbowl well-filled, it seems heavy to carry. In the centre episode the man and woman are seated opposite to the monk who is going to pour the contents of the pot over the old man. On the right we see the three persons again, all seated; the monk holds a vase in both hands (it is a different shape to the one he had before), the man is without a beard but that does not necessarily imply that he is some one else. Apparently no. 15 has nothing to do with the one before. It shews us a banquet where a party of men in full dress are about to dine off a large ball of rice with fish and side dishes. Again a monk on no. 16 that makes it almost look as if this might have some connection with the last reliefs. Here, a man in robes of ceremony is seated with his retinue in a pēndāpā and above is a rather injured male figure flying through the air, he has no ornaments and from the shape of his head seems to be a Buddha or a monk; the uṣṇīṣa, special mark of distinction between the two, cannot be distinguished. No. 17 is remarkable, most of the relief is occupied by a man talking to two women but the right hand side of it is a square space filled with trees and rocks in which a big snake is raising itself out of a hole. The serpent ought to be able to give some clue for unravelling the plot, but unfortunately he appears no more. In contrast to this, no 18 gives two scenes separated by a wishing-tree; on the left a conversation between an eminent man and two women and on the right several men in full dress with flowers and wreaths in their hand, flying away on clouds to the right, thus in the direction of the next relief and perhaps sharing its events. There too someone is on the wing; only the lower half of his person is visible, but it appears that he wears no monkish dress and is not likely to be the monk of no. 16. The man whom this being is going to visit is a king who lies stretched out on a couch surrounded by his retinue, some of whom are asleep. As a large piece is missing from the top of this relief, it is possible that there was more in the air than this one flying man.

Still less remains of no. 20, all we can see is that it represents chests and pots with all kinds of valuables being offered to some eminent man. After the very-dilapidated no. 21 with some men walking, follow several reliefs that are partly very much-damaged and partly rather inexpressive, they are the usual receptions and conservations shewing nothing for identification, until the text of the adjacent reliefs throws light on their meaning. I shall only mention that nos. 22 and 27 have wishing-trees, the former with kinnara's in the branches, the latter without; on no. 24 of which only the bottom part is left, there is an enormous pot on each side of the centre group, on no. 26

three small stūpa's are being worshipped. No. 30 gives the remains of several men, standing or walking, one of whom holds a drum in front of him; near him just in the middle of the scene, is an elephant. Perhaps this is a proclamation, but we can not tell from what follows, for no. 31—35 are all missing except a bit of no. 33.

With no. 36 we again find a story that can partly be followed on four or five reliefs. On the first mentioned is a king with his retinue going towards a pond full of plants and flowers with rocks round it; on two of the lotus-flowers stands a kinnara, one is a female and on the edge is another one. Between the king and the pond is a wishing-tree, and however we look at it, he is certainly not conversing with the kinnara. After a very unimportant no. 37, two well-dressed men talking perhaps about the discovery of the kinnara pond, we see another journey thereto, the chief person now seated in a chariot and pair followed by an armed escort; he is going to the right where the dilapidated half of the relief shews traces of rocks and trees but no pond is to be seen; if this is an excursion to the pond then we have the journey into the wilderness but not the arrival. The righthand half of no. 39 gives us the pond again with rocks, lotuses and trees; the kinnara's are on the extreme right, one pair to be seen on the ground and a second rather higher on the rocks. The last pair seem to have a jewel-pot between them and must have stood on either side of a wishing-tree, the rest of which has disappeared with the top part of the relief so that we cannot tell if there were any more kinnara's. The left side of the relief, next to the pond without anything dividing, is not clearly to be assigned either as a scene on the shore of the pond or some incident taking place elsewhere and only put here because of the sequence of the tale; it shews a man in royal robes seated in the midst of a company of women to whom he seems to be relating something. As the apartment is closed on the side of the lotuspond it looks as if the two parts of the relief have nothing to do with each other. Whether no. 40 belongs to this tale does not appear, but it has little connection with no. 41 and goes better with no. 39. On the left is a chariot and pair with some eminent man seated therein, flying through the air towards the right attended by his hovering retinue; on the right with rocks and trees between stands a building with three kneeling worshippers, probably the destination of the flying party.

No. 41 brings us suddenly into the animal-world. On the left, some cattle lying under the trees; in the middle separated by a gateway in the rock is a bull confronted by a lion standing on his hind legs, evidently ready to attack; then beyond that to the right is a bull quietly grazing.

Tales of cattle and lions are to be found in Buddhist literature but none of them fit in with this; such as the famous story of the friendship between these two animals, or the one preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka ¹⁾ of the man who sacrifices his whole herd because one is devoured by a lion ²⁾. It is not very likely that the three parts of the relief represent one scene, how can we believe that if one of the herd was attacked by a lion, the others would remain placidly resting and grazing as those on both sides of this relief are doing ³⁾? If I may venture for once to explain without the authority of a text it would be as follows: first the cattle are resting peacefully in their grazing ground in the forest; next a lion attacks one of them, the Bodhisattva of course who persuades his assailant with edifying words to cease from his purpose; thirdly, when the lion has gone away tamed, the bull calmly continues his meal. This is mere supposition, there are no means of verification, only so much is certain that the whole tale is told on this one relief and nothing is to be expected from the adjacent ones.

The panels now following require no more than a rapid mention of their chief contents. No. 42, a building with several monks in a pēṇḍāpā, an eminent man who has commanded a dancing-girl to perform before him on no. 43, a company of men in full-dress, probably heavenly-ones flying through the air on no. 44; a temple building with a couple of worshippers, two monks and a layman, on no. 45; and an eminent man taking a journey in a chariot attended by an armed escort on no. 46. Then come three scenes of receptions at court or conversations of which no. 49 has an elephant with his mahaut and no. 48 a brahman with whom the king is discoursing.

No. 50 shews something really characteristic that should be of great use in identifying the whole. In front of a figure in official dress sitting on the left, are several plainly-dressed brahmans on the right, some of them holding on to a duck with both hands. We are at once reminded of the tale in Avadānaçataka no. 60, where the king of Pāñcāla sends a present of 500 geese to his colleague of Koçala ⁴⁾. This relief might depict the offering of the gift, but we cannot accept the idea that only one relief would have been given to this story, — it is hardly credible that the sculptor would have got off so easily — and it becomes evident directly that what follows does not agree with the Avadānaçataka tale. In the

¹⁾ Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes* II (1911) no. 273 p. 182.

²⁾ In the Chinese tale it is a tiger.

³⁾ The monkeys on p. 431 however shew that this argument is not conclusive.

⁴⁾ Compare *Der Weise und der Thor* no. 48.

text we are told how the king of Koçala received the birds just as he was going to the Jetavana and how he immediately gave orders for their release, giving them the opportunity of hearing the Buddha preach and so being born again among the gods. On the monument however the ducks do not appear again but on no. 51 we see that another well-dressed man is watching a dancer; on no. 52 comes a scene with bhikṣu's who are sitting in a pēṇḍāpā talking to some women; no. 53 shews a man in official dress next to whom sits a nurse with a small child on her knee, and no. 54 is the worship of a stūpa.

The worship of stūpa's appears several times on the following reliefs, so we must conclude the paying of homage to be important in this part of the text. In between we get inexpressive scenes, that is to say what we see of them, without knowing what fine things there may have been on the pieces that are lost; most of them shew a man in full dress with his retinue. Exceptions are no. 61, a monk near a building; no. 68 where some men are going towards a building and no. 71 and 72 which I shall describe further on. The whole gives us not so much the impression of *one* tale in which several instances of stūpa-worship appear, something in the style of the Stūpāvadāna (no. 57) in Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, but something more like a series of similar stories in each of which homage to a stūpa is the climax. As regards this point it may be useful to refer to the same phenomenon in the 7th decade of the Avadānaçataka¹⁾. All these tales relate how a son is born into an eminent Çākya family with some or other marvellous attribute, such as beauty, odour, voice or suchlike, and when grown-up, he meets the Buddha, is consecrated and soon attains his arhat-ship. Then the Master explains this as the result of stūpa-worship done by the young man in a former existence to the stūpa of a former Buddha. This of course cannot be the series displayed on the monument for there is nothing to be seen of Buddha or monks, though that does not prevent there being resemblance with the stories in the Avadānaçataka; we might reckon that in case text and monument could be traced to a distant common origin they are in one or in both cases altered beyond recognition. One point of agreement is that the text relates nearly every time a different manner of doing homage to the stūpa and the reliefs to shew various ways of worship, with perfume, flowers, music, dishes of offerings etc. This might of course be the sculptor's longing for variety, but it may just as well be his picture of what the text describes.

¹⁾ Also in the Dvāviṃṣatyāvadānamālā.

The righthand side of no. 71 already referred to, gives a forest in the wilderness with four deer on the extreme right. On the left a troop of men are approaching, armed with bow and arrows, evidently a hunting-party just coming into the forest. There are tales enough about hunting the deer but it is also possible that these may be only decorative creatures; if so, this might be a troop of highwaymen in action that may be connected with no. 72. This relief is divided into three episodes, the two first scenes are in the midst of rocks and trees. On the left sits a bhikṣu conversing with a woman in fashionable clothes; in the centre they are walking together, surely the same persons, the monk in front, the woman with a flower in her hand following, both walking to the right. Possibly the third scene is their destination, where two monks are sitting beside a small temple-building, the one at the back with a book in his hand. Considering everything it seems to me not unlikely that in no. 71—72 we may have a different version of the story preserved in the Cullanārada-jātaka, no. 477 of the Pāli-collection; another version, still more unlike the reliefs, we know in Jātaka no. 348. For the story as given in Jāt. no. 477, see below ¹⁾. No. 73 is the last stūpa-worship for some time.

The two reliefs 74 and 75 we can connect with the story on 76 of the great fish who sacrifices himself for his starving people. This tale is preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka ²⁾ and Sung Yun also alludes to it ³⁾; I shall give the version from the Avadānaçataka no. 31 that very much resembles the one in the Tibetan translation of "Der Weise und der Thor",

¹⁾ The Bodhisattva as well-to-do brahman, became a hermit after the death of his wife and carried off his infant son into the wilderness. Years afterwards a band of robbers came through the forest with a beautiful woman among their booty. She found a way to escape and reached the hut where the hermits lived; only the son was at home and she soon managed to turn the innocent young man's head and even persuade him to forsake the life monastic and go with her to live in a village. But the youth first wanted to take leave of his father, so the woman afraid to meet the old hermit, went on ahead and the young man promised to follow. At the sight of female footprints the Bodhisattva on his return understood what had happened and was able by wise counsel to convince his son that a hermits life is the best. So they continued in the ways of meditation until they achieved re-birth into the heaven of Brahma. Now we can accept no. 71 to be the robbers and no. 72 the meeting between the young hermit and the woman somewhere in the forest, their journey to his hut and finally father and son at the close of the episode. But what about the woman being absent on no. 71, the monk figures of the hermits, the book, the fine temple so unlike any hermits cell and the omission of the concluding discourse between father and son, for they are surely *not* in conversation on the righthand scene. Considering all this, the differences I think are too many to justify anything more than a suggestion of the possibility of some connection between the Barabudur story and the jātaka.

²⁾ Chavannes I.I. no. 3 (second tale).

³⁾ Beal, Si-yu-ki I (1884) p. CII.

as given by Schmidt ¹⁾. I select this one because it relates something of the prologue, how the Bodhisattva as king seeks a remedy for the threatened famine and decides to sacrifice himself in order to become a large fish; of course neither the suicide nor the fish-devouring is depicted, but as long as no other connected explanation is forthcoming for no. 74 and 75, we may suppose that they represent this prologue: on no. 74 the king is discussing the famine question, on no. 75 he is ready for the sacrifice and on no. 76 he has actually become a fish.

After two reliefs that must be left unidentified, no. 77 a king strolling in a wood with several women, and no. 78 two kings in converse, both with attendants, we get no. 79, one of those that has been identified by Van Erp ²⁾ as the story of the hare and the hermit, tale no. 37 in the Avadānaçataka. The version there given has been faithfully followed, in contrast to the way it is represented again on the balustrade of the second gallery. We shall discuss this question in explaining the reliefs; the story we are now reviewing I shall call the second 'story of the hare' and that on the second balustrade, the third; as first one I take the Çaçā-jātaka of the Jātakamālā, though the same name does not include the same contents, for as we have seen (p. 328 sq.), besides the hare and the brahman who is Cakra, an otter, a jackal and a monkey appear.

Just as on the balustrade of the second gallery, the whole story is given on one relief, for no. 80 is something quite different and very remarkable, not so much for the possibility of finding a text for it but as regards the customs of the Hindu-Javanese. The left of the two scenes on this relief is quite ordinary; an eminent man seated with a woman on a dais, holds out his hand to receive something that has become quite unrecognisable, from a man standing before him or, as is also possible, the man seated has just handed the object to the other. On the right are three men well-dressed sitting on a dais at both sides of which are some armed attendants. Between two of them we see a very curious object, a rectangular board set on end on which is drawn an oblong figure with the long sides curving inwards, and a rosette at the centre, while the whole figure is divided into spaces of equal width by one vertical line and several horizontal ones. In front of the person sitting on the left, are two small square blocks beside which are some disks, not round but wide at the base and going to a point at the top; there are some as well in front of the other person and at the lower end of the board.

¹⁾ On page 216.

²⁾ In above-mentioned article, p. 96—98.

This in my opinion is the board for the game of dice and will be the only clear and authentic example of such an object as used in the Hindu-Javanese period. We must of course imagine it laid horizontally between the two men, but as in that position the spectator would see nothing of it, the sculptor, as usual in such cases, has turned it up on end to shew the whole thing and we must appreciate his ignorance of perspective. The two little square blocks will be of course the dice and the disks are to be placed on the spaces according to the throws of the dice just like the game of backgammon. The two men on either side of the board are the players, the third, sitting behind the man on the right, holds up both arms probably in astonishment at the throw just made, for we must consider this game of chance to be a very important one with some great issue at stake for the players; the sculptor surely means to shew this. We know of the famous game of dice by which the Pāṇḍava's lost all they possessed and curiously enough this too is represented on a temple in Java though not very distinctly. The same as on Barabudur it is no affair of pitch and toss to settle the matter with one throw, but a game is depicted with a board on which small objects are to be seen, probably the stakes, but possibly some transition towards what the later Javanese wayang made, giving a game of chess instead of dice. The example referred to is found on the temple of Jajaghu relief no. 160—161 and was identified by Van Stein Callenfels¹⁾; it is as I mentioned, very indistinct, especially because part of the board is hidden behind the pillars of the pēndāpā. We cannot be too grateful for the stroke of luck that on a damaged relief of a dilapidated series on the Barabudur, this scene of dice-playing has been preserved in such excellent condition, giving us a valuable document for the culture of that period. With regard to the fact that nearly all the tales of the 4th decade of the Avadānaçataka appear on the Barabudur, it seems to me rather likely we here have no. 39 of that text, in which a game of dice is the chief incident.

On no. 81 we see from left to right, an eminent man sitting with attendants, and a servant kneeling before him, a standing elephant with a flag in his headgear; three men standing and some seated attendants. This arrangement makes it look as if the elephant is of importance to the scene, not as generally, only put in as decoration to a royal court or procession. The next relief has completely disappeared and on no. 83 the scene on the left, a conversation, is half gone and the right shews pots

¹⁾ See Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 58 (1918) p. 366 sq.

and bales like sugar bags, stored in a pēṇḍāpā with some servants sitting beside them. No. 84 gives some monks in a pēṇḍāpā next to a small temple-like building, a scene such as we have had several times already and shall see more of, sometimes with one and sometimes with more monks. In a case like this where there are no adjacent scenes with monks, we may be inclined to wonder if we here have to do with a continually-recurring motif that does not really belong to the tales but is placed in between as a partition or an ornament. The same can be said as I remarked (p. 441) about the small buildings and wishing-trees; we can hardly think that the same picture should sometimes belong to the text and sometimes not; and as this kind of panel here and there does belong to the stories depicted, it is safer to make no distinction between the decorative and not-decorative bhikṣu-scenes, but until the contrary has been proved, consider these panels as belonging in some way or other to the text.

Among the conversations and receptions that now follow we see on no. 86 on the right, four men standing, one holding a padma of very large size, while one of the others has a flower stalk that is broken off; on no. 87 at the extreme right at the back, a person with short curling hair is sitting, such style of hair as generally belongs to yakṣa's and rākṣasa's but without their large round earrings and with a face too damaged to shew if it had the required savage expression. On no. 88 behind, is an elephant, to judge by its position only put there as decoration. Then no. 89 is remarkable as the only Barabūḍur relief where the gambang is depicted. The instrument, not much decorated, is on the right, being played by a man with a high tiara, evidently a person of rank; without the text, it is impossible to make out whether the gambang-players were really high-born persons or perhaps only by accident in this story some lordly being is playing the instrument¹). Two other players sit behind him, one beating with two drumsticks on an indistinct object, probably a gong, and one with the bell on a curved pole that also appears elsewhere, the sound being made by means of a small stick. This orchestra is playing for a party of dancers performing on the left, no less than nine persons; in other places we always see only female dancers, but here that appears not to be the case; though the loss of all their heads and breasts makes distinction very difficult, some of these figures can hardly be anything but men. Besides the variation in dancers and accompaniment there is another difference to the usual dance-scenes, for here we find no king or important person who looks on at the performance, so this

¹) Something of the kind is related in Nāgarakṛtāgama 91 : 5 about king Hayam Wuruk's father, at least if Kern's interpretation is correct.

scene must mean something more than the ordinary display of dancing. With no. 90 we have, after a long interval, another stūpa-worship.

On no. 91 we see an eminent man with his retinue and a female servant with a child on her knee. The presence of the child makes it probable that this belongs to no. 92, where a man and woman of high rank are sitting in a pēṇḍāpā with a child a little older than the first one. On the right is a second pēṇḍāpā with nothing in it but a large cushion laid between two incensories, on the cushion lies a large lotus with other lotuses around it, while smaller flowers are falling down from the sky. We should like to know what is the meaning of this cushion but the relief following tells us nothing, for no. 93 gives only some men who are going towards a small temple-building, some of them with flowers in their hands; next to it sits a bhikṣu, also holding a flower. A monk too is chief person on no. 94, he sits in the place of honor preaching to a very distinguished congregation, a king with his retinue. The position of the monk on such a high cushion in a pēṇḍāpā might make us think that he is the person for whom a seat of honor was prepared on no. 92; the pēṇḍāpā is of another style and the incensories have disappeared, but that does not make it impossible, though without any means of identification this must remain mere supposition.

On no. 95 a child appears again and the relief has another striking figure. In a pēṇḍāpā on the one side sits a man whose face is knocked off with a woman holding a very small child on her knee; the man does not wear the high headdress of highborn persons and seems to have had a beard, for which two reasons he is probably not the father of the child but more likely a brahman who is there to draw the child's horoscope. On the other side of the scene is a palace within a palissade with a separate gateway. In front of this gateway stands the most remarkable figure of the relief, a woman holding in her right hand the stem of a red lotus growing out of the root next to her. Just above the lotus we see a cloud from out of which thick streaks of rain are falling only on to the flower, not on anything else in the relief. This phenomenon when found in some text or other, should undoubtedly lead to the identification of this story.

No. 96 a conversation and no. 97 a monk beside a building can be passed by and we come to no. 98. On the right on a dais in a pēṇḍāpā, a woman kneels with hands in sēmbah and there is a pot in front of her; to the left of this stands a second person opposite a bhikṣu who is holding up his almsbowl, this second person has no head or bust so that we can not see if it is a man or woman who is just going to put some round ob-

ject into the almsbowl. Further to the left after the bhikṣu, stands an elephant with its head towards the monk; the rest of the space on the left of the relief is occupied by some very poorly-dressed kneeling and sitting persons, that look like humble folk out of the streets where the monk is collecting alms. The front one of these has something that looks like a ribbon in his hands and as the elephant's tail comes just in the same place, it seems as if he is going to wind the ribbon round the animal's tail. Whether this is intention or it only appears so by chance, is altogether undiscernible, just as the whole scene has become incomprehensible by the loss of the upper part in its whole length. The elephant does not appear again, only the monk. On no. 99 on the right, is a palace or temple-like building where there is just room enough in the righthand corner for a monk with a red lotus. From the other side another monk approaches also carrying a padma but a remarkably large one. As this is very near the top of the relief it cannot be intended as a cushion for something else. Some laymen come after the bhikṣu, they are all headless, two of them carry a moneybag. After this scene comes another woman with a child on her knee, on the very badly damaged no. 100. On no. 101 two groups of men are going to the right, between which, in the middle of the scene appear two standards; one is planted in the ground and the other, that bears a cakṛa with a small jewel above it, is held up by a dilapidated dwarfish figure. Then comes no. 102, a stūpa worship.

No. 103 is terribly damaged, only the remains of a conversation are to be seen, next, no. 104, has some bhikṣu's and some men with hair fastened up in a round shape on top of their head, sitting next to a building; between two of the monks we can see a dish with something smooth in it and a flower lying on top, hovering in the air; as none of them seem to notice this apparition, it may be that its attachment to the earth has been obliterated or perhaps the sculptor has forgotten to supply it. On no. 105 an elephant, followed by several men who have lost their heads as well as their headdresses, are meeting with two bhikṣu's. Among the men is one much smaller than the others. Then no. 106 shews a scene of worshipping a monument, not a stūpa this time, but a building with a heavy cornice above a middle part divided in panels, its roof being a cone or pyramid in shape. It is possible something may have been on the point of this, yet it seems unlikely, for the relief was no higher, so the top could only be imagined.

No. 107 brings us among the potters. Under a penthouse we see nine pots neatly placed in three rows one above the other; a man and woman

sit beside them, the man holding a tenth pot. Some of the other people sitting on the relief have pots in their hands which they appear to be working at with some oblong flat tool. In the background stand two carriers with lumps of clay or gourds on their carrying-poles, probably bringing material or water, unless it might be refreshment in the way that is still customary in Bali. There are a couple of pots again on no. 108 put one above the other under a tree. A man under a canopy, as far as we can see a brahman, sits conversing with another dressed much the same, who is sitting on the ground before him; behind this man are the pots and behind the pots two women who seem to belong to him. I cannot be sure if either or both of these men are brahmans, though there is nothing to shew they are not. The next relief gives stūpa-worship and no. 110 several monks who with a couple of laymen are sitting in a pēṇ-dāpā near a building; several of the monks have large books (or what looks like them) in their hand.

It will not be the sculptors fault that no text has yet been found to identify no. 111, for the principal figures are distinct enough. A deer is couching among rocks and trees, it faces the left with its head slightly turned away. Opposite to this stands a horse quite above the rocks, it is ready saddled and has reins and stirrups but no rider; the animal holds back with its feet put together as if refusing to go further, this may be only the result of stiffness in the execution, but on the whole this animal is a far better specimen than the inferior horses depicted elsewhere on the monument. Behind the horse two men are standing, both headless, but one of which seems to be adorned like a king and must be the royal owner of the horse. The other, more plainly dressed, stands beside him with upraised arms; the hands have disappeared with his head so that we cannot see his gesture. Then come some men standing with bow and arrows, the king's attendants on the hunting-party. The course of the tale will be most likely that the king goes hunting on horseback with his servants and so comes to the place where the deer, who is of course the Bodhisattva, lives in the forest. The rest of the tale remains unknown, because however many stories we have of kings who go deer-hunting, there is none in which the monarch's horse plays a part. No. 112 throws no light on the subject for it is merely stūpa-worship. No. 113 and 114 are sorely damaged; no. 115 is entirely missing. On no. 116 some lady of rank is receiving eight male guests all in full dress. Then on no. 117 we get some nuns; two sitting on a seat under a canopy, separated by a bowl of flowers from a third who sits on a mat in front of them with some waiting-women with vases of flowers behind her.

This resembles the scene from the *Rudrāyaṇāvadāna* (p. 291), the consecration of a *bhikṣuṇī*; the one seated on the ground will be the new sister, the other two under the canopy, the required quorum. On no. 118 we get a *stūpa*-worship by women; on the damaged no. 119 again a child on the knee of one of its nurses. On no. 120 only a large party of men seated, listening attentively to a preacher; no. 121—123 are missing and a corner with a couple of women, is all that remains of no. 124.

The last four reliefs are more or less complete. No. 125 is a procession, mostly women on the way to a building where a monk(?) kneels in *sēm-bah*. No. 126 has two scenes; on the left a brahman is in converse with two colleagues, on the right a woman seated under a canopy is addressing some other women sitting on the ground, their hair twisted up into a knot without any headdress. They have *lontar*-leaves in their hand and appear to be attending a lecture; the teacher has some indistinct sort of rod in her right hand. No. 127 is a kind of repetition of no. 117, but here it is on a larger scale. We see three nuns with a dish of wreaths with the smoke of perfume rising from it in front of them, opposite to a fourth behind whom several servants are sitting. This too is very likely the consecration of a nun. The last scene no. 128 shews us two nuns seated either side of an incense-burner, each holding a *kropak*.

We see plainly from all this, that this series of reliefs has a distinct type; there are so many tales of *stūpa*-worship and scenes with monks and nuns among the stories. More than elsewhere, what is here found shews signs of a cyclus of tales depicting either the time after Buddha's death or the time of some former Buddha, but certainly in the period of an established Buddhist creed. All the same there is not the least sign of any classification; just as among the series on the chief wall the *Rudrāyaṇāvadāna* is given, a tale from the time of the historic Buddha, we here find among all sorts of other tales, again animal-lives of the *Bodhisattva*. Though here and there it looks as if there were some intention of putting those of the same kind together, it is never carried on out and the text as a whole remains heterogenous.

I shall now describe the separate reliefs.

1. not identified ¹⁾.

The story of the Treasure-seeker (Jātaka no. 56)

Once upon a time the *Bodhisattva* appeared in the world as a labourer

¹⁾ Described in the Dutch edition p. 413.

in a village. One day he was ploughing in a field on which there had once been a village, when the plough struck on a bar of gold which long ago had been buried there by a rich merchant before he died. Thinking it must be the root of a tree that had stopped the plough, the Bodhisattva dug up the obstacle and when he saw what it was he rubbed it clean. When his day's work was done he put away his plough and tried to take the treasure home with him, but it was too heavy even to lift up. Then he considered how he might divide it into four portions, one piece would be enough for the cost of living, a second he would bury again, use a third to start a business, while the fourth should be spent in charity and good works. This he did; the bar was divided so that he could carry it home and after a life spent in benevolence he died.

2. *The finding of the treasure and the use made of it*

As I remarked above (p. 442) the difficulty about this is that although the finding of the treasure is most plainly shewn on the relief, the rest of the story according to the Southern tradition corresponds very little with the version followed on the monument.

On the extreme left, separated from the rest of the relief by rocky ground planted with trees, is a figure standing, without head or bust, who looks like a monk with the almsbowl held in his right hand. On the other side of the rocks comes the ploughing scene; the labourer behind his plough drawn by two oxen, has just struck on the treasure that here is not a bar of gold but a wellfilled pot with rings rolling out of it. This difference, unimportant in itself, does not agree with the rest of the tale about the bar of gold that was to be divided in four¹), though we might allow that the contents of this pot being too heavy for the ploughman to take home with him, could also have been divided. Further to the right is a quite unfinished figure of a man, pointing to a dish before him containing what appear to be moneybags against a round background. On the other side of this dish two men are standing with indistinct objects in their hand and a third has a large pot. Whether this has anything to do with the dividing into four parts (on the dish and in the hands of the three men) is very doubtful; if what is here represented is meant to agree with what the text relates, then it is not made very

¹) The representations of this jātaka at Sukhodaya in Siam (Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, Ann. Mus. Guim. 31, II, 1908, pl. 27) and Pagān in Burma (Grünwedel, *Buddh. Stud. Veröffentlich. a. d. Königl. Mus. für Völkerk.* 5, 1897, abb. 27 p. 19) shew it plainly as a cylindrical bar.

clear. It looks more likely that the text used on the monument was in this respect a different one to that of the jātaka. Meanwhile let us not forget that the absence of nearly the whole upper part of this relief makes the explanation more difficult than usual; so we must not lay all the blame on the sculptor.

3—73. not identified ¹⁾; no. 23, 31, 32, 34, 35, 57, 58 and 64 are missing.

The story of Padmaka
(Avadānaçataka no. 13; I p. 168—172).

Long ago, there lived in Benares a just and powerful king, named Padmaka. Now it happened that a sickness broke out there which made all its victims turn yellow. The king at once called all the doctors in his kingdom together to study this disease and take measures to cure it with care and treatment, but all their efforts were useless. Then the monarch sent again for the doctors and inquired how it was his arrangements were not successful. The doctors replied there was only one thing that could help and that was to feed on the flesh of the great Rohita fish. People were at once sent out to catch this fish, but no one succeeded. The king while walking through his city was assailed with cries for help by his suffering subjects, but he was powerless to succour them. Moved by compassion he came to the conclusion that life and government were of no value to him any more, when others were doomed to suffer and he could give no assistance. He decided to sacrifice himself, gave up his throne and all his possessions and mounted the terrace of his palace. After burning incense and strewing flowers and unguents, he uttered the wish that as truly as he sacrificed his life at the sight of such suffering, so truly he might be re-born as the fish Rohita. Thereupon he threw himself down off the terrace and appeared again as the fish Rohita. The gods proclaimed it throughout the kingdom that the Rohita had appeared at last and soon numbers of people came with knives and sharp instruments and began to cut pieces off the fish to cure their sickness. In this manner he fed his people for twelve years with his own flesh and blood keeping his mind fixed on the highest Bodhi. When at last the plague had abated, he lifted up his voice and declared that he was king Padmaka who had sacrificed himself for them and in the same way when he became Buddha would lead them to Nirvāṇa as well. All the company present, king, ministers

¹⁾ Described in the Dutch edition p. 415—430.

and courtiers brought offerings of flowers, incense, garlands and ointments, doing homage to their benefactor and uttered the wish that when Padmaka had become Buddha they might become his hearers ¹).

74. The king takes counsel over the sickness or famine

The condition of the relief, the upper part of which is gone and the rest much worn, makes it impossible to state more than that a consultation is going on; according to the Tibetan version this might be the moment when the king hears the prophecy or the episode of the great council when the fatal news of the food-shortage is brought and the organisation of the distribution becomes useless; if we follow the Avadānaçataka tale then of course the conference with the doctors is meant. The king sits on the left between two women on a dais, while waiting-women can be seen in the lefthand corner. A dish is placed next to him on the other side of which sits a man who is conversing with the king, but we cannot see now if he is one of the brahman soothsayers or a consulting official of the one meeting or one of the doctors in the other conference. A good number of other men are sitting further to the right, these too may just as well be courtiers hearing the prophecy as doctors or officials.

75. The king about to sacrifice himself

Here we are not shewn the park with the slumbering retinue; nor is of course the king's death actually depicted. If this relief belongs to the story of the fish it can only represent the king on the terrace of his palace before he hurls himself down. It is a corner panel with a tree in the middle. Some courtiers are sitting on the lefthand part, the foremost makes a sēmbah. In the background there have been some trees, so these people must be somewhere out-of-doors. The righthand side gives only the king seated on a seat with a back in a niche, quite alone, his hands

¹) The differences in the Tibetan story (Der Weise und der Thor, no. 26) are as follows: first, the king is warned by soothsayers of a twelve years drought; so he gathers his vassals and high officials together to consult over the means for averting the inevitable famine, but it appears that their store of grain is insufficient, however carefully it is managed. Famine breaks out and the people are dying. The king retires with his retinue into a park and when the others have fallen asleep, he climbs into a tree and throws himself down uttering the wish that he may be born again as a large fish, so large that it will feed all his people. This comes to pass; five woodcutters see him and he calls to them with a human voice to come and satisfy their hunger and tell their starving neighbours about him. In this way he feeds his former subjects for twelve years, which so excites their sympathy and devotion that they themselves attain the state of gods.

laid in his lap in the attitude of meditation. The upper part is missing; on the right we see just one flower falling down, surely a sign of the homage and approval of the gods over the Bodhisattva's heroic decision.

76. *The Bodhisattva as the great fish*

The water of a river is flowing among the rocks and trees on the right edge of the relief. In this the big fish is swimming to the left, he is almost on top of the water and one small fish accompanies him. If this is meant for decoration then it is quite misleading, but if not, the sculptor must have had some other version of the tale than what we know of. Above the fish a cloud can be seen; flowers are falling from it and floating on the water. On the left are three persons, one stands up to his ankles in the water, the other two on the bank, kneeling and standing. It looks as if these men were doing homage and by the gesture of the kneeling one we might think he is offering something. Most probably this means the grateful homage of the people rescued from famine. We might even think that the man kneeling had already received a portion of the flesh, only this seems far too realistic for the sculptors, they would never draw the spectator's attention to anything so painful, even though it was the easiest way of depicting the sacrifice. The relief on this part is so indistinct that we can only leave it undecided.

77 and 78 not identified ¹⁾.

The (second) story of the hare (Avadānaçataka no. 37; I p. 206—212).

In a remote mountain district lived a ṛṣi who fed himself on fruit and roots, drank only water and brought offerings to the fire. This ṛṣi had made friends with a hare who spoke with a human voice, it came to see him three times a day and they discoursed about all kinds of things. Once there came a great drought in the land, the springs gave no more water, the trees bore no fruit. One day the hare noticed that his friend was preparing to go away and asked where he was going to. The ṛṣi explained that he was obliged to settle in some inhabited part of the world, where he could ask alms to support himself. The hare was very grieved at the thought of their separation and begged the ṛṣi to change his mind, for life in the forest was so much better than living in the world. The ṛṣi would not agree to this, but only promised to put off his depart-

¹⁾ Described in the Dutch edition p. 432.

ure for one day. When the day's work was done and the time for their meal was near, the hare appeared as usual and making the *pradakṣiṇā* round the ṛṣi asked his forgiveness if he had ever done him any wrong, then he suddenly sprang into the fire. Terrified at the sight, the ṛṣi laid hold of the hare and pulled him out asking him why he did that. The hare replied that he meant to give his body to his friend for food so that he could continue to live in the forest. Much moved by this the ṛṣi declared that he would rather sacrifice his own life by remaining in the forest in spite of the scarcity of food. Then the hare raised his head to heaven and uttered a prayer: "As truly as while I have lived in this forest my mind has always been satisfied with the solitary life, so truly may *Çakra* let rain fall in this place!" At these words rain fell immediately and the hermitage was soon rich with plants and fruit. "For what reason," asked the ṛṣi, "do you consecrate yourself to compassion?" The hare replied: "So that I may at last become a Buddha in this blind world of suffering."

79. *The ṛṣi, the hare, the fire and the shower of rain*

The whole tale is collected into one relief in which, as tradition required, the climax of the story, the spring into the fire, is not depicted but only suggested and the spectator is not shocked. The whole scene is of course a forest landscape with trees and plants, several animals and rocks here and there. On the left the two friends sit opposite one another, each on a slab of rock; the ṛṣi in ordinary hermit costume, coarse necklace, loincloth, hair twisted in a knot above the headband and hanging loose at the back. Behind him are his trident, waterbottle and foodbowl. Besides the hare, whose unnaturally long tail van Erp has already remarked on ¹⁾, there are other animals; a quadruped with a pointed snout and long bushy tail under the hermit's seat, two deer couching in front of the hare's seat and a squirrel climbing a tree. Some birds are perched in the trees. To the right of this group and in the middle of the relief, is the fire that indicates the sacrifice, flaming up from some blocks of wood. Finally on the right we see the miraculous shower of rain. The hare again sits on a piece of rock, above, heavy clouds hang in the air and from them the rain streams down in thick lines. In front of the hare are two peacocks, birds that Indian literature always describes as longing most of all creatures for rain which they announce by their screams.

¹⁾ I.I. p. 97 sq.

The story of Anāthapiṇḍada
(Avadānaçataka no. 39; I p. 223—226).

The Bodhisattva appeared once as the son of a just and powerful king of Benares and he assisted his father to rule the kingdom. In the spring, the prince with a retinue of the ministers' sons set off to amuse themselves in the forest. One of his companions began a game of dice with someone else. The minister's son lost and the other man won a sum of five hundred purāṇa's. As the prince's attendant was not able to pay, the prince stood surety for him. When asked to supply the money, the Bodhisattva refused because as son of the king he did not consider himself obliged to do so¹). (For this reason when he had become the Buddha, his creditor, reborn as brahman demanded payment, which was made by the minister's son reborn as Anāthapiṇḍada).

80. *The game of dice*

For a detailed description of the remarkable object in this relief, a Hindu-Javanese dice game, the reader is referred to p. 449. I shall here restrict myself to a concise review of the relief as a whole. It consists of two scenes placed together without partition, the one on the left has lost nearly the whole length of its upper part. On a decorated dais, left, a man and woman are seated with two waiting-women, one holding a small dish, in the lefthand corner behind their mistress. The man holds out his hand probably to receive something from another man who stands in front of him, without head and shoulders, and seems to be offering something with both hands outstretched. Behind him some courtiers are sitting, one of them holding a leaf-fan and the last with face turned towards the spectator so as to connect in a way the two scenes. On the righthand also on a dais, are seated two men with a backgammon board between them; the dice are in front of one, both have stakes before them and there are some on the board as well. Behind the righthand player sits a third well-dressed man lifting his arm as if in astonishment. On both sides of the dais two servants are sitting on the ground, one of each pair has a sword. The servants on the left look very plain with only a cap on their heads with a broad band. If my supposition is correct that the Avadānaçataka tale is here depicted, then there being three men at the game is accounted for; they are the two players and

¹) This particular is taken from the Tibetan version, mentioned in Feer's translation, p. 150.

the prince who is to stand surety. The scene on the left however remains rather doubtful, either it is an episode unknown to our version of the tale, or it is something of slight importance, some scene shewing the Bodhisattva at his father's court, though this is not a very satisfactory explanation.

81 and following not identified¹⁾; 82, 115, and 121—123 are missing.

SECOND GALLERY, BALUSTRADE

The series of short edifying tales, after taking up the first gallery, is continued on the second and there comes to an end; on the chief wall of this gallery as well as on the balustrade of the following one, we shall find tales of an entirely different sort. I have already stated that the text illustrated on the balustrade of the second gallery is also unknown to us, so we are just as ignorant whether we now have before us a new collection of similar stories or the rest of one and the same large body of avadāna's and jātaka's, portioned out to the various series, in which case the one we are about to discuss is a continuation of those on the balustrade of the first gallery and the division is merely the result of the peculiar conditions of the space available on the monument for these stories. However it may be, it is very plain that the nature and manner of treatment of the tales on both balustrades is quite the same: short stories of human beings as well as animals, and only a few reliefs given to each.

Not many of the tales have been identified, there being no text that might have thrown light on the less-striking reliefs. We are not even able to lay hands on the clue that would explain such very striking incidents as appear in the story shewn on no. 39 and the following ones with tigers and hermits. What makes the task more difficult too is the damage this series has suffered. One quarter (26 of the 100) is entirely missing and the rest are many of them very much mutilated. We must not be ungrateful, for it is astonishing, considering the state of this balustrade before the restoration, that three quarters of it are now before us. Its salvation was achieved principally by Van Erp whose unceasing efforts in search of reliefs supposed to be lost and whose skill in replacing them and piecing this series together cannot be overestimated.

The great number of commonplace scenes has already been remarked. A second fact that catches the attention immediately is the presence of so many brahmans. Of course all those that look like brahmans, may

¹⁾ Described in the Dutch edition, p. 434—444.

not actually be so, in the scenes crowded with figures their size is of necessity small, so that it is not always possible to find the distinctive marks of these persons; carelessness on the sculptors' part must be allowed for and we must not forget that details were not of so much consequence to people who knew the story, as to us who do not and can be so easily led astray by some detail in what seems to be a chief point, while those who knew the text would understand at once that it was an accessory and therefore need not be so correctly depicted. Besides this, which of course refers to things in general as well, there are examples enough where brahmans are surely intended, to justify my observation that their number is far greater than in other relief series.

This is not by chance; just as in that part of the bottom row of the balustrade of the first gallery where we saw so many scenes with stūpa's, I think we may draw the conclusion that a number of similar tales are placed together; the same as we can notice in the Avadānaçataka for instance, where also in each decade tales with some special meaning are placed together. Besides the brahmans in this series, we notice a rather large number of children, while animal stories are decidedly fewer; those where animals play a secondary part as well as those where some special animal, of course the Bodhisattva re-born, is the chief figure as in the story of the hare and the hermit or the one about the peacock.

It will be of importance to inquire if there is any connection to be found between this series of reliefs and the last one and if so, whether it is the top or the bottom row on the balustrade of the first gallery which is similar. This examination is quite as important for the question of the order in which the sculptors depicted the reliefs, especially which of the two series on the balustrade first gallery should be read first, as for the question whether any indication exists of a continual large collection of jātaka's spreading over the several series, or of an entirely new kind of tales. Unfortunately our efforts are checked to a great extent by the fact that the first reliefs of the series now under discussion are missing, no less than six of them. So we can not see how the series began, no. 7 may not even belong to the first tale. Yet I venture to state that if, even with such incomplete evidence, connection can be found, it is not doubtful to which series of the first gallery balustrade this one shews affinity. On the very first scene after the missing ones on the series we are now discussing, we find a group of bhikṣu's with books in their hand next to a building; then again a monk

who is lecturing with a book; on no. 10 an infant appears on its nurse's knee, a little further we get a brahman. Let us now examine the end of the top row on the first gallery. The last scene we saw there was the hermit with dove, raven, snake and deer. This is something entirely different to what would eventually follow, but perhaps we ought to pass it over because, as we saw above (p. 400) there is a possibility that the scene just before it, a wishing-tree with a pair of kinnara's, is intended for a partition, so that the last relief as regards its subject, is not related to the one preceding it and was only put in there to fill the one remaining panel. I repeat that the intention of this partition is doubtful, perhaps it is not even meant for a division; if it really indicates the end of the text then we need not look further for any connection with what follows, but with reference to our present inquiry we shall do well to consider the abovementioned other possibilities, either that it is not a partition at all or that the division is only meant to cut off no. 372; in both these cases the result is that we may expect to find connection or resemblance in no. 370 and the preceding with what we suppose follows it. Then we see on no. 364 to 370 a not very characteristic tale in which the Bodhisattva appears as a king, but it gives nothing to help our examination; but on no. 362 we get a Buddha for the last time who also appears on the preceding reliefs and evidently is the chief person of a Buddha-story reaching to and including no. 363. So any connection or resemblance with the balustrade of the second gallery is not to be found, even excluding the final scene no. 372, Buddha-stories do not appear at all in the series on the 2nd gallery. Let us now turn to the end of the bottom row of the same first gallery, bearing in mind that the second balustrade begins with bhikṣu's, a monk with a book, a child and brahmans. On the last scene of the bottom row we find no monks but there are nuns and they have books in their hands; bhikṣuṇī's appear too in the preceding scene, and the one before that gives us brahmans; no. 119 has an infant in its nurse's lap. It is unnecessary to go further back, I think we may safely say that as far as resemblance and connection in this sort of reliefs is possible, it can here be found between the beginning of the balustrade of the second gallery and the end of the *bottom* row of the first, but not at all with the end of the top row. In this we come to the following conclusions: first that possibly the same connected text is spread over the end of the bottom row of the first and the beginning of the second balustrade, rather loosely connected however, for new stories are continually being placed next to each other; secondly, that the sequence in which the reliefs of the balustrades must be viewed is as follows: top row

first gallery, bottom row of same, second gallery. The balustrade of the first gallery begins with the top row just in the same way as on the chief wall the Buddha's life-story is placed in the top row of reliefs, to be read before the bottom row of the avadāna's and jātaka's. With regard to the settlement of the sequence of the reliefs over the whole monument this view may be of some use, though of no general importance to the arrangement of those unidentified.

Let us now as usual give a short review of the contents of the whole series, drawing attention to the striking scenes that will be of most use for later identification.

As already noticed, the series begins with the loss of six scenes, no. 7 too is damaged. The first have already been mentioned. On no. 7 we see a building in the middle with monks, some of them holding books in the form of kropaks. There is a bhikṣu too on no. 8, seated in a pēṇḍāpā, instructing some young men of good family from a large book on his knee; this group is separated from a king sitting with two ladies on the same relief by a piled up treasure in pots and chests. For the third time we see a monk on no. 9, now evidently one who lives a hermit life, seated, with his waterjug beside him and a flower in his hand, beside an empty seat with only a cushion on it, while on the other side four men in full dress with haloes round their heads, are paying homage with lotuses from which rises an ornament of flames; bhikṣu's do not appear again for a time. No. 10 shews again two groups, each of them in and near their own pavilion; left, a king in the midst of his women; on the right a terribly-damaged queen with attendants, it is just possible to discern that she holds her left breast with her hand while next to her a nurse is giving the breast to a very large infant.

Then comes on no. 11, next to a commonplace talk between a man and a woman in a separate pēṇḍāpā, a collection of pots and bales wound round with bands, whether treasure or not is not shewn; on the next relief, the reception of eight eminent handsomely-dressed men in a pēṇḍāpā, with a ninth bearded one in front of them as spokesman. He has his hair rolled up on top of his head in contrast to the richly-ornemented tiara's of the others, which makes us think that he might be the god Brahmā Çikhin with a company of gods.

No. 13 is a corner-panel of two scenes; first a couple of persons in a building surrounded by a palissade guarded by armed attendants, and then the respectful reception of a brahman coming with his umbrella over his head, to a group of women. Both the following reliefs though not corner ones, give each two scenes, which as far as we can judge are not

connected and must be considered as incidents, possibly not happening at the same time or place, but accidentally placed in the same frame. On no. 14 we see next to each other, a highborn lady and attendants in a pavilion and a pēndāpā where a brahman is discoursing with a person in full dress; judging by his dress and retinue he is a royal personage, by the halo round his head, a Bodhisattva or a god and by the crescent just visible at the back of the head, a young man; so if we read the language of the sculptor aright, this will be the Bodhisattva as a prince. Two scenes again on no. 15, the first gives a conversation between two eminent men, the second resembles no. 13, shewing a building inside a palissade with guard, only now the building is empty and the guards who on no. 13 had swords and shields, now with only one exception are armed with bow and arrows. Like no. 15 and no. 13, we see no. 16 resembles no. 14; here too comes a conversation between a royal person with a halo and a crescent, perhaps the same as on no. 14, and a brahman; though here it looks doubtful if a brahman is meant. This scene is remarkable for its pair of elephants, one of which holds up a vase with a spout in his trunk, the kind used at the presentation of gifts and such sort of ceremonies. Behind the brahman sits a second person and then comes a retinue, the front man holding a dish with a lid.

Now comes some more action into the scenes. On the left scene of the corner no. 17 we see a king in a journey, still with a halo, but the crescent has disappeared. He travels in a palanquin and strangely enough, is preceded by a pair of horses and two elephants. On the right hand we probably have the object of the journey; it looks as if he might be the man, now without a halo, seated in the company of a highborn lady whose pavilion is protected by a palissade, but his sword and shield make this seem rather unlikely. Next, on the lefthand of no. 18, a characteristic scene, we see an abhiṣeka. With loose-hanging undressed hair, the person about to be consecrated is seated on a bench; brahmins stand round him sprinkling him with holy water from a vase and a shell, while attendants sit ready with the garments and ornaments the king is to put on presently. The conversation on the righthand of this relief, like that on no. 19, is of no iconographic importance, unless the presence of two horses and an elephant on the last-mentioned might be a sign that the same tale as on no. 17 is still running.

In no. 20 we seem to get something new, though of course this is not certain. A queen in her private apartment is lying on a couch while her women are busy massaging her; outside the building is an armed guard. Two of the women sitting on the end of the couch behave rather strange-

ly, we hope the text, when found, will explain their conduct; one covers her face with her hands, the other bends right back, her arms stretched up above her head. We cannot see what has happened or is about to happen, but it is probably the same queen who has given birth to a son on no. 21. She sits there with her women, one of whom also appears to be overexcited, as if trying to push away with her right hand and warning off with the left hand a woman who is coming towards the couch with a pot. Maybe we misinterpret the emotions of these figures, but their behaviour certainly attracts attention. On the right we see the new-born infant with his nurses. The next relief has lost the whole of its upper part and no. 23 is missing altogether, but the then following reliefs seem to continue the story of the infant son. No. 24 too is only partly preserved; besides two women with very large coarse necklaces we see some boys, four at least, two of them with the crescent shaped ornament behind the head. On the next relief a group of boys with books in their hands are being instructed by a brahman; again on no. 26 the lessons are continued but the teacher is different, he is now a monk. How profitable the instruction has been is shewn plainly on no. 27; a prince, that is to say, a small person in court dress, without the crescent, but wearing the band crossed over the breast that indicates the boy who has not attained his majority, is busy distributing handfuls of valuables among a large group of brahmans and other needy persons. Up to this point we may flatter ourselves we have been able to follow the young man's life history. Then comes an ordinary conversation on no. 28 that shews us nothing and no. 29 a scene full of rocks and trees enlivened with various animals, birds and quadrupeds, in the midst of which a bhikṣu lies asleep, so fast that a bird has perched on one of his arms and legs. We are given to understand that the monk lives in this neighbourhood and has not fallen asleep there by chance; a couple of pots are placed neatly in a hollow of the rock and he has a couch; beyond this we can discover nothing in the way of connection. It is doubtless a new tale and as the next two reliefs are missing, there is nothing but imagination left and I shall not venture on any explanation.

With no. 32 however we seem to have a tale that somewhat resembles the story of the youth above. Here too we see an infant in front of which three brahmans are seated, possibly those who foretell the destiny of the newborn child. The teaching scenes are here as well, no. 33 shews a brahman teaching a class holding kropaks; but not children this time, several of them have moustaches. Notice outside the pēṇḍāpā a curly-headed person sitting with a stick on his right shoulder, that may have had some-

thing fastened to it. This is evidently a woolly-haired slave such as the Jēnggi's mentioned on inscriptions, it is not clear whether we here have to do with a real negro slave ¹⁾ or a Papua. The same or something similar seems to have been on the badly-damaged no. 34; here too are men, at least one of whom has a kropak in his hand, who sit listening to their teacher's words. The next two panels are only conversations; on the first we see a figure in royal dress with a halo who is of course the Bodhi-sattva again. Then no. 37 shews a procession going towards the right, but only the last part of it, the least important, remains for it is only the armed escort. The chief persons in front are represented only by their legs from which we can discover nothing more than that an elephant was walking in front of them all. No. 38 is entirely missing.

Now comes a story easily distinguished from those around it, very striking scenes that undoubtedly belong together. It is a tale about hermits and tigers, the text of which has not yet been discovered in spite of the indications the reliefs give. Beginning with no. 39 we see consecutively from right to left, first three hermits or perhaps two and a third person who wears his hair a bit differently; next a pair of tigers in their den and on the extreme left two spectators in plain ordinary dress, the one behind holds an umbrella over the other and is evidently his servant. All this is framed in a decoration of rocks and trees, the same as found on the three following reliefs. Then no. 40 gives us the tigers on the right, one large and a young one, the three hermits in the centre and the two spectators on the left. It is rather difficult to decide if these are all the same persons; the front spectator now has a much finer headdress and the hermits who are sitting round a leaf with a flower offering on it, look rather different, one has another style of hair and they all three have beards, while on no. 39 one of them was beardless. But this of course does not prevent them from being the same people. On the two next reliefs the spectators have disappeared; no. 41 shews us the whole family party of tigers, two old and two young ones, on the left and on the right the three hermits, one sitting on the ground and the other two flying through the air; then on the corner panel no. 42 we first get in separate dens one of the old tigers then a pair of young ones and then only two of the hermits, both flying over the trees to the right. It is quite evidently the same tale so far. Perhaps no. 43 belongs to it as well, the homage paid to a stūpa by people on the earth as well as hovering heavenly ones; the stūpa may

¹⁾ Ferrand is of opinion that there were actually African negroes in Java, Journ. Asiat. 11 : 13 (1919) p. 330 sq. and 11 : 17 (1921) p. 164.

naturally contain the ashes of one of the chief actors in the foregoing tale — but of course we are not sure.

At any rate no. 44 is something quite different. Two dancing girls with an orchestra accompaniment, are displaying their art before an eminent personage sitting in a pavilion with some ladies. Next on no. 45 we have a distribution of clothes and money to all sorts of needy persons. Then comes no. 46 to 56 inclusive, a series of various conversations not striking enough for separate description. Three reliefs are missing, these may have had something more distinctive. Brahmans or people resembling them appear rather often on the remaining ones. No. 47 and 50 may be remarked for one of the chief persons having a halo, who is probably the Bodhisattva, on no. 50 he is conversing with a badly-damaged person, certainly a brahman. There is one relief in this group that does not give us a conversation, no. 53 a corner-panel depicting a festive procession with a large chest. Some men with banners are in front, then comes the decorated chest borne on carrying poles by four men, followed immediately by someone beating a big drum with a small hammer. This man is turning partly round so that he faces the spectator; while those before him are walking to the right, the people more on the left of the scene seem to be looking at and listening to him. This is most likely a proclamation by the beating of drums, so the intention of the drummer is not only to escort the chest but at the same time to proclaim something of public importance; the persons standing further to the left do not I think, belong to the procession of the chest, but are some of the public listening to the drummer.

We now come to no. 57. The largest part of this relief is taken up by forest scenery, rocks and trees with a pair of deer, two pigs and several birds in the midst of it. A company of men are coming from the left. It is not possible to decide if the front one is a king; though the usual bowl is being carried behind him there is no umbrella-bearer. Behind him comes a man with bow and arrows, and because of this we can conclude this scene to be a hunting-party just entering the forest. Very little is left of no. 58 but we can still see that the forest scenery continues with the addition of a river flowing out of the rocks on the left and well-stocked with fish.

The first half of the corner panel no. 59 is missing, but the second shews us a tale that has been identified as the story of the hare who sacrifices himself for the hermit, and the next two reliefs belong to it. This is the third appearance of the tale on the Barabudur, if we reckon the one in the Jātakamālā as well, where three friends of the hare appear also,

(see p. 449); in any case it is certainly the second, for in the bottom row of the balustrade of the first gallery we saw the *Çaça-jātaka* in nearly the same version as this, the hare and the hermit by themselves. There (p. 459 sq.) we could follow the story from the *Avadānaçataka* version, here we find a slight difference in the end of it, for while the former concludes with a shower of rain produced by the hare's magnanimous conduct, we find here on no. 59 the hare and the hermit discoursing together, then on no. 60 the altar of fire ready for the sacrifice and on no. 61 the hare seated on a big lotus in a lotus-pond; the meaning of this we understand from other tales where the *Bodhisattva* throws himself into the fire that turns immediately into a lotus-pond. What in this case is remarkable is not the fact of the different ending, — we know well enough that variations existed of all kinds of stories — but here we can see convincingly proved, that the sculptors when representing the various series of tales, were supplied with a consecutive series of texts, just the same where we have no authority to depend on as in the cases where we have a text at hand. If the sequence of the stories on the reliefs had been selected by the sculptors, or let us rather say by the person who gave directions to the sculptors and arranged the whole design of relief-decoration for the monument, from the *jātaka's* and *avadāna's* known to him portioning them out over the available space, then we might expect that he would not give the same story twice over with only a slight difference in its ending, while it also appeared in the *Jātakamālā* series in almost the same version. The fact that the hare's sacrifice is shewn to us three times I think can only be explained by the fact that the story was given three times in the separate collections which the sculptors were ordered to illustrate, and that it would not have been becoming to make alterations in a text that was regarded as more or less sacred, and where repetition was really of very little consequence. Yet we need not conclude from this that three separate collections of stories must have been used, for it is well-known that the great *Pāli-collection*, which forms a complete whole with a fixed sequence, often repeats the same tale in several places, sometimes with important but often with quite insignificant alterations.

The story on reliefs no. 62—66, the tale of the peacock, has been identified by van Erp from the *Mora-jātaka*, no. 159 of the *Pāli-collection*¹⁾. We know the *Pāli-collection* gives this story a second time in no. 491, the *Mahāmora-jātaka*, but it is quite plain that the latter version has not

¹⁾ In the often-quoted article p. 88—93.

been followed for that ends with a discourse between the peacock and the hunter who finally sets the bird free, so that it never appears at court; while jāataka 159 as well as the monument, gives the journey to the king and the preaching at court. Van Erp therefore is right in selecting no. 159; he found it in reliefs no. 63—66, while 62 and 67 were missing. Some fragments meantime discovered giving a scene with the peacock at liberty he thought must be ascribed to the final scene ¹⁾ in which the bird would have been set free. As he has since placed these fragments for no. 62, the first scene, he has evidently changed his opinion, I think very successfully. It seems quite natural that the peacock should be shewn to us first in its own surroundings before the king gives orders for its capture and moreover the moral sermon on no. 66 makes a very suitable ending to the tale, as we have seen in many of the stories in the Jātaka-mālā about the Bodhisattva reborn as an animal.

Although van Erp undoubtedly has correctly identified this story, I do not think the version here followed by the sculptors was exactly that of the Mora-jātaka. There the bird is captured with the help of a trained pea-hen and then brought to court by the hunter; on the reliefs however we first see the peacock in a group of other peacocks, not with one hen-bird, afterwards he speaks, perched on a rock, to the hunters without any sign of his going to be captured and finally he is carried in splendour on a chariot to the court, which is not recorded in the text. But this journey is quite in accordance with the version of the peacock-tale preserved in the Kañjur ²⁾, entitled *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, translated by Rockhill ³⁾. I shall therefore use this Tibetan version for my description of the reliefs given below.

After some conversations between brahmans on no. 68 and 69 comes a large gap of five reliefs; then we get no. 75, a story such as we have seen several times already, a queen surrounded by her women and next to her in a separate pavilion, an infant on the nurse's knee. No. 76 too is not difficult, a brahman uttering the usual prophecies about the man-child which the father is presenting to him. Then after no. 78 (missing) follow another court-scene and discourses with brahmans. The person who receives the brahmans has on no. 79—80, himself the aspect of a brahman and moreover is seated on the open-worked stool often used by them; on the other hand he is attended by a large retinue more suitable to a king and on no. 80 he even wears a sword. This man in his two-fold character

¹⁾ l.l. p. 93.

²⁾ *Mdo X Vt*, fol. 427—521.

³⁾ *Tibetan Buddhist Birth-Stories*, Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. 18, 1 (1897) p. 12—14.

remains mysterious; if he is really a brahman then he must be one who exercises the authority of a king.

No. 81 shews a king in his women's apartment, he is lying on his right side on a couch surrounded by the women while there are more of them to the right, some entertaining their lord with music. This part of the palace is enclosed in a palissade with a gate-way at each side, outside it are the guard and other servants. Then come some very inexpressive conversations; on no. 84 we recognise the Bodhisattva with his halo. No. 85 is a very striking scene that surely holds the key for its own identification. On the extreme left, under a canopy, we see a square pedestal like a low altar with a fire flaming up from it; flowers from heaven are falling around it. Next to it are a couple of brahmans on their knees and behind them two women dressed like servants are standing, then comes a group of well-dressed men and women seated. The most remarkable thing on the relief is the collection of animals in the righthand corner, pushed behind and above one another for want of space. Just here, a piece has been knocked off the surface of the reliefs but we can still see an elephant behind the group of seated persons, a goat, a sheep, a hare, a couple of cows, a deer and an animal rather like a camel but probably only an attempt at a horse. There are no birds, no beasts of prey, no monkeys or forest creatures, the whole flock looks domestic, save the hare and the deer; possibly they are meant to be a group of the animals tamed by man, then hares (or rabbits?) or deer would not be at all out of place. On the strength of these creatures no. 87 appears to belong to this tale, they are only separated by a conversation. In a pavilion in the centre of the relief a man in full-dress, in the attitude of dhyāna-mudrā, is seated on a throne; his head has disappeared so we cannot see if he wore a halo or not. On each side of the pavilion two worshippers are sitting also in the dress of men of rank, then next to them, enclosing the relief on both sides, we see a group of animals arranged as far as possible symmetrically; thus on each side on the ground, a goat and a deer turning its head, with a hare above them; in the second row a cow and a sheep, then in the background a horse and an elephant. Here it is plainly a horse and as the animals in this group are the same as on no. 85, the indistinct creature there will probably be a horse as well.

The next relief is again a corner panel. On the left some eminent person is being carried on a litter by no less than twelve men; an elephant and a horse precede him, but of these animals only fragments appear. On the right five men in brahman-dress are standing behind one another in a row on the left of the scene, while on the other part rain is streaming

down from a thick mass of cloud, knocking off a big branch from the trees with its force ¹⁾. Nothing more can be seen of what is depicted, for a whole block of stone is here missing. On no. 89 nothing is visible that might be connected with the rain-storm. On the left a reception is going on, more in the middle is the retinue as well as the palanquin of the visitor, and separated by a small fence under a penthouse we see an empty throne with a bearded man sitting on guard.

Next is a gap of two reliefs, then come two incomplete ones and then two more are missing. On the piece left of 92 is a reception by a man who perhaps only by a fault of the sculptor is abnormally fat. Behind him is a woman coquetting with a mirror. On no. 93, divided into two scenes, a distribution of clothes and money is shewn on the left.

No. 96 and 97 again give receptions, the first is not noticeable but the second shews a Bodhisattva with his halo receiving two highborn ladies. Finally we get on the remaining piece of the corner-panel no. 98, a meeting between two kings with their retinues, one is on his knees before the other. The king standing has lost his head, which prevents us knowing whether he had a halo.

The rest of the series is missing, the second part of no. 98 as well as all no. 99 and 100 which must have followed. Therefore we are unable to say in what way the relief series on the balustrade of the second gallery ended, and with this the whole complex of avadāna's and jātaka's.

1—6 missing.

7—58 not identified ²⁾.

23, 30, 31, 38, 48, 49 and 51 missing.

The (third) story of the hare

The story of the hare's self-sacrifice as known to us from the Avadāna-cataka no. 37, I have described briefly in discussing the bottom row of reliefs on the balustrade of the first gallery (see above p. 459 sq.), it is therefore not necessary to repeat it. I will only call attention to the variation shewn by the tale here, after being given on the first gallery entirely in accordance with the text at our disposal. The course of the tale now is that the hare and the hermit are friends and that the hare

¹⁾ A later-date Hindu-Javanese rain-scene from Waleri is described Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1908, p. 146.

²⁾ Described in the Dutch edition, p. 464—470.

throws himself into the fire to give food to his companion, but is saved by the fire turning miraculously into a lotus pond.

59. *The hare and the hermit*

The left part of this corner-panel has disappeared but the two chief figures appear on the right part; so we may conclude that the other was only filled up with some further details of the surroundings. Here too we get forest scenery with rocks, trees and animals. A cow and a couple of pigs are strolling about and a peacock perches in a tree. On a separate line of rock above the pigs, the hare is sitting, evidently not to place him on a different level but only to make the best use of the small space available. The creature turns to look at the hermit sitting on the left, who makes a *sēmbah* to him and is holding a fly-whisk. The hermit wears a loin-cloth and necklace, his hair is dressed in the usual hermit style, twisted into a knot above a headband, the rest left hanging. Behind him is his staff ending in a trident with four bells just under it; moreover there is a waterjug on top of which is some object, that looks like a loop with a bag hanging to it. As the relief here has a piece broken off, it may be this is only part of some larger thing.

60. *The hermit, the hare and the fire*

The hermit is here put in twice, unless the tale varies so much that there are two hermits. On the left he sits next to the fire, his knee in the sling and a rosary in his right hand; the fire flames up high from the piled-up branches placed on a square pedestal. He is surrounded by birds and squirrels, on the left is a pair of deer and in a hollow of the rock we see an oblong round object not recognisable unless it might be a small *lingga* such as there are in that shape. This would not be out of place beside a hermit, but is rather singular on a Buddhist monument and it is too indistinct to be sure of. On the righthand side the hare is sitting on a small slab of rock in front of the hermit who has a seat under a penthouse supported by pilasters with his waterjug behind him. Where the little building comes from all at once, is incomprehensible, it probably indicates the holy man's cell. He is talking to the hare. Quite on the right we see again trees and animals, a couple of pigs, a peacock and another bird. It would have agreed better with the tale as we know it, if these two scenes had been reversed, giving the fire last, just before the lotus pond in the next scene. It is possible of course that the story as here told, varies more than we suspect from the version known to us, espe-

cially as the hermit does not appear at all on no. 61; but this is mere conjecture.

61. *The hare and the lotus pond*

This relief is also filled in with trees; in the middle is the pond, a rectangular space enclosed in a border, full of lotus flowers and leaves, and with fishes in it. A very large lotus is in the centre and on that sits the hare, so large in size that he is quite out of proportion, very evidently intended as the centre of attraction. As we have noticed, the hermit is not here, but there are all sort of animals, several birds in the trees and along the edge of the pond; in the forest are deer, cows, goats, pigs and others, all in couples. This picture does not shew the creatures listening to the words of a Bodhisattva reborn in the shape of one of them; the hare does not appear to be preaching or the animals listening to him as represented elsewhere. This fact makes it the more probable that the lotus pond is only to shew the way by which the hare was saved.

The story of Suvarṇaprabhāsa, king of the
peacocks

(Çrīguptasūtra, Mdo XVI fol. 427—521 ¹⁾)

Long ago, when Brahmadatta ruled in Benares, a king of the peacocks named Suvarṇaprabhāsa was living on the Southern slopes of the Kailāsa with five hundred subjects. One night the sound of his scream reached even to Benares and the queen who happened to be sitting on her terrace, heard it. She inquired of her husband who it was that uttered such a sweet and affecting sound and he replied that the sound could be only the voice of Suvarṇaprabhāsa. She begged him to let the bird be brought to her, otherwise she would die of longing. The king promised to do as she asked, and calling all his hunters and fowlers together he ordered them to capture the king of the peacocks on pain of being put to death themselves.

The hunters and fowlers set out for Kailāsa with their nets and snares but however hard they tried they could not succeed in catching the peacock. Seven days they stayed there faint with hunger, till at last the peacock king himself, moved with compassion, asked them why they sat there starving. Hearing the reason, he explained to them that it was impossible to capture him by force, but if king Brahmadatta desired to see

¹⁾ Rockhill, Journ. Americ. Or. Soc. 18, 1 (1897) p. 12—14.

him, then he must decorate his city magnificently, fit up splendid chariots and at the end of seven days, come with his whole army to the Kailāsa; then Suvarṇaprabhāsa would follow him to Benares of his own accord.

The hunters brought this news to their master who at once carried out the peacock's orders. He went to the Kailāsa with his army and the king of the peacocks placed himself on the splendid chariot uttering a scream that resounded through the whole assemblage. The king shewed his guest great honor and went to inform the queen of his arrival.

Every day Brahmādatta paid homage to the peacock or when he was busy the queen took his place. Now it happened that her majesty had been faithless to her spouse, so to prevent the peacock betraying her guilt she gave him poisoned food and drink. But the more she gave him the more healthy and beautiful he became, till at last he told the queen that he was aware of her sin but she could do him no harm. The queen sank down overcome with fear, and falling sick she died and was reborn into hell.

62. *The peacock in the wilderness*

All that remains of this very damaged relief is a portion of the centre, the right top corner and one block below on the left. The middle shews us the peacock in the midst of rocks and plants, more flowers than trees. Other wild animals appear in holes along the bottom edge and in front of the Bodhisattva. In the upper righthand corner we see part of a kinnara-pair, evidently witnesses of the peacock's way of life in the forest. On the block below on the left (its position being correctly identified by the corner of the garment-hem that comes into sight on the bottom edge of this relief) we see the arms and legs of a seated man plainly-dressed who turns to the other side, without paying attention to the peacock. We cannot tell now any more what else was depicted on this piece, perhaps some scene in Benares where the scream of the peacock was heard.

63. *The king orders the peacock to be captured*

This relief has suffered too, and the whole of the top edge has disappeared. On the left the king sits with two women, only one of whom is distinct, in a pēṇḍāpā; he turns towards a group of attendants seated on the ground in front of him, behind whom we see umbrella, feather- and fly-fan set up; one of them has a sword. These people are dressed like courtiers, the front ones at least, those behind look plainer. As on the

next scene we find the hunters far better-dressed than becomes their calling, it seems very likely that here too we see the hunters and bird-snarers receiving their orders from the king and need not give too much importance to their costume.

The righthand scene is again in the forest judging by the rocks and plants. A squirrel runs along the ground on the left, on the right is an elephant, out of all proportion to the peacocks seated above who are almost as large. In the middle is a big rock; on the left side one peacock is perched and on the other apparently five of them, turned in different directions. The peacock by himself is sure to be Suvarṇaprabhāsa and those on the right hand his five hundred subjects represented by five.

64. The attempts to capture the peacock ; he speaks to the hunters

Here again we have two scenes on the one relief, both in the wilderness with rocks and trees and only one small animal. On the extreme left a fowler is setting a snare; he has fixed up four and is making the fifth, holding a sixth in his hand. The man is plainly dressed but yet has a head-dress; an assistant with a sword sits behind him. On the righthand scene the peacock is sitting above on a rock evidently talking to the three men on a lower plane in front of him. Their headdress, earrings and necklace makes them look not much like hunters, but that is certainly what they are for the second holds some snares and the third has a sword in his hand. The front one is speaking, so this is surely the moment when Suvarṇaprabhāsa has questioned them and hears what their intentions are and the reason of their perseverance.

65. The peacock brought to the court

The festive procession with the chariot is here depicted. It is a heavy kind of fourwheeled state carriage, the body of it solid in the middle with decoration at the corners, and covered by a canopy resting on richly-ornemented pilasters with garlands hanging under it. The peacock is seated quite alone in this chariot on a carpet that hangs down at the sides. It is drawn by two horses who curiously enough have nine legs between them, the charioteer rides on one of the horses and the courtiers are walking at the side. The stick with the knob on it that we see above the head of the postilion is not a fly-whisk someone is holding, but the end of the shaft. Behind the chariot follow a group of the king's retinue with umbrella and fly-whisks and a guard armed with a sword closes the procession. It is not of any importance that only one of the vehicles men-

tioned in the text is shewn, but we see that the king himself is not there to escort his guest as was related. There is one person in the procession who has nothing in his hand and therefore might be the king but he is not distinguished in any other way from the rest of the escort.

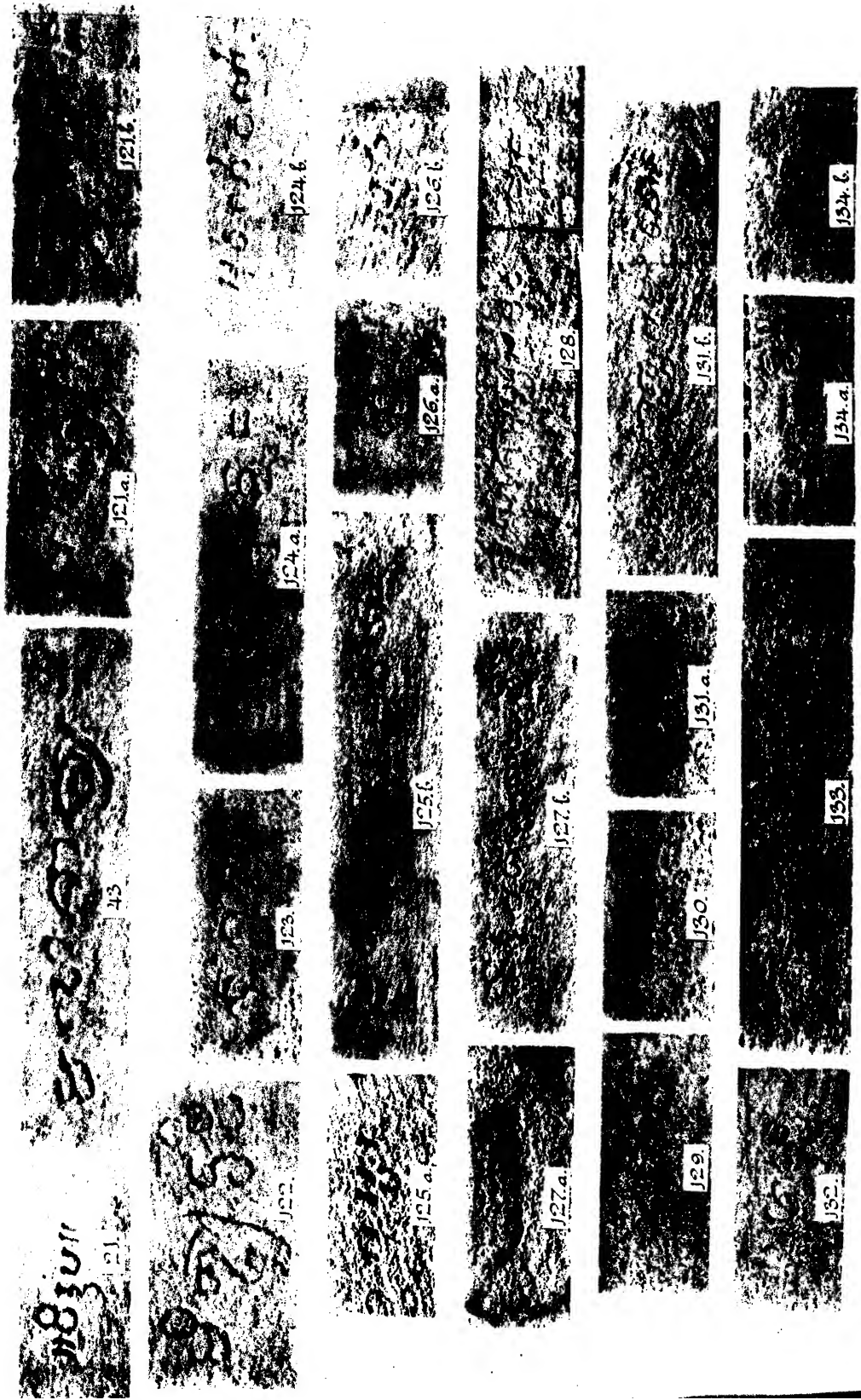
66. *The peacock at court*

In a pēndāpā hung with garlands that takes up the whole relief, the Bodhisattva is sitting on the cushions of a chair with a back and a rug hanging down from it. He turns towards the right where separated from him by an incense-burner, the king is seated on the ground with hands in sēmbah. Behind the monarch are his wives, some with a lotus-flower in the hand. On the left hand of the throne of honor that is behind the peacock, the courtiers are sitting, some hold a flower and one a pot with a lid. The attentive and respectful attitude of the king and his court shews plainly that the peacock is preaching¹⁾. We can imagine that the Barabūdur sculptors here ended the story, although the fact that no. 67 is missing leaves it possible that the queen's attempts to poison the peacock may have followed this scene.

68—98 not identified²⁾; 70—74; 78, 90, 91, 94, 95, 99 and 100 are missing.

¹⁾ Worship of a peacock is also found on pl. 8 of Burgess' description of Amarāvati in Arch. Surv. New Series 6 (1887), but without any connection being shewn.

²⁾ For description see Dutch edition p. 473—480.



INSCRIPTIONS ON INNER-BASEMENT.

